

# Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

1 February – 30 April 1963

Second Series

81

A stylized, white, handwritten signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, consisting of a large, flowing 'J' followed by a series of loops and a long, sweeping underline.

The *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* has established its position as the single most important, authoritative, and reliable source on Nehru's life, work and thought. It is indispensable to the scholar, fascinating to the layperson, and at times something of a primer in politics, democracy and world affairs, as Nehru intended his periodic letters to his chief ministers to be. It provides a panorama of home and the world as seen from the centre of power in India by an acutely sensitive observer and skilful player. Given the literary talent, creative urge, and singular position of the author, it is a continuous source of pleasure, sometimes of amusement, and always of enlightenment.

The first series took the collection up to 1 September 1946 in 15 volumes; the second series starts with 2 September 1946 when Nehru assumed office in the Interim Government. This is the 81st volume of the second series and it deals with the events of 1 February – 30 April 1963. The extensive annotation to the documents makes them especially user-friendly.







# **Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru**

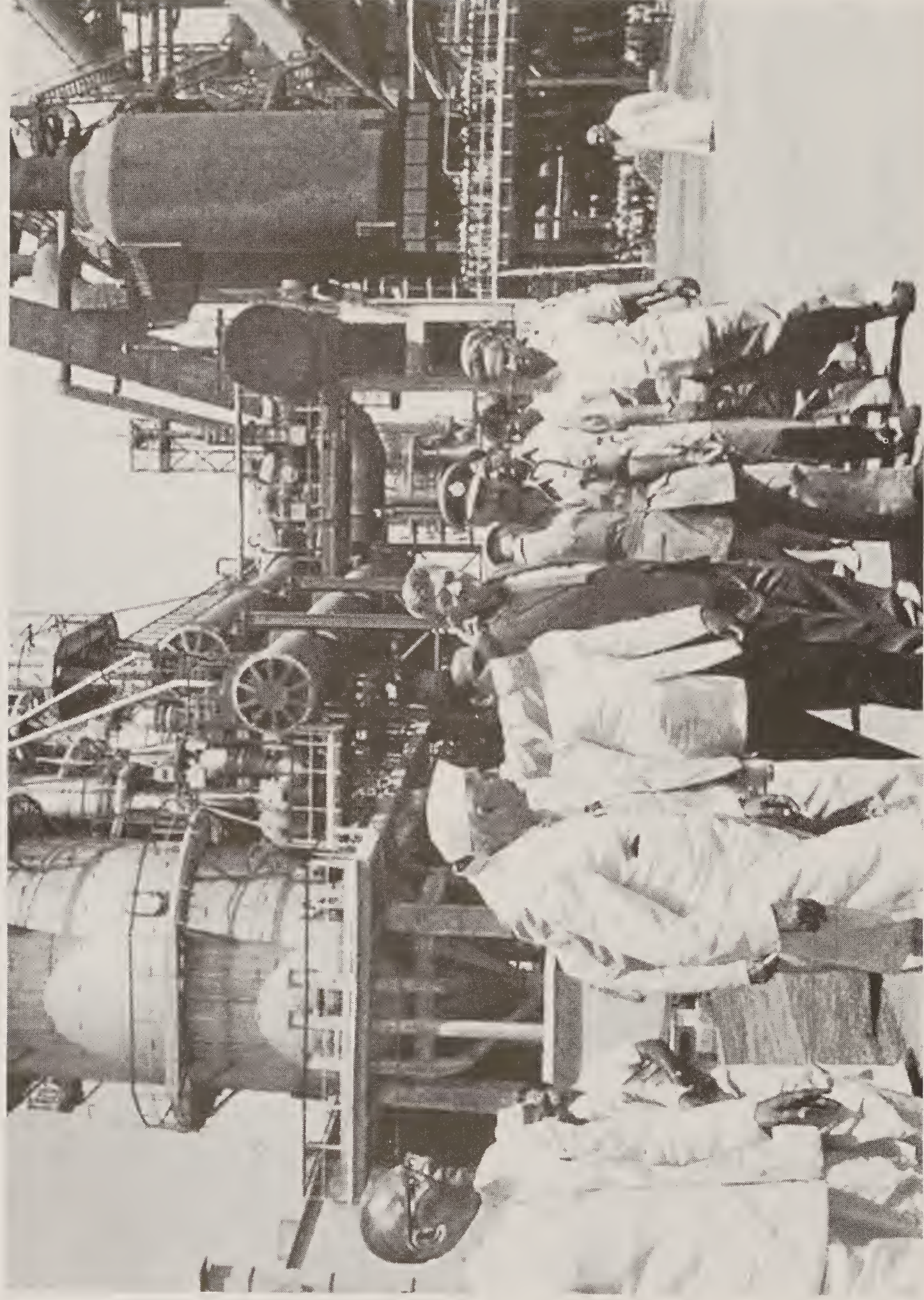


Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2020 with funding from  
Public.Resource.Org

<https://archive.org/details/seletedworsofjaw81madh>







March 14, 1963: On a visit to the Bhilai Steel Plant.



# Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

*SECOND SERIES*

Volume Eighty One (1 February – 30 April 1963)

Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT



**Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund**  
New Delhi

© 2019

All rights reserved

Enquiries regarding copyright  
to be addressed to the publishers

PUBLISHED BY

Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

Teen Murti House, New Delhi 110 011

ISBN : 0-19-012325-7

ISBN : 978-0-19-012325-3

DISTRIBUTED BY

Oxford University Press

YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110 001

Mumbai Kolkata Chennai

Oxford New York Toronto

Melbourne Tokyo Hong Kong

PRINTED AT

Aditya Arts,

I-66, Jadunath Enclave,

Sector 29, Faridabad-121008



# CONTENTS

<i>Foreword</i>	<i>xxxi</i>
<i>Editorial Note</i>	<i>xxxiii</i>

<i>March 14, 1963: On a visit to the Bhilai Steel Plant</i>	<i>frontispiece</i>
---	---------------------

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

## I. POLITICS

### (a) General

1.	To Y.B. Chavan: Arms Collection from Morvi	04/02	1
2.	Republic Day March Past Shabby	05/02	1
3.	To V.K. Krishna Menon: National Defence College	08/02	2
4.	To Mahavir Tyagi: Expenses on Rihand Dam Inauguration	09/02	2
5.	To T.T. Krishnamachari: Coordination of Ministries	12/02	3
6.	To Asoke Kumar Sen: Bye-Elections	12/02	4
7.	To T.T. Krishnamachari: Reorganisation and Access to Defence Factories	13/02	4
8.	To N.M.R. Subbaraman: Finding Oneself	15/02	5
9.	To Thomas Pothacamury: Violet Alva Deputy Chairman Rajya Sabha	16/02	6
10.	To K.D. Malaviya: Move Hajarnavis to Home Ministry	17/02	6
11.	In New Delhi: At the CPP	17/02	7
12.	To Chief Ministers	18/02	29
13.	To S. Radhakrishnan: Hajarnavis for Home Ministry	18/02	33
14.	To R.M. Hajarnavis: Offer of Home Ministry Job	18/02	34
15.	In the Rajya Sabha: T.T. Krishnamachari on Governance	27/02	34
16.	To Binodanand Jha: Rajendra Prasad's Death	28/02	36

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
17.	Rajendra Prasad's Death	28/02	37
18.	In New Delhi: On Rajendra Prasad	02/03	37
19.	In Patna: Congress and India	06/03	43
20.	To Asoke Kumar Sen: Constitutional Review	08/03	56
21.	In Rohtak: Public Meeting	09/03	56
22.	In Raipur: Public Meeting	15/03	80
23.	To H.V. Kamath: Cabinet Secretary's Impropriety	16/03	81
24.	To Surendra Mohan Ghose: Rajendra Prasad's Portrait	19/03	82
25.	To Asoke Kumar Sen: Kameswara Rau wants to be on Language Commission	30/03	83
26.	To Jayantilal C. Parikh: Dealing with Communist Slurs	03/04	83
27.	To Jack H. Farmer: India's Strategy	10/04	84
28.	To Chief Ministers	14/04	85
29.	To Bishwanath Roy: Charges against PSP	16/04	90
30.	To Surendranath Dwivedy: Discourtesy	21/04	91

### **(b) Biju Patnaik in USA**

31.	To B.K. Nehru: Patnaik's US Visit	08/03	91
32.	To Ajit Prasad Jain: Biju Patnaik on Defence	22/03	94
33.	To Mahavir Tyagi: Patnaik on Defence	23/03	94
34.	In the Lok Sabha: Patnaik's Statement in Washington	25/03	95
35.	To Sri Rama Reddi: Patnaik's Interview in Washington	30/03	102
36.	To N.B. Khare: Biju Patnaik in USA	02/04	103

### **(c) Communists**

37.	To M.S. Kannamwar: Sick Communists in Prison	01/02	103
38.	To S. Nijalingappa: Detaining Communists	01/02	104
39.	To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Arrests of Communists	06/02	105
40.	To B.P. Chaliha: Arrest of Kalyani Das	14/02	105
41.	To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Detention of Tripura Communists	15/02	106
42.	To M.S. Kannamwar: Arrests during Emergency	28/02	106
43.	To V.R. Krishna Iyer: Arbitrary Arrests	22/03	106
44.	To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Arrest of Satyanarayan Sinha's Wife	21/04	107

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
<b>(d) Indian National Congress</b>			
45.	To S.V. Inamdar: Seva Dal Camp	04/02	108
46.	To Congress Seva Dal: Explaining Foreign Policy	07/02	108
47.	To Raghunath Singh: Indiscipline by Seth Govind Das	13/02	110
48.	To Binodanand Jha: Bharat Sevak Samaj Programme	18/02	111
49.	To M.C. Davar: Selecting Candidates for Lok Sabha	21/02	111
50.	To K.N. Katju: Attending RSS Camp Wrong	21/02	112
51.	To R. Sankar: Attending MRA Meetings Wrong	21/02	112
52.	To R.R. Diwakar: Book on Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan	22/02	113
53.	To R.R. Diwakar: Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Biography	25/02	113
54.	To L.M. Shrikant: Royalties on Mahatma Gandhi's Biography	02/03	114
55.	In Patna: Congress Unity	06/03	114
56.	To R.R. Diwakar: Sevagram Huts	17/03	116
57.	In Bombay: To Congress Workers	21/03	116
58.	To P.C. Cherian: MRA Undesirable	27/03	117
59.	To D. Sanjivayya: Choosing a Candidate	29/03	118
60.	To A.M. Tariq: Lucknow Exhibition	31/03	118
61.	To Rajan Nehru: Choosing Candidates	31/03	119
62.	To Roop Narain: Critique and Bad Taste	01/04	119
63.	To Krishna Kripalani: Abul Kalam Azad's Works	02/04	120
64.	To J. Chandramouli: Socialism in the Congress	02/04	120
65.	To Jagpat Dube: Get Well	03/04	121
66.	To Sunderlal: Abul Kalam Azad's Works	04/04	121
67.	In New Delhi: Congress Forum for Socialist Action Seminar	04/04	122
68.	In the Lok Sabha: Statement by T.T. Krishnamachari	04/04	124
69.	To Ajit Prasad Jain: No Resignation	05/04	126
70.	To Abdul Hameed Khan: A Congress Nomination	07/04	127
71.	On Rajendra Prasad	08/04	127
72.	To A.P. Jain: C.B. Gupta Aggrieved	10/04	128
73.	To M. Zahirud Din Siddiqi: Selection in Amroha	10/04	128
74.	To R.S. Panjhazari: Misconduct Deplorable	12/04	128



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
75.	To M.C. Davar: Candidates for Farrukhabad and Amroha	13/04	129
76.	To C.B. Gupta: Farrukhabad Election and Defence Fund Collection	13/04	130
77.	To D. Sanjivayya: Keskar's Election	13/04	130
78.	To M.P. Sinha: Memorial to Rajendra Prasad	14/04	131
79.	To Ganesha Singh Pakhtoon: Memorial Meeting	14/04	132
80.	To K.K. Shah: Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim's Amroha Contest	15/04	132
81.	To Madhavan Kutty: MRA and Congress	16/04	133
82.	To Vijay: Subhas Chandra Bose Myths	18/04	133
83.	In Allahabad: To Congress Workers	25/04	134
84.	To V.K. Krishna Menon: Fixing a Meeting	29/04	135
85.	Support for Balvantray Mehta	30/04	136

#### **(e) Laws and Administration**

86.	To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Rome Meeting	01/02	136
87.	To Shriyans Prasad Jain: Vivian Bose Report	04/02	137
88.	To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Attending Stockholm Meeting	05/02	137
89.	To K.C. Reddy: Treat Vivian Bose Report Seriously	08/02	138
90.	Employing Zahir Ahmed	09/02	140
91.	To Syed Jafer Imam: Medical Fitness for Office	14/02	140
92.	To H.K. Mahtab: Complaints about National Cultural Organisation	14/02	141
93.	To Bajrang Bahadur Singh: Avoid Large Retinues	15/02	142
94.	To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Making Use of M.S. Chopra	15/02	142
95.	To Vishnu Sahay: Enquiry into Tuskers	16/02	143
96.	Holidays No Way to Mourn	17/02	143
97.	To T. Viswanatha: Intemperate Language Unbecoming	17/02	144
98.	To H.D. Malaviya: Leipzig Fair Visit	18/02	144
99.	To Y.B. Chavan: Army Seizing Pigs	18/02	145
100.	To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Let Habib Hidayatullah Remain in India	19/02	145
101.	To Syed Jafer Imam: Get Fit	19/02	146



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
102.	To S. Radhakrishnan: Honorary Degrees for Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit	22/02	147
103.	To Morarji Desai: Troubles in Punjab National Bank	23/02	148
104.	To Mahavir Tyagi: Defective Military Equipment	24/02	148
105.	To R. M. Hajarnavis: Mercy Petition from Belgaum	25/02	149
106.	To Satya Narayan Sinha: Bribery of Ministers	25/02	149
107.	To P.C. Sen: S.N. Maitra to return to West Bengal	27/02	150
108.	To Manubhai Shah: Vivian Bose Report and Ram Ratan Gupta	02/03	150
109.	To Morarji Desai: Allegations against Birlas	02/03	151
110.	To C.B. Gupta: Dubious Transactions by Ram Ratan Gupta	03/03	151
111.	To Morarji Desai: Inquire into Ram Ratan Gupta	03/03	153
112.	To Morarji Desai: Allegations against Kotak	04/03	153
113.	To Shriman Narayan: Vivian Bose Report at FICCI	11/03	154
114.	To Manubhai Bhimani: Vivian Bose Report and FICCI	11/03	155
115.	To T.T. Krishnamachari: Mohammed Serajuddin and S.C. Bose	11/03	155
116.	To Asoke Kumar Sen: Judges' Retirement Age	19/03	156
117.	To T.T. Krishnamachari: Vivian Bose Report	19/03	156
118.	To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Misconduct by Secretary	01/04	157
119.	To B.P. Sinha: Visiting Nigeria and the Philippines	03/04	158
120.	To M.L. Sukhadia: Police Excess	03/04	158
121.	To Mehr Chand Khanna: Relief for Peasants on Evacuee Property	03/04	159
122.	To K.S. Ramanujam: Avoiding Corruption	09/04	159
123.	To S. Radhakrishnan: Slander must be contained	12/04	160
124.	To Prabhudas T. Kibliwala: Addressing Grievances	16/04	160
125.	To M.C. Chagla: Sheorey's Service Extension	16/04	161
126.	To H.C. Mathur: Judges Retiring	20/04	162
127.	To Asoke Kumar Sen: Table Reports on Insurance Companies	24/04	162
128.	To Asoke Kumar Sen: Reports in Insurance Companies	27/04	163

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

**(f) Media**

129.	To B. Gopala Reddy: Radio Broadcasts Inaudible	02/02	164
130.	To B. Gopala Reddy: AIR Broadcasts Inaudible in Qatar	05/02	164
131.	Taya Zinkin	15/02	165
132.	In New Delhi: At the Press Institute	17/02	165
133.	In the Rajya Sabha: Press Advisory Committee	19/02	173
134.	To R.K. Sharma: Welcome to <i>Prayag Patrika</i> Daily	21/02	178
135.	To K.P. Kesava Menon: Play on Partition	25/02	178
136.	In the Rajya Sabha: <i>Ananda Bazar Patrika</i>	05/03	179
137.	To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Advertisements for <i>Nagpur Times</i>	18/03	182
138.	To M.B. Niyogi: Advertisements for <i>Nagpur Times</i>	18/03	183
139.	To B. Gopala Reddy: No Disinformation	19/03	183
140.	To E. Narayanan: Message for Patriot	28/03	184
141.	Welcoming the <i>Patriot</i>	28/03	184
142.	To K.C. Reddy: Nagpur Times Trust	30/03	185
143.	To N.M.R. Subbaraman: Stopping Programmes Abroad	02/04	185
144.	To Jagjivan Ram: American TV Programme on India	02/04	186
145.	To N.J. Nanporia: Press Freedom	16/04	187

**(g) Official Language**

146.	To Ram Sewak Yadav: President's Address	16/02	188
147.	To S. Radhakrishnan: Demand for President's Address in Hindi	16/02	189
148.	To Kanji Dwarkadas: Socialist Insult to President	23/02	190
149.	In the Rajya Sabha: On President's Address	25/02	190
150.	In the Lok Sabha: On the President's Address	27/02	209
151.	Official Language	03/03	235
152.	To Satya Narayan Sinha: Disciplining Socialist MPs	16/03	235
153.	In the Lok Sabha: Misconduct During President's Address	19/03	236
154.	To Raghu Vira: Use of Indian Languages and English	16/04	238
155.	To Frank Anthony: English as Associate Language	18/04	239
156.	In New Delhi: At the CPP	19/04	240
157.	To C. Rajagopalachari: Postponing Language Bill	21/04	249

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
158.	In the Lok Sabha: Official Languages Bill	24/04	250
159.	To E.V. Sampath: Assurance on English	26/04	269
<b>(h) Popular Mobilisation</b>			
160.	To Bhagwat Jha Azad: Maintaining Urgency in Administration	02/02	270
161.	To Mohanlal Saksena: People's Movement	05/02	271
162.	To S.K. Sinha: Recruiting Armed Forces and Volunteers	09/02	271
163.	To Debotosh Dasgupta: Shanti Sena Volunteer Force	10/02	272
164.	To Prithvi Singh Azad: Son's Recruitment to Army	11/02	272
165.	To Binodanand Jha: Visiting Bihar	11/02	274
166.	To Sisram Ola: Jhunjhunu People's Contributions	13/02	274
167.	To S.K. Dey: Coercion in Defence Fund Collection	13/02	275
168.	To Shibban Lal Saksena: Coercion in Defence Fund Collection	13/02	275
169.	To C.B. Gupta: Coercion in Defence Fund Collection	13/02	276
170.	To Partap Singh Kairon: Coercion in Defence Fund Collection	13/02	277
171.	Delhi Flower Show	14/02	277
172.	To Swaran Singh: Railway Workers' Offer for Defence Fund	17/02	278
173.	To C.B. Gupta: Defence Fund Collection Coercion	19/02	278
174.	To C.B. Gupta: Defence Fund Collections	22/02	279
175.	To Rang Rao Badseshi: No Coercion from Rich for Defence Fund	22/02	279
176.	To S. Nijalingappa: Defence Fund Collection	23/02	280
177.	To Partap Singh Kairon: Defence Fund Collections	28/02	280
178.	In Amritsar: The Chinese Threat	03/03	281
179.	In Patna: Bharat Sevak Samaj and Sadaqat Ashram	06/03	294
180.	To S.G. Amin: Defence Fund Contributions from Kenya	08/03	295
181.	In Bhopal: Another Chinese Attack Possible	13/03	296
182.	In Bhopal: Unity	13/03	297
183.	In Bhilai: Unity for Defence	14/03	299
184.	To C.B. Gupta: Coerced Collections for Defence Fund	16/03	300
185.	To Ajit Prasad Jain: Coerced Defence Fund Contributions	16/03	300



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
186.	In Bombay: To the Sea Cadet Corps	20/03	301
187.	To G. Lutter: Defence Fund Contribution	08/04	303
188.	To Homi J.H. Taleyarkhan: Collections for Defence	11/04	304
189.	To Prithvi Singh Azad: Tour in States	13/04	304
190.	To Bajrang Bahadur Singh: Recommending Prithvi Singh Azad	13/04	306
191.	To B. Patnaik: Coerced Collections to Defence Fund	14/04	306
192.	In New Delhi: To Youth Camp	30/04	307

### **(i) Social Groups**

193.	To Jamal Moideen: India Third Largest Muslim Population	17/02	318
194.	In New Delhi: At Ladakhi Bodh Vihar	24/02	319
195.	To S.H. Butani: Meeting Sindhis	02/03	322
196.	To B.P. Chaliha: Deporting Pakistanis from Assam	16/03	323
197.	In the Rajya Sabha: No Passport for M.S. Golwalkar	18/03	323
198.	For the Regional Tribal Conference	19/03	324
199.	To P. Kodanda Rao: Reservations	03/04	324
200.	In the Lok Sabha: Hindus in East Pakistan	03/04	325
201.	For Lal Bahadur Shastri: Uniting Muslim Families	08/04	327
202.	To K. Kamaraj: Acquisition of Church Land	30/04	328

### **(j) Andhra Pradesh**

203.	To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Power Plant	05/02	328
204.	To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Woes of Bus Operators	23/02	329
205.	Panchayati Raj in Andhra Pradesh	16/03	329
206.	To Mahmood Hassan Khan: Hyderabad Visit	03/04	330
207.	To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Visit to Andhra Pradesh	13/04	330

### **(k) Bihar**

208.	To Swami Harinarayananand: Bharat Sevak Samaj	13/02	331
209.	To Binodanand Jha: Pilferage of wheat Stocks	21/02	332
210.	To Binodanand Jha: Scandal at Patna Medical College	21/02	332
211.	To Binodanand Jha: Bureaucratisation of Cooperatives	06/03	333



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
212.	To Binodanand Jha: Persecution	06/03	334
213.	For B.N. Mullik: Conspiracy in Bihar	06/03	334
214.	To Binodanand Jha: Dissidence within Congress	06/03	335
215.	To Binodanand Jha: Officials Running Cooperatives	18/03	336

### **(l) Goa**

216.	To Laura D'Souza: Observe Congress Discipline	25/03	336
217.	To D. Sanjivayya: Laura D'Souza's Fast	25/03	337
218.	To D. Sanjivayya: Goa Elections	01/04	337

### **(m) Kashmir**

219.	To Jagjivan Ram: Roads in Jammu and Kashmir	06/02	338
220.	To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Mridula Sarabhai's Externment from Kashmir	12/02	339
221.	In the Rajya Sabha: USIS on Kashmir	18/03	339
222.	To Tara Devi: Taking Care of Rajendra Singh's Children	07/04	340

### **(n) Kerala**

223.	To A.K. Gopalan: Closure of Mineral Plants in Kerala	02/02	341
224.	To H.J. Bhabha: Kerala Factories	11/02	344
225.	To Manubhai Shah: Kerala Factories	11/02	345
226.	To G.L. Nanda: Gopalan on Kerala Agriculture	03/03	346
227.	Travancore Titanium	27/04	346
228.	To R. Sankar: Eviction of Farmers	30/04	347

### **(o) Madhya Pradesh**

229.	For Madhya Pradesh Congress Committee	03/02	348
230.	For the Madhya Pradesh Congress	07/02	349
231.	To Rameswar Dayal Totla: Good Work of Ad Hoc Committee	13/02	350
232.	To B.A. Mandloi: Visit Programme	28/02	351
233.	To Sajeda Sultan: Bhopal Visit	28/02	351
234.	To D. P. Mishra: Bye-elections in Madhya Pradesh	28/02	352
235.	To Vidya Charan Shukla: Corruption Charges	01/03	352

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
236.	To H.V. Pataskar: Guest of Sajeda Sultan	02/03	353
237.	For the Madhya Pradesh Bye-Elections	06/04	354
238.	To D. Sanjivayya: Making Ministry more Inclusive	07/04	354
239.	To B.A. Mandloi: Sharing Rihand Power	27/04	354

**(p) Madras**

240.	To S. Radhakrishnan: Rajamannar Statue	12/03	355
------	--	-------	-----

**(q) Maharashtra**

241.	To H.D. Karaka: Bombay Visit Causing Inconvenience	09/03	356
242.	To M.S. Kannamwar: Bombay Visit Causing Inconvenience	09/03	356

**(r) Northeast**

243.	To Liladhar Kotoki: Assam's Needs	02/02	357
244.	To Y.B. Chavan: Clemency to Assam Regiment Mutineers	09/02	357
245.	To Vishnu Sahay: Assam Regiment Mutineers	09/02	358
246.	To Vishnu Sahay: Controlling Naga Insurgency	16/02	359
247.	Border Roads in Mizo District	19/02	359
248.	To Y.B. Chavan: Leniency to Mizo Mutineers	01/03	359
249.	To Michael Scott: Naga Insurgency	01/03	360
250.	In the Lok Sabha: Naga Insurgents entering India	02/03	361
251.	Responding to Phizo	07/03	365
252.	In the Rajya Sabha: Return of Nagas from Pakistan	19/03	366
253.	On Developing Hill Regions	19/03	367
254.	To G.L. Nanda: Mizo District Plan	19/03	368
255.	To Liladhar Kotoki: Assam Development	25/03	368
256.	In the Lok Sabha: NEFA Administration	29/03	369
257.	To Hokishe Sema: Will Always Consult Nagaland Government	01/04	380
258.	Meeting with Michael Scott	03/04	381
259.	In the Lok Sabha: Naga Raid	08/04	382
260.	In the Lok Sabha: Naga Attacks on Railways	11/04	385

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
261.	In the Rajya Sabha: Letter from Phizo	30/04	390
<b>(s) Orissa</b>			
262.	To Biren Mitra: Locating MIG Factory in Orissa	18/03	392
263.	To Rabindra Mohan Das: Orissa Development	29/04	392
<b>(t) Pondicherry</b>			
264.	Grievances of Pondicherry Councillors	06/02	393
<b>(u) Punjab</b>			
265.	To Partap Singh Kairon: Amritsar Visit	09/02	393
266.	To Partap Singh Kairon: PCC Excitement	14/02	394
267.	To Y.B. Chavan: Manali-Leh Road	14/02	394
268.	To Partap Singh Kairon: PCC Election and Communist Detenus	15/02	395
269.	To Darbara Singh: Congress Factionalism	16/02	395
270.	To Daljit Singh: Sikh MPs	02/03	396
271.	To Kartar Singh: Punjabi Suba Linguistic or Communal	10/03	396
272.	To Partap Singh Kairon: Status of Deputy Speaker	01/04	397
273.	To D. Sanjivayya: Problems in Hissar Congress	10/04	397
274.	To Partap Singh Kairon: Grievances in Hissar Congress	10/04	398
275.	To Darbara Singh: Visit to Panchayat Bhavan at Chandigarh	14/04	398
276.	For the Chandigarh Panchayat Bhavan	14/04	399
277.	To Partap Singh Kairon: Inauguration Bhakra Dam	14/04	399
278.	To Partap Singh Kairon: Durlabh Singh's <i>Indian Observer</i>	15/04	400
279.	To Partap Singh Kairon: Improving the Congress	18/04	400
<b>(v) Rajasthan</b>			
280.	To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Congress Dacoits	01/04	401
<b>(w) Sikkim</b>			
281.	To Tashi Namgyal: Marriage of Maharaj Kumar	05/02	401



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

**(x) Uttar Pradesh**

282.	To C.B. Gupta: Ruining Lucknow Botanical Gardens	12/02	402
283.	To C.B. Gupta: Nehru Gram Bharati at Allahabad	19/02	403
284.	To Ram Subhag Singh: Reclaiming Alkaline Land in UP	02/03	403
285.	To Kailas Nath Kaul: Land for Mechanised Farms	03/03	404
286.	To D. Sanjivayya: Failure in UP	10/03	404
287.	To Ram Subhag Singh: Land Acquisition in Ghaziabad	20/04	405
288.	To C.B. Gupta: Land Acquisition in Ghaziabad	20/04	405

**(y) West Bengal**

289.	To Atulya Ghosh: Visiting Midnapore	27/02	407
290.	To Atulya Ghosh: Bengal Visit	17/03	407

**II. DEVELOPMENT**

**(a) Agriculture**

291.	To S.K. Patil: Bharat Krishak Samaj	02/03	408
292.	To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Andhra-Maharashtra River Waters	08/03	408
293.	To P.S. Deshmukh: Bharat Krishak Samaj Function	10/03	409
294.	To S.K. Patil: P.S. Deshmukh's Response	11/03	410
295.	To P.S. Deshmukh: Explaining Refusal to Inaugurate Function	11/03	410
296.	To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Krishna-Godavari River Waters	15/03	411
297.	To Alexander R. Lawrence: Indian Farming	17/03	411
298.	To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Krishna-Godavari Waters	19/03	412
299.	To S. Nijalingappa: Krishna-Godavari Waters	19/03	412
300.	Journal Issue on Kosi Project	29/03	413
301.	For Seminar on Hill Development	10/04	413
302.	To Ram Subhag Singh: Manure	11/04	414
303.	To P.R. Biyani: Investigating Agricultural Production	16/04	414
304.	To Mohanlal Saksena: Compost	18/04	415
305.	To Shriman Narayan: Bishan Man Singh on Agriculture	19/04	415
306.	To Ram Subhag Singh: Bishan Man Singh	19/04	416
307.	To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Western Kosi Canal	27/04	416

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
308.	To Sivamurthi Swami: Krishna-Godavari Waters	27/04	417
<b>(b) Culture</b>			
309.	To Haroon K. Sherwani: Acknowledging Book	03/02	417
310.	To Sumati Morarji: Poor Script for Gandhi Film	09/02	418
311.	To S.S. Kolkebail: For and Against Prohibition	09/02	419
312.	To R.R. Diwakar: Gandhi Film Script	11/02	420
313.	To P.C. Sen: Nichiketasananda and Suniti Kumar Chatterji	12/02	420
314.	To Nawab Singh Chauhan: Unable to Attend Brij Sammelan	13/02	421
315.	To Anand Kumar: Ram Naresh Tripathi Memorial Book	13/02	422
316.	Message: Translation of Autobiography into Sanskrit	15/02	423
317.	To Vishnu Sahay: E.P. Gee's Book on Wildlife	19/02	424
318.	To K. Ramchandra: Fyaz Ahmed and Niaz Ahmed Khan	25/02	425
319.	To Ananda Mangala: Good Wishes for Wesak	25/02	425
320.	To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Publishing the <i>Rajatarangini</i>	27/02	426
321.	To Morarji Desai: Gold Control and Meenakari	04/03	426
322.	To Taufiq Ahmad Nizami: Critique of Religion	08/03	427
323.	To Roshan Lal Samar: Origin of Mewar Ranas	12/03	427
324.	To A.P. Jain: Mahavir Jayanti	12/03	428
325.	To Vijaya Raje Scindia: Not Time for Yoga Institute	15/03	428
326.	For the <i>Bhoodan Yagna</i>	16/03	429
327.	To Humayun Kabir: Conserving Architecture in Goa	22/03	429
328.	In New Delhi: Awards at the Sahitya Akademi	31/03	429
329.	To P.C. Sen: Jivan Singh and Vinoba Bhave	02/04	432
330.	To P.C. Sen: Mridula Sarabhai and Vinoba Bhave	06/04	432
331.	To Frary von Blomberg: Help to make Film	07/04	433
332.	Exhibition on the Himalayas	09/04	433
333.	To Humayun Kabir: Don't Postpone Orientalists' Conference	10/04	434
334.	Buddha Purnima Day	11/04	434
335.	To S. Radhakrishnan: Raghu Vira Offends Indonesians	12/04	435
336.	To C.B. Gupta: Arya Pratinidhi Sabha Celebrations	13/04	435

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
337.	To P.C. Sen: Restrictions on Jivan Singh and Mridula Sarabhai	13/04	436
338.	To M.S. Kannamwar: Cannot Open <i>Our Himalayas</i> Exhibition	13/04	436
339.	On Rahul Sankritayana	15/04	437
340.	To Roop Narain: Relating Social to Political Work	16/04	437
341.	To K.L. Shrimali: Vishva Ahimsa Sangha	16/04	438
342.	To Mehr Chand Khanna: More Land for Ladakhi Buddhist Vihar	18/04	438
343.	To K.L. Shrimali: More Land for Ladakhi Buddhist Vihar	18/04	439
344.	To Mridula Sarabhai: Meeting Vinoba Bhave	19/04	439
345.	To Jayakanta Mishra: Maithili Books Exhibition	21/04	440
346.	Tribute to Thoreau	21/04	440

### (c) Economy

347.	To Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar: Economic Strategy for Emergency	03/02	441
348.	To Morarji Desai: Serious Foreign Exchange Situation	12/02	441
349.	D.R. Gadgil's Note on Mobilising the Economy for Defence	13/02	442
350.	To Gulzarilal Nanda: Krishnamachari's Notes	02/03	442
351.	To S. Radhakrishnan: Note on Budget	11/03	442
352.	To M.S. Thacker: B.R. Sen's Letter	11/03	443
353.	To Morarji Desai: Anxiety over Super Profits Tax	18/03	443
354.	In the Rajya Sabha: Committee on National Income	19/03	444
355.	To Morarji Desai: Jaipur Jewellers' Plight	22/03	446
356.	To Morarji Desai: Aid for 1963-1964	27/03	446
357.	To P.C. Sen: Indian Statistical Institute	30/03	446
358.	To Morarji Desai: Jewellers' Woes	01/04	447
359.	To Manubhai Shah: Speed of Industrialisation	02/04	447
360.	To Jagjivan Ram: J.R.D. Tata's Ideas on Tourism	05/04	448
361.	To Morarji Desai: J.R.D. Tata's on Travel Comfort for Senior Officials	05/04	449
362.	To Morarji Desai: Unit Trust	05/04	449



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
363.	To Morarji Desai: Gold Enamelling	11/04	450
364.	To Manubhai Shah: Dharma Teja's Ideas on Japan Trade	15/04	450
365.	To N.C. Thimma Reddy: Foreign Investment	27/04	451
366.	To Y.B. Chavan: Students for Border Roads Work	29/04	451

#### **(d) Education**

367.	For the Sri Sarada College for Women Salem	01/02	452
368.	To K.L. Shrimali: Central Universities Reports	05/02	452
369.	To K.L. Shrimali: Use Asadullah Kazmi	09/02	452
370.	To S.R. Das: Student Trouble	19/02	453
371.	In New Delhi: At the Gliding Club	24/02	453
372.	To K.L. Shrimali: Reform in Visva-Bharati	25/02	454
373.	To P.C. Sen: Reform of Sriniketan at Visva-Bharati	25/02	455
374.	To K.L. Shrimali: Productive Work in School	05/03	455
375.	To G.A. Deshpande: Geography Aid	08/03	456
376.	In Bombay: To the SNDT Girls' University	21/03	457
377.	For Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Judges as Vice-Chancellors	25/03	461
378.	To S. Husain Zaheer: Grant to Institute of Mathematical Science	01/04	462
379.	To Morarji Desai: Foreign Exchange for Students	03/04	463
380.	To Dnyanprakash S. Gupta: Visually Challenged Can Do Well	03/04	463
381.	To Shankar Dayal Sharma: Central Advisory Board for Education	05/04	464
382.	To B.F.H.B. Tyabji: Jamal Khwaja	05/04	465
383.	To K.L. Shrimali: Five Year Plan not Children's Reading	08/04	465
384.	For the Rewa Sainik School	15/04	466
385.	To K.L. Shrimali: Teaching French	21/04	466

#### **(e) Health**

386.	To Sushila Nayar: Visiting Soviet Doctors	23/02	467
387.	In New Delhi: To the Chest Diseases Congress	28/02	468
388.	Freedom from Hunger	03/03	469

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
389.	In Bombay: At the Ciba Research Centre	21/03	470
390.	To K.C. Reddy: Patents on Food and Drugs	01/04	471
391.	To K.C. Reddy: Patents Act	03/04	472
392.	In Allahabad: At the Sarojini Naidu Children's Hospital	25/04	472

### **(f) Industry**

393.	To K.D. Malaviya: Expatriates willing to return	05/02	477
394.	To K.C. Reddy: Prices of Wool Products	09/02	478
395.	To T.T. Krishnamachari: Prices of Wool Products	09/02	479
396.	Prices of Wool Products	09/02	480
397.	Looming Monopoly in Wool Production	12/02	481
398.	To K.C. Reddy: Big Industry Monopoly in Wool	12/02	481
399.	To K.D. Malaviya: Shell and <i>Daily Telegraph</i> Intrigues	17/02	482
400.	To K.D. Malaviya: Gujarat Share in Refinery	22/02	482
401.	To K.D. Malaviya: State Shares in Refinery	01/03	483
402.	Accommodation for Factory Workers	08/03	483
403.	For the Calcutta Productivity Council	10/03	484
404.	To K.C. Reddy: Manubhai Shah on Industrial Policy	11/03	484
405.	In New Delhi: To FICCI	16/03	485
406.	To D. Ramaswami: Jayanti Shipping Loan Regular	16/03	493
407.	To B.R. Vats: On <i>Indian Petroleum</i>	17/03	493
408.	In New Delhi: To the All India Manufacturers' Organisation	30/03	494
409.	To Y.B. Chavan: New Airport for Delhi	05/04	502
410.	To Y.B. Chavan: Second Airport for Delhi	11/04	502
411.	To Manubhai Shah: Use Experts not Ignoramuses	12/04	503

### **(g) Science**

412.	To Morarji Desai: Science Research Grants	07/02	504
413.	To Morarji Desai: Science Budget	21/02	504
414.	For the <i>Indian and Eastern Engineer</i>	21/02	505
415.	To H.J. Bhabha: Committee on Scientific Institutes	28/02	505
416.	To S.H. Zaheer: Research Planning	08/03	505
417.	To H. J. Bhabha: Scientists' Committee for Science Budget	17/03	506



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
418.	To Husain Zaheer: Scientific Advisers	17/03	507
419.	In the Lok Sabha: Atomic Energy	25/03	507
420.	Science Research Committee	28/03	516
421.	To M.S. Kannamwar: More Land for Trombay Establishment	28/03	517
422.	In New Delhi: To the Aeronautical Society	04/04	517
423.	To Subodh K. Ghose: Rain-Making	05/04	519
424.	To Y.B. Chavan: Science Committee to include Defence	11/04	519
425.	To H.J. Bhabha: Science Committee with Defence Research	11/04	520
426.	To S.H. Zaheer: Science Research Committee	13/04	520

#### **(h) Urban Development**

427.	To Partap Singh Kairon: Le Corbusier's Dues	09/02	521
------	---	-------	-----

#### **(i) Welfare**

428.	To Manmohini Sahgal: Funds for Arya Anathalaya	23/02	521
429.	Child Welfare	22/03	522
430.	To Mehr Chand Khanna: Land for Cooperation Institute	08/04	522

### **III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**

#### **(a) General**

431.	For the <i>Chicago Sun-Times</i> : US Aid and Non-Alignment	04/02	524
432.	To A.C. Guha: No Air Umbrella by USA and UK	05/02	527
433.	To Hamilton Fish Armstrong: Article for <i>Foreign Affairs</i>	06/02	527
434.	Article in <i>Foreign Affairs</i>	06/02	528
435.	To Gamel Abdel Nasser: World Politics	12/02	539
436.	To Josip Broz Tito: World Politics	12/02	541
437.	To Walter Galahad: Cuba	14/02	542
438.	To Krishna Dave: Corrections on Note of Talks with Reed and Ullyot	20/02	543
439.	To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Greece Unhappy with Khosla	22/02	543

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
440.	In the Rajya Sabha: Room for Biju Patnaik in MEA	27/02	544
441.	To Chaman Lall: World Peace Conference	25/03	547
442.	To Norodom Sihanouk: Kind Words	25/03	547
443.	To Subah Al-Ahmad Al-Subah: Diplomatic Ties with Kuwait	27/03	548
444.	To S.R. Das: ILO Commission	29/03	549
445.	To Maya Devi Chettry: Peace Committee	10/04	550
446.	To David Hicks: Suggestions Good	13/04	550
447.	To S. Radhakrishnan: Take IFS People on Iran and Afghanistan Tour	14/04	551
448.	To S. Radhakrishnan: Taking Diplomats to Iran	15/04	551
449.	To S.K. Patil: Afro-Asian Rural Reconstruction Organisation	15/04	552
450.	To N.R. Deshpande: Explaining Non-Alignment	15/04	552
451.	For the Afro-Asian Rural Reconstruction Organisation	16/04	553

### **(b) Africa**

452.	To Abubakar Tafawa Balewa: Nigeria in Commonwealth	27/03	553
453.	To Chaman Lall: Interfering in Kenya Elections	02/04	554
454.	To Julius K. Nyerere: Rhodesia	18/04	555

### **(c) Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee**

455.	To Walter Nash: Afro-Asian Conference	05/02	556
456.	To Vidya Charan Shukla: Attending Moshi and Other Conferences	23/02	557
457.	To Raghunath Singh: Moshi Conference	23/02	557
458.	In the Rajya Sabha: Moshi Conference	27/02	558
459.	To Rameshwari Nehru: Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee Dubious	10/04	561

### **(d) Ceylon**

460.	To P.C. Sen: Calcutta Press on Sirimavo Bandaranaike	02/02	561
461.	To Sirimavo Bandaranaike: Negative Press	12/02	562

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
<b>(e) China</b>			
462.	To Josip Broz Tito: After the Chinese Invasion	01/02	563
463.	To Chief Ministers	02/02	565
464.	To V.N. Datta: Explaining Position on China	02/02	572
465.	For the <i>Guardian</i> : Not much Chance of Peace Talks	04/02	574
466.	To Presspersons from Greece	06/02	575
467.	To P.R. Biyani: No Foreign Troops	07/02	577
468.	To S.G. Kini: No Commonwealth Action Against China	09/02	578
469.	To Louis Mountbatten: Defence Preparedness	09/02	578
470.	K. Chandrasekharan on China's Scientific Base	13/02	579
471.	Discrimination against Chinese	16/02	580
472.	To Ganesha Singh Pakhtoon: China's Motives	16/02	582
473.	To Mohammed Daoud: China Obstructive	19/02	582
474.	To Shankerrao Deo: Friendship March to Peking	22/02	583
475.	To T. T. Krishnamachari: Sudhir Ghosh's Letter from Moscow	23/02	584
476.	For the Speaker: Pakistan-China Border Agreement	23/02	584
477.	In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Forces in Ladakh	25/02	585
478.	In the Lok Sabha: Pakistan-China Border Agreement	25/02	590
479.	In the Lok Sabha: Civil Administration in NEFA	25/02	594
480.	In the Rajya Sabha: Passport for Vinoba Bhave for Peking	27/02	599
481.	To Sundarlal: Friendship March to Peking	01/03	601
482.	To N.C. Thimma Reddy: Air Umbrella	01/03	601
483.	To S.N. Dwivedy: Hague Court or Arbitration	02/03	602
484.	Hague Court and Arbitration	02/03	603
485.	To Bertrand Russell: Meeting British Peace Movement Members	03/03	604
486.	To R.R. Diwakar: Hosting British Peace Movement Members	04/03	605
487.	In the Lok Sabha: Sino-Pakistan Border Agreement	05/03	605
488.	To Chou En-lai	05/03	612
489.	To Mahavir Tyagi: Action over Chinese Malayans Wrong	08/03	615
490.	Discrimination Against Chinese Origin Persons	08/03	615



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
491.	To Sundarlal: Peking Friendship March	12/03	616
492.	In the Rajya Sabha: Psychological Warfare	19/03	616
493.	In the Lok Sabha: China Policy	19/03	617
494.	In Bombay: China Policy	20/03	642
495.	In Bombay: Why China Attacked	20/03	645
496.	In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Troops in Tibet	23/03	648
497.	To R.G. Menzies: Updating on China War	23/03	654
498.	To Rana Satya Paul: Book on Border Dispute	02/04	655
499.	To N. Sri Rama Reddi: South East Asia Policy and China	02/04	655
500.	In the Lok Sabha: Prisoners of War in China	03/04	656
501.	At the AICC	06/04	661
502.	To C.B. Gupta: Leave Peace Marchers in Peace	06/04	663
503.	Arrest of Dudjoma Rimpoche	06/04	663
504.	To H. B. Keight: Non-Alignment Remains	07/04	665
505.	In Abusa: Economic and Military Development	25/04	666
506.	In Digha: Economic and Military Development	28/04	667

#### **(f) Colombo Proposals**

507.	To A.E. Wickremasinghe	14/02	669
508.	In the Rajya Sabha	19/02	669
509.	To Kwame Nkrumah	19/02	673
510.	In the Lok Sabha	25/02	674
511.	To Ne Win: Visit to India	07/04	682
512.	To Achmed Soekarno	07/04	683
513.	To Kwame Nkrumah	08/04	684
514.	To Bertrand Russell	09/04	685
515.	To Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike	09/04	686

#### **(g) Egypt**

516.	Military Manufacture Collaboration with Egypt	18/03	688
------	---	-------	-----

#### **(h) Middle East**

517.	To Abdulla Al-Salia Al-Sabah: Visit to India	07/04	689
------	--	-------	-----



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
518.	To Ahmed Hassan El-Feki: Welcoming Federal State	13/04	689
519.	To Gamal Abdel Nasser: The World Situation	14/04	690
520.	UAR Federation	17/04	691

### **(i) Nepal**

521.	To M.S. Golwalkar: Relations with Nepal	01/03	692
------	---	-------	-----

### **(j) Pakistan**

522.	To Rajendra Prasad: Kashmir and Arbitration	06/02	692
523.	To John F. Kennedy: Kashmir	16/02	693
524.	In the Rajya Sabha: Release of Colonel Bhattacharya	19/02	695
525.	To E. Habibullah: India-Pakistan Federation	20/02	698
526.	To Ganesha Singh Pakhtoon: Meeting Ayub Khan	08/03	698
527.	For <i>The New York Times</i>	16/04	699
528.	To Howard d'Egville: China and Pakistan	26/04	701
529.	Statement on Ayub Khan	30/04	702

### **(k) South East Asia**

530.	To Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra: Formation of Malaysia	05/04	703
531.	To Tunku Abdul Rahman: S.S. Khera's Visit to Malaya	14/04	704
532.	Talk with Thanet Khoman	15/04	705
533.	To Norodom Sihanouk: Cambodian Neutrality	20/04	707
534.	To Souvanna Phouma: End Conflict	30/04	708

### **(l) Tibet**

535.	To Jayaprakash Narayan: Dalai Lama and Tibet	21/04	709
------	--	-------	-----

### **(m) UK**

536.	To Y.B. Chavan: Guard of Honour for Mountbatten	05/04	709
537.	Meeting with Paul Gore-Booth	09/04	710
538.	To M.C. Chagla: Don't Invite Alec Douglas-Home	20/04	710
539.	To Harold Macmillan: Partition of Kashmir	21/04	711

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

### **(m1) Mountbatten Visit**

540.	To Paul Gore-Booth: Mountbatten's Visit	08/03	714
541.	To S. Radhakrishnan: Mountbatten's Visit	08/03	715
542.	To Y.B. Chavan: Mountbatten Meetings	08/03	715
543.	To Louis Mountbatten: Visit to India	26/03	716
544.	To Louis Mountbatten: Programme in India	02/04	717
545.	To Y.B. Chavan: Mountbatten Visit	02/04	717

### **(n) USA**

546.	To J.K. Galbraith: US Invitation to S. Radhakrishnan	16/02	718
547.	To Henry R. Luce: Invitation to <i>Time</i> Anniversary	23/02	718
548.	US Military Aid	05/03	719
549.	To the Rockefeller Foundation	29/03	720
550.	For MEA Officials: Meeting with W.W. Rostow	01/04	720
551.	To John F. Kennedy: Partition of Kashmir	21/04	722

### **(o) USSR**

552.	To I. A. Benediktov: <i>Mahabharata</i> Translation	20/02	726
553.	For the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society	16/03	726
554.	For the Düsseldorf <i>Industriekurier</i> : Soviet-Chinese Relations	06/04	727
555.	To M.C. Chagla: Roy Thomson's Projects	08/04	727
556.	On Anniversary of Gagarin's Space Flight	09/04	728

## **IV. MISCELLANEOUS**

557.	To G.J. Watumull: Attending Awards Function	06/02	729
558.	To Sean T. O'Kelly: China Conflict	08/02	729
559.	To Donald G. Brownlow: Explaining Chinese Attack	09/02	730
560.	To H.N. Mukherjee: Condolences on Mother's Death	11/02	731
561.	To Sylvia Watkins: Response to Chinese Invasion Good	11/02	732
562.	To M.O. Mathai: Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Fund	14/02	732
563.	To Ernst Katscher: Promoting Peace	28/02	733
564.	To D.G. Tendulkar: Good Papaya	16/03	733
565.	To M.M. Choudhury: <i>Autobiography</i> in Assamese	17/03	734

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
566.	To Bhakt Darshan: Security of Barahoti	19/03	734
567.	To Jamal Khwaja: Good Wishes	25/03	735
568.	To Gilbert Young: World Government	28/03	735
569.	To Ernest Dale: Negrin of Spanish Republic	31/03	736
570.	Negrin of the Spanish Republic	31/03	736
571.	To Jayaprakash Narayan: Meeting Hugh Schonfield	01/04	737
572.	To Bibhu Nath Ghose: Cannot Write Foreword	01/04	737
573.	To Prithvi Singh: Look after the Border Areas	02/04	738
574.	To E.M. Swangard: Centennial Pacific Trade Centre in Vancouver	04/04	739
575.	To Arun Gandhi: Advice not to be negative	08/04	739
576.	To N.W. Barritt: Health	08/04	740
577.	To D.G. Tendulkar: Book Plans	13/04	740
578.	To D.G. Tendulkar: French Edition of Mahatma	14/04	741
579.	To Joseph C. Diaz: India's Strategy	14/04	741
580.	To Sharaf Athar Ali: Settling with Pakistan	15/04	742
581.	To L.M. Sanghvi: Kumar Bihari Rohatgi's Death	16/04	742
582.	To Satyendra Narayan Agrawal: Sudhavati's Death	26/04	743
583.	To Ronald Frieze: Cannot Write for Book	29/04	743

## V. APPENDICES

1.	From Josip Broz Tito: Chinese Invasion	15/01	744
2.	From Pushpa Krishnan: Wrongful Detention of M.S. Krishnan	30/01	746
3.	From S.A. Dange: A Sick Communist in Prison	01/02	747
4.	From Mohanlal Saxena: People's Movement	04/02	748
5.	From E. Goubert: Problems of Integration	05/02	749
6.	From John F. Kennedy: Settle Kashmir	07/02	753
7.	From Morarji Desai: Science Research Grants	07/02	755
8.	From V. K. Krishna Menon: National Defence College	07/02	756
9.	From Mahavir Tyagi: Expenses on Rihand Dam Inauguration	08/02	757
10.	From Partap Singh Kairon: Punjab Visit	08/02	757
11.	From Kolla Venkaiah: Release for Parliament Session	09/02	758
12.	From K.N. Kaul: Ruining Lucknow Botanical Gardens	11/02	759



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
13.	From Sirimavo Bandaranaike: Negative Press Reports	11/02	760
14.	From Bertrand Russell: Settle with Phizo	12/02	761
15.	From T.T. Krishnamachari: Reorganization for Coordination	13/02	762
16.	From T.T. Krishnamachari: Access to Defence Factories	13/02	763
17.	From the Communist Group in Parliament	15/02	764
18.	From K.D. Malaviya: Shell and <i>Daily Telegraph</i> Intrigues	17/02	765
19.	From Syed Jafer Imam: Fitness for Office	19/02	767
20.	From Sudhir Ghosh: Talk with US Ambassador in Moscow	20/02	768
21.	From J.K. Galbraith: Delegation to US	23/02	770
22.	From K. D. Malaviya: State Shares in Refinery	24/02	772
23.	From S.H. Butani: Meeting Sindhis	26/02	772
24.	From Bertrand Russell: Meeting British Peace Movement Members	26/02	773
25.	From S.N. Dwivedy: Hague Court and Arbitration	02/03	774
26.	From Chou En-lai	03/03	775
27.	From Morarji Desai: Allegations against Birlas	06/03	777
28.	From Morarji Desai: Creating the Unit Trust	06/03	779
29.	From Mahavir Tyagi: Action over Chinese Malayans Wrong	08/03	780
30.	From S.K. Patil: Bharat Krishak Samaj	09/03	781
31.	From John F. Kennedy: Give Pakistan a Position in Kashmir	09/03	782
32.	From Bertrand Russell: British Peace Movement Members Visit	11/03	783
33.	From Manubhai Shah: Industrial Policy Faltering	11/03	784
34.	From K.C. Reddy: Reorganisation for Effective Industrial Policy	12/03	786
35.	From B.P. Chaliha: Deporting Pakistanis from Assam	12/03	787
36.	From S. Nijalingappa: Krishna-Godavari Waters	16/03	788
37.	From Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra: Formation of Malaysia	18/03	789
38.	From Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Krishna-Godavari Waters	19/03	792



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
39.	D.R. Gadgil on Vivian Bose Report	[not later than 19 March 1963]	793
40.	From Bertrand Russell: Make Concessions for Negotiation	19/03	797
41.	From A.P. Jain: Biju Patnaik on Defence	22/03	798
42.	From Mahavir Tyagi: Patnaik Interview in Washington	23/03	799
43.	From Mahavir Tyagi: Don't Abandon Hills to China	23/03	799
44.	From J.K. Galbraith: US Strategy on Kashmir	25/03	800
45.	From K. C. Reddy: Industrialisation	25/03	803
46.	From Morarji Desai: Aid for 1963-1964	27/03	806
47.	From Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Intrigues by Governor's Staff	28/03	808
48.	From Sapurnanand: Enamelled Gold Jewellery	28/03	809
49.	From Morarji Desai: Gold Control and Jewellers	01/04	810
50.	From Sunderlal: Abul Kalam Azad's Works	01/04	811
51.	From Jagjivan Ram: American TV Programme on India	03/04	812
52.	From M.C. Chagla: Roy Thomson on Khrushchev	05/04	813
53.	From Julius Nyerere: Rhodesia	06/04	814
54.	From A.P. Jain: Resignation	08/04	818
55.	From Kwame Nkrumah: Colombo Proposals	08/04	818
56.	From Atulya Ghosh to S.N. Sinha: Panjhazari Misdemeanour	08/04	819
57.	From Harold Macmillan: Talks with Pakistan	09/04	820
58.	From C.B. Gupta: A.P. Jain's Charges	09/04	821
59.	From Morarji Desai: Restricting Gold Use	11/04	822
60.	From Morarji Desai: Travel Comfort for Senior Officials	12/04	823
61.	From Raghu Vira: Democracy and Indian Languages	14/04	824
62.	From Panjabrao Deshmukh: Afro-Asian Rural Re-construction Organisation	15/04	825
63.	From Manubhai Shah to Dharma Teja: Japan Trade	15/04	827
64.	From Humayun Kabir: Reduced Budget for Culture	15/04	829
65.	From C. Rajagopalachari: Constitutional Amendment on Language	18/04	829
66.	From Chou En-lai	20/04	830

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
67.	From M.C. Chagla: US and UK Kashmir Plan	22/04	835
68.	From N.C. Thimma Reddy: Foreign Investment	26/04	837
	<i>Glossary</i>		839
	<i>Index</i>		843

### *Maps*

- I. *Northern Frontier of India*
- II. *Inset A from Map Northern Frontier of India*
- III. *Inset B from Map Northern Frontier of India*
- IV. *Inset C from Map Northern Frontier of India*
- V. *Political Map of India, fold out*

## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

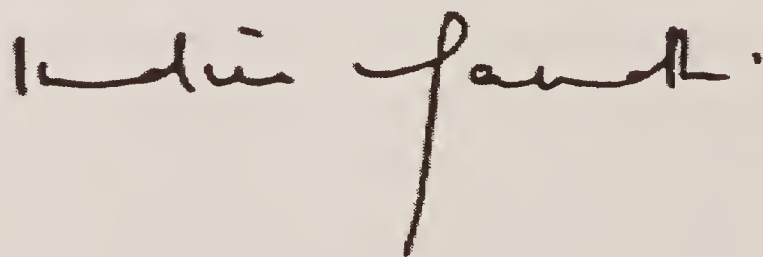
No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His



struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long vertical stroke extending downwards from the end of the name.

New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund



## EDITORIAL NOTE

The effect of the war with China remains a dominant theme. Nehru ceaselessly reminds the people that economic development should not be sacrificed or slowed down for the sake of defence, indeed, that sustained economic development is essential to defence. It became urgent as taxation mounted and he had to exhort the people to bear the burden resolutely. At the same time, he had to beat off corruption and reprimand Chief Ministers for their coercive methods of extracting contributions to the National Defence Fund. China remained obdurate as ever by refusing to accept the Colombo Proposals and Pakistan and China needled India by signing a border agreement while the Indo-Pakistan talks were going on. As the rift between the Soviet Union and China widens, the US-Commonwealth military aid efforts slows down. It was a difficult time but Nehru pursues his objectives with the energy and clarity of purpose that were characteristic of him.

Some of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to personal friends, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore, these have either been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons or his full name has been used, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the Selected Works appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. Maps of the boundary between India and China

have been reproduce from official documents and are placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want one.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to The Hindu, the National Herald, Shankar's Weekly, and in particular to the late R.K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it gives me great pleasure to thank those who contributed to preparing this volume for publication, most of all Bibhu Prasad Mohapatra. The Hindi texts have been edited by Mohammed Khalid Ansari, and the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari.

Madhavan K. Palat







## **I. POLITICS**

### **(a) General**

#### **1. To Y.B. Chavan: Arms Collection from Morvi<sup>1</sup>**

4th February, 1963

My dear Chavan,

This morning the Maharajkumar of Morvi,<sup>2</sup> a young boy, came to see me and gave me the enclosed letter. I told him that most of these private collections were out of date and suitable for museums. He made out that many of the weapons were quite useful now. Anyhow, it might be worthwhile for some officer of yours to go and have a look at them and report to you.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **2. Republic Day March Past Shabby<sup>3</sup>**

The Republic Day went off well except for the "other citizens" and possibly some trade unions. It ended up rather poorly and almost as a rebel. Some better arrangements should be made next year. While we cannot expect the civil part to march in step, etc., they should certainly be asked to march in regular lines.

I think that the most unfortunate feature of the parade was the long gap between different participants. Partly at least this was due to a deliberate attempt to have these gaps, why, I do not understand. I was told that they were trying to keep gaps of 200 to 300 yards. This I think is wrong. The gap should not exceed ten yards or so.<sup>4</sup>

1. Letter to the Defence Minister.
2. Mayurdhwaj (1953-1978).
3. Note, for Y.B. Chavan, Defence Minister, 5 February 1963.
4. See SWJN/SS/80/items 313, 336, 372 and appendix 12.

### 3. To V.K. Krishna Menon: National Defence College<sup>5</sup>

February 8, 1963

My dear Krishna,

You wrote to me on the 7th February about the closing down of the National Defence College.<sup>6</sup> I referred your letter to the Defence Minister.<sup>7</sup> He has replied to me to say that owing to the great demand for officers due to the Emergency and the difficulty of sparing an adequate number of officers of calibre for the college, it was decided to suspend the College for the present. This decision will, no doubt, be reviewed at the earliest opportunity.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 4. To Mahavir Tyagi: Expenses on Rihand Dam Inauguration<sup>8</sup>

February 9, 1963

My dear Mahavir,

I have your letter of February 8, about the inauguration ceremony at Rihand Dam.<sup>9</sup> The expenditure incurred on it might perhaps have been reduced. But I suppose a good part of it was inevitable. This was a big function at which Ambassadors and others had been invited. One or two persons had come all the way from America and England in order to attend it. The function had been delayed for a little over a year, repeatedly dates had been fixed, but they had to be postponed.

I agree with you that many such ceremonies are not necessary nowadays. This particular one had a certain significance. It was the first big hydro-electric scheme in the UP in an out-of-the way part of the State. It was important enough to attract people, as I have said above, from other countries.

I do not see how and why I should express my regret. It was not because of that the expenditure was incurred, and I did not cost the State anything except

5. Letter to the former Defence Minister; address: 19 Teen Murti Marg, New Delhi.

6. Appendix 8.

7. Y.B. Chavan.

8. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 16 Dr Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi. PMS, File No. 8/234/62 PMP; also, NMML, Mahavir Tyagi Papers.

9. See appendix 9.

perhaps a lunch and some petrol for cars. How am I to send a cheque to the Government of UP for this purpose?

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To T.T. Krishnamachari: Coordination of Ministries<sup>10</sup>

February 12, 1963

My dear T.T.,

I enclose a draft note for the Cabinet Secretary. If you approve of it, I shall send it to the Cabinet Secretary.<sup>11</sup>

I am sending copies of this note to the Home Minister and the Defence Minister also.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### ENCLOSURE

#### Draft Note for Cabinet Secretary<sup>12</sup>

In view of the great importance of defence production of various kinds, it is necessary for special attention to be paid to this. At present, the Defence Ministry and the Minister of Economic and defence coordination are both concerned with defence production. I think that in order to bring about full coordination between them, and otherwise to expedite decisions and have them implemented, a Committee of the Cabinet should be formed. This Committee should consist of the Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination, Minister of Defence and the Home Minister.

10. Letter to the Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination. NMML, T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, File 1963, Auto.

11. For T.T. Krishnamachari's reponse, see appendix 16.

12. Undated. NMML, T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, File 1963, Auto.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Committee will consider all aspects of Defence production including any reorganisation that may be considered necessary. They will also consider the use of civil industry for purposes of Defence Production.<sup>13</sup>

J. Nehru

### 6. To Asoke Kumar Sen: Bye-Elections<sup>14</sup>

February 12, 1963

My dear Asoke,

I wanted to mention to the Cabinet today about the bye-elections which have been held up for a long time. Unfortunately, I forgot to do so. I think we should definitely take a decision now or soon. Otherwise it will not be possible to hold them in the very hot weather or the rainy season. Could you please bring the matter up, and have a note written about it, at the next meeting of the Cabinet on the 17th?

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 7. To T.T. Krishnamachari: Reorganisation and Access to Defence Factories<sup>15</sup>

February 13, 1963

My dear TT,

Thank you for your two letters of February 13.

As for the long letter, it deals with a great deal of reorganisation.<sup>16</sup> I had once rather hurriedly seen this list, but I had not given any thought to it as I was

13. On 13 February 1963, Nehru sent a Note to the Cabinet Secretary, reproducing this draft but adding the following two paragraphs, included in T.T. Krishnamachari's response of 13 February 1963:

“3. The members of the Committee will have free access to the factories and plants dealing with Defence production.

4. The committee may also consider, to the extent considered necessary by them, the question of Defence Provisioning.” NMML, T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, File 1963, copy.

14. Letter to the Law Minister.

15. Letter to the Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination.

16. See appendix 15.

thinking that you were discussing it with Lal Bahadur. I should like to consider it carefully and discuss it with you and perhaps with some others. I shall fix a time for this fairly soon. I think, however, that we need not delay the other matter about which I sent you a draft note. I am, therefore, sending the note to the Cabinet Secretary, adding to it the following: -

“The members of the committee will have free access to the factories and plants dealing with Defence production.

The committee may also consider, to the extent considered necessary by them, the, question of Defence provisioning.”<sup>17</sup>

As a result of the visit of the Anglo-American team here, and otherwise also, many matters have to be decided soon. That is why I am expediting this decision.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 8. To N.M.R. Subbaraman: Finding Oneself<sup>18</sup>

February 15, 1963

Dear Subbaraman,

I have your letter of the 12th February.

It is a little difficult for me to explain what I said at the meeting. The phrase, that one should find oneself, is fairly well-known in English. Briefly, it means that a person or a nation should discover what it really is and stands for. We are apt to forget this often and think and live superficially. Trials and sufferings make us a little more cognizant of what we stand for.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

17. For both the draft note and this addition, see item 5.

18. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: “Ravi”, Vallabhai Road, Chokkikulam, Madurai 2.

## 9. To Thomas Pothacamury: Violet Alva Deputy Chairman Rajya Sabha<sup>19</sup>

February 16, 1963

My dear Archbishop,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th February. Shri Datar's<sup>20</sup> death was indeed a shock to us. He did his work here as Minister with great conscientiousness and application and we shall miss him very much.

As for your suggestion about Mrs Violet Alva, she is the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, which is a very responsible post. It would probably not be proper for us to remove her from that post.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 10. To K.D. Malaviya: Move Hajarnavis to Home Ministry<sup>21</sup>

February 17, 1963

My dear Keshava Deva,

The death of B.N. Datar, who was Minister<sup>22</sup> in the Home Ministry, has deprived Lal Bahadur of a person who helped him greatly. This has cast an additional load of work on him although he was overworked already, and also, he does not keep good health. I am anxious to give him someone else to help him.

After giving some thought to his matter, I think Hajarnavis,<sup>23</sup> who is your Deputy Minister, would be able to give him adequate help. Hajarnavis's legal training would be particularly useful in the Home Ministry.

Hajarnavis is your Deputy Minister now. I hope you will agree to my transferring him to Home Ministry. Instead of him, you can choose someone else. But I would not like to add to the number of Ministers and Deputy

19. Letter to the Archbishop of Bangalore.

20. B.N. Datar, Minister of State, Home Ministry.

21. Letter to the Minister of Mines and Fuel. NMML, K.D. Malaviya Papers.

22. Minister of State.

23. R.M. Hajarnavis.



Ministers. Therefore, I would prefer your choosing someone who is already a Deputy Minister.<sup>24</sup>

Yours Affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 11. In New Delhi: At the CPP<sup>25</sup>

साथियो: पहले दो हमारे साथी गुजर गये उनके लिए हमें कुछ अफसोस दिखाना है। एक तो श्री मूलचन्द दुबे और दूसरे श्री बी० एन० दातार। तो खड़े जो जायें, we shall stand up एक हमारे नये member हुए है यानि हमारी पार्टी में नये आये हैं, राज्य सभा के सदस्य थे और हैं श्री बीरेन राय। कहाँ हैं श्री बीरेन राय। ये क्या हो गया। एक हमारे पुराने साथी श्री हीरालाल जी, हमारे दफ्तर में काम करते थे यहाँ पहले, 14 वर्ष तक, अब बो, अब से मतलब पिछले बरस बो पंजाब असैम्बली के मैम्बर हो गये हैं। तो आपको नमस्कार करना चाहते हैं बस। साथियों, थोड़े ही दिन हुए हम सब मिले थे तीन हफ्ते हुए करीब और जाने के पहले कुछ देर तक यहाँ मिले थे मैंने भी आप से कुछ कहा था। तो इस तीन हफ्ते का मैं आपको क्या बताऊँ क्या आस-पास बातें हुई, कुछ तो शायद दोहराना पड़े जो मैंने उस वक्त कहा था, मेरा विचार है कि दोहराने की जरूरत है, हमें हमेशा याद रखने की। हमारे सामने बड़े सवाल, सबसे बड़े सवाल चीनी आक्रमण के थे और वो हैं। और पिछली बार जो हम मिले थे, 5-6 रोज के लिए और लम्बी बहस हुई थी, लोकसभा में और राज्यसभा में भी कोलम्बो proposals जो कहलाते हैं, उसके ऊपर, उनके ऊपर। उस बहस के बाद हमने Ceylon की सरकार को सूचना दी थी कि हम उन कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों को स्वीकार करते हैं। उनके प्रस्तावों को और उनके साथ जो उनको समझने के लिए हमें बताया था। उस वक्त से अब से अब तक चीनी गवर्नमेंट का कोई जबाब उसका नहीं मिला। हमारे और चीन की गवर्नमेंट के बीच में उसके बारे में कोई बातचीत हुई नहीं है। हमने कोलम्बो की सरकार को लिखा और उन्होंने बताया हमको लेकिन जो कुछ चीनी अधिकारियों ने कहा है, उससे अब तक जाहिर होता है कि वो उसको पूरी तौर से स्वीकार नहीं करते। पहले तो धूमधाम हुई थी कहा गया था कि उन्होंने उसूलन सिद्धान्त रूप से उसे स्वीकार कर लिया है, लेकिन सिद्धान्त रूप से करने पर भी उन्होंने नहीं किया है। यानि उसकी खास खास बातें नहीं स्वीकार की हैं। तो वो बात अब तक वहीं अटकी हुई और मैं नहीं जानता उस बारे में कोलम्बो बाज़ क्या करेंगे, या चीनी गवर्नमेंट क्या करेगी। हमने, हमें जो कुछ कहना था कह दिया और कोई ज्यादा हमने कहना नहीं है। उसके बारे

24. See also item 13.

25. Speech, 17 February 1963. NMML, AICC Tapes, Tape No. M 68 C(ii), 68 (iii), M 66 (ii).

में । और हमें अपने मुल्क में तैयारी पूरी जारी रखनी हैं । जो भी कुछ हो उसके लिए तैयार होना चाहिए क्योंकि जैसा मैंने आपसे पहले भी इशारा किया था, ये बात लम्बी है, मेरा मतलब ये नहीं कि हर वक्त लड़ाई होती रहेगी चीन से, लेकिन जो उसके पीछे बातें हैं, गहरी हैं और लम्बी हैं, और ये समझना कि एक दम से वो सब हल हो जायगा, ये गलत होगा । चुनांचे इस बोझ को हमने उठाना है, अपने मुल्क को तैयार करना है फौजी तरीके से और आर्थिक तरीके से । क्योंकि आजकल की फौज, एक देश में जो आर्थिक हालत है उस वर बिल्कुल दारोमदार होता है । फौज, वो जमाना गया कि पुराना feudal जमाना था कि जब हम हरेक आदमी से कहें कि अपने घर में जो कुछ हथियार हैं ले आये फौज बनाके हम बढ़े आगे । चुनांचे तैयारी जारी रहेगी । हो, जो रही है, जारी रहेगी । और तैयारी ऐसे उसमें पेंच हो गये हैं कि तैयारी के माने ये हो गये है अलावा कुछ फौजी सामान लाने के या बनवाने के, कि हम अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति को मजबूत करें । हम, जो हमें हथियार चाहिए, कोशिश करें हम उन्हें यही बनाने की । और जो जिस तरह से देश मजबूत होते हे । जिसके लिए हमने पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ बनायीं थी । हमने कोई लड़ने के लिए नहीं बनायी थी ।, लेकिन देश को मजबूत करने के लिए, देश को खुशहाल करने के लिए और उसका नतीजा होता है कि देश लड़ाई के लिए भी ज्यादा मजबूत हो जाता है : चुनांचे वो सब बातें करनी हैं । थोड़े ही दिनों में आपके सामने बजट आयेगा, और उस पर भी विचार आप करेंगे । शायद उसमें भी कुछ इशारा हो, कि कित्ते बोझ हमने उठाने हैं, क्योंकि मजबूरी हैं, उसमें कोई बहुत गुंजाइश नहीं है हाँ या ना कहने की, ये बात हमें करनी ही होती है । जब देश खतरे में हो तो सब बोझ उठाने ही पड़ते हैं । एक तरफ से हमारे सिपाही अप्सर बगैरा अपनी जान पे खेलते हैं । तो जो लोग घर पे हैं कम से कम उनको अपने पैसे से ही कुछ फैयाजी दिखानी होती है, तकलीफ उठानी ही पड़ती है । तो ये बात है । और क्योंकि मैं आपसे फिर कह दूँ चीन और हिन्दुस्तान का जो मामला है, यह समझना ये कुछ जमीन का मामला है हमारी सीमा के पास इधर, ये जमीन का मामला तो है ही लेकिन ये कोई उसका जवाब नहीं है, या में समझता हूँ बुनियादी तौर से महज़ जमीन के लालच में, ये हमला हमारे ऊपर हुआ है । इसके पीछे और बातें हैं और असली बुनियादी बातें तो सारे उस पर ऐसी हैं जिससे मालूम होता है कि चीन का जो अन्दाजा है आजकल दुनिया का, उससे निकलती है । यानि world view जो चीन का है उससे निकलती है और उस world view में उसको क्या करना है हिन्दुस्तान के निस्वत वो बात निकलती हैं, क्योंकि चीन बड़ा देश है, जवरदस्त देश है और बड़ी दूर तक देखता है । दूर तक अपनी ताकत को बढ़ाने के लिए और औरों को, और देशों को अपने मातहत नहीं डालने को शायद लेकिन फिर भी अपने कुछ दबाब में रखने के लिए, प्रभाव में । और क्या कहते हैं वो ठीक है प्रभाव का शब्द, अपने influence में अपने, यानि उनके माने ये है कि उनकी मर्जी के खिलाफ न करे कोई, जैसे areas of influence होते हैं । सारे एशिया में अपने influence के, ये समझता हैं । खैर और भी बहुत बातें हैं । ओर उनमें एक ये भी बड़ी बात है कि चीन में और रूस में अनबन बढ़ती जाती हैं, कभी कभी आप देखेंगे कोई बयान होता है रूस से या कहीं से, अब आप उसको तो देखते हैं कि इसमें उन्होंने इशारा किया कि चीन



के दोस्त हैं, ये बातें, ऐसे बयान तो होते ही हैं, मुल्कों में, लेकिन वाक्या ये है कि अनबन उनकी बढ़ती हैं, वो नहीं, इसलिए नही महज कि कोई समझ जाता है कि साम्यवाद मे communism के दो माने कहलाते हैं, एक ideological बहस हैं, ये ideological वहस बगैरा पहना दी जाती है, जब जरूरत होती है अपने माने देने किसी को यानि कौमी जो बातें होती हैं एक मुल्क के लिए, वो मजबूरन ideological बहस उनको पहना देती हैं। फायदा उठाती हैं। और वाक्या ये है कि कौमी सी बातें होती हैं national interest में मुठभेड़ है। उनमें और हल नही होगी, ये और बात है कि उसको चलाते जाये कुछ दिन तक ऐसे ही लेकिन हल नहीं होती हैं वो कुछ दूर होती जायेगी। और वो तो है ही बात। और आपने अभी थोड़े ही दिन हुए सुना होगा, ईराक में एक फिर से क्रांति हुई, इन्कलाब हुआ, उलट-फेर इन सब बातों से ज़रा आप गौर करे कि जो एशिया में देश हैं, सभी देशों की निस्वत कहा जा सकता हैं, सिवाय जापान के और चीन तो खैर दूसरे डंग को देश है, उनमें ऊंचनीच कित्ती होती जाती हैं। अक्सर देशों में बिल्कुल उलटफेर हो गया हैं, गवर्नमेंट बदल गयी हैं और जो हमारी प्रजातंत्र की गवर्नमेंट थी democratic थी वो नहीं रहीं, जहाँ शुरू भी हुई थी, कही रखी ही नहीं गयीं शुरू से, कहीं कोई देश बहुत मजबूती से जमता नजर नहीं आता है। अच्छा हो अगर हम कभी कभी मुकाबला करे, अपने देश का और और एशिया के देशो का बुराई-भलाई की वजह से नहीं, मैं नहीं कहता कि हम अच्छे हैं औरों से इसमे भी काफी कमजोरियाँ हैं ऐब हैं, लेकिन महज इस 15-16 बरस के इतिहास से उनका, इतिहास क्या हुआ, हमारा क्या हुआ, और किस तरह से कमबेश हमारे यहां की सारी समाज और हुकूमत, एक मजबूत हुकूमत रही, जिसके सारा ध्यान अपना दिया, हमारे देश की तरक्की के लिए पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के लिए और बहुत कुछ तरक्की हुई भी बहुत कुछ बातें जो हम करना चाहते थे नहीं भी कर सके, वो और बात है लेकिन एक तरफ मजबूती से एक तरफ चले हैं। एक अपने सामने लक्ष्य रखा, उधर हम जा रहे है। तो इससे कुछ हमें अन्दाज होता है दुनिया में क्या-क्या ताकते हैं, जो चल रही हैं इस वक्त और जो मुल्को को गिराती है, क्रांति कराती है और उलट पलट होता है, इसके माने नहीं कि हम, हमें इत्मीनान हो जाय जो कुछ हमारे यहाँ हुआ इत्मीनान गलत चीज़ है कभी इत्मीनान की बात नहीं होनी चाहिए। इत्मीनान कैसे हो जब हमारे यहाँ इत्ती, अलावा में छोड़े दे रहा हूँ बाहर के चीनी आक्रमण बगैरा के, वो तो है ही, सबसे बड़ी बात वो है। लेकिन जो देश के अन्दर है बातें, गरीबी वगैरा, बेरोजगारी, सब बातें है। कभी इत्मीनान तो हो नहीं सकता, जब तक वो रहें, तो सारी हमारी कोशिशें इसी लिये है कि हल्के-हल्के वो चीजें सुधार तो रहें। अभी मैंने यहाँ आते हुए देखा यहाँ दरवाजे के ऊपर आप लोगों ने भी देखी होगी, संस्कृत में लिखा हुआ हैं, जिसमें लिखा है छोटे दिमागों के लोग एक तरह के होते है और जो, जिनके खुले बड़े दिमाग है उनके लिए सारी दुनिया ही एक है। बहुत अच्छी बात है, अच्छी बात लिखी है उसे हमें याद रखना चाहिए हमेशा। क्योंकि दुनिया एक होती जाती है ओर जो दुनिया को भूल जाये वो खुद अलग हो जाते हैं दुनिया से और छोटे रह जाते हैं और दुनिया बढ़ जाती है। हमारे साथ यही हुआ इतिहास में कित्ती बार, हम दुनिया से अलग हो गये, कोई संबंध हमारा नहीं रहा, और दुनिया आगे बढ़ गयी



हम पिछड़ गये कित्ती ही हममें खूबिया हो, हम पिछड़ गये ओर आखिर में हममे और हुकूमत आ गयीं। एक बात और मे आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछली बार, पिछली बार के पहले भी हमारे सदन में, लोक सभा में ओर राज्य सभा में भी, कुछ नये तरीके निकले हैं, हमारे ही दल के, पार्टी की तरफ से नहीं औरों की भी, कुछ विरोधी दलों की तरफ से जो कि बिल्कुल वहाँ की दल की शान को कम कर देते हैं, काम में हर्ज, दखल तो होता है, और हुल्लड़बाजी होती है, मुझे तो बहुत रंज होता है उसको देखके खैर। ये आपका, मेरा काम तो नहीं, ये तो स्पीकर का या चैयरमैन का काम है, लेकिन हमारा काम ये इसमें इत्ता आजाता है कि सब एक नियम से काम करे, हम गुस्से मे आके या किसी बात में बहक न जाएं, क्योंकि हमारे कुछ कहने से चाहे वो ठीक ही गुस्सा चढ़ा हो फिर भी कहने से बात वो बढ़ जाती है, और दूसरे को फायदा मिलता है तो हम एक discipline से, अनुशासन से काम करें और आशा करें कि स्पीकर साहब या चैयरमैन साहब इन बातों को काबू में लाएंगे क्योंकि नहीं तो सारी हमारी democratic Govt. भी खत्म हो जाती है, हल्के-हल्के। मुझे तो आश्चर्य होता है कोई साहब भी ऐसी बातें करे जैसी हुई हैं।

[Translation begins:

Comrades, first of all, let us stand up as a mark of respect to the memory of two of our colleagues who passed away—Shri Mulchand Dube<sup>26</sup> and Shri B.N. Datar.<sup>27</sup>

We have a new Member with us, Shri Biren Rai<sup>28</sup>, who used to be a Member of the Rajya Sabha. Where is Shri Biren Rai? Eh? What has happened? One of our old colleagues, Shri Hiralal, who used to work in our office for 14 years, and now has become a Member of the Punjab Assembly last year-- he wants to greet you, that is all.

#### [Colombo Proposals-I]

Comrades, we met here about three weeks ago before my departure and I had spoken to you about a few things.<sup>29</sup> I may have to repeat some of them, when I tell you what has happened in the last three weeks. Some of those things should be borne in mind by us at all times. There are big problems before us, the Chinese aggression, etc. When we met last time, we had had a long debate in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, lasting for 5-6 days, on what

26. Congress MP from Farrukhabad, UP.

27. Minister of State, Home Ministry.

28. From West Bengal.

29. See SWJN/SS/80/items 267 and 269.

are called the Colombo Proposals.<sup>30</sup> After that debate, we had informed the Ceylon Government that we would accept the Colombo proposals. Since then, there has been no reply from the Chinese Government. There have been no talks between us and the Chinese government about them. We wrote to the Ceylon government but from what the Chinese officials have said so far, it is obvious that they do not accept the proposals in full. In the beginning, there was great enthusiasm, and it was said that on principle they had accepted them, but they have not accepted them even in principle. They have not accepted the important points. So, the matter is stuck there and I do not know what the Colombo people or the Chinese government will do in that regard. We have said whatever we wanted to and now there is nothing further that we want to say in that connection.

[Preparing for long drawn out conflict]

And we have to continue to be prepared for anything that may happen because, as I had hinted to you earlier, this will be a long drawnout affair. By that I don't mean that we will be constantly at war with China but the issues involved are complicated and it would be wrong to think that they will be solved immediately. So, we have to shoulder this burden and keep our country in a state of preparedness, militarily and economically too, because nowadays, military strength of a country is wholly dependent on its economic condition. Those feudal times are over when individuals used to be asked to bring whatever they possessed by way of men and arms and an army was got together.

[Economic Development for Military]

So, preparations will go on which means that apart from getting or producing military equipment, we have to strengthen our economic condition. We should try to make whatever equipment we need here itself. Though we did not make the Five Year Plans, etc., to help us fight a war – they were made to help the country grow strong and rich one of the results is that a country grows stronger militarily too. So we have to do all these things. Soon the budget will come up before you for consideration. Perhaps there will be an indication of what the burden we may have to bear in it. We are helpless and there is not much scope for saying no to any of its proposals in this respect. When the country is in danger, we have to shoulder the burden. Our soldiers are giving

30. See SWJN/SS/80/items 290, 291 and 292.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

their lives. The least that those who stay at home can do is to tighten their belts and put up with hardship.

### [Explanation for Chinese Invasion]

Let me tell you once again that this problem between China and India is not merely one of land. Land is certainly involved but I do not think that this attack on us has been merely out of greed for land. There are deeper things behind it, the real, basic issues, which arise out of the Chinese perceptions of the world situation today. What I mean is that they arise from the world view that China has and what China feels it should do with regard to India in that context because China is a big power and takes a long term view of things. She wants to increase her strength and though she may not want to conquer other countries, she would like to have them under her influence. Having areas of influence would mean that they would not go against her policies. So China would like to have many spheres of influence in Asia. There are many other things too, one of which is that the rift between China and the Soviet Union is widening. You may have read statements from the Soviet Union which talk of friendly relations with China. But as a matter of fact, the rift is widening not merely because it is an ideological debate on the two interpretations of communism. Whenever the necessity arises, this garb of ideological debate is given to the natural conflict of national interests. These conflicts cannot be resolved. It is a different matter that they may be able to pull on for a few days more. But the conflict cannot be resolved and the distance between them is bound to widen.

### [Stability of India]

You must have heard that recently there was yet another revolution in Iraq, a complete upheaval. You can see from all this that except for China and Japan, in practically all the countries of Asia there are major ups and downs. In many countries there has been complete upheaval and governments have changed, democratic governments no longer exist. In many countries of course, there was no democracy to begin with and it has been given up in the others. There is no sign of stability anywhere. It is a good thing to compare our country with others in Asia, not because I feel we are very good and the others have many weaknesses and faults but merely on the basis of what has been happening in the last 15-16 years in the history of those countries and ours; how, at least, we have been able to maintain a stable government and society. Our government has given its entire attention to the task of development, with Five Year Plans etc. We have made a great deal of progress and though we may not have been able to do many things that we wished to, we have been moving in the right



direction with strong and sure steps. We have kept a goal before us and are marching towards it.

From all this, we get an idea of what the forces are which are at work all over the world, which creates upheavals and revolutions in so many countries. But whatever might be the situation in our country, we must not become complacent because this is not the time for complacency. How can we become complacent when we are faced with so many problems – the highest of them is this Chinese aggression? Within the country too there is poverty, unemployment and all sorts of problems. We can never become complacent so long as these problems are not solved, and we are making every effort to solve them gradually.

[No Isolation]

Just now when I was coming in, I saw on the door way inscribed in Sanskrit words to the effect that for those with broad and open minds the whole world is one. This is something worth remembering because the world is becoming one and those who forget this will become themselves isolated—and shrink, while the world goes ahead. This has happened in our history many times when we cut ourselves off from the rest of the world and while the world progress, we became backward. In spite of all our many excellent qualities, we became backward and ultimately, we were conquered by foreign powers.

[Misbehaviour in Parliament]

I want to tell you one thing more. In the last session of the Lok Sabha and earlier too, new ways of behaviour are being adopted, by Members of our Party and others too, which are a disgrace to the parties concerned apart from obstructing the proceedings. I feel very sad to observe all these hooliganisms. Anyhow, it is not your task to control these things, that is up to the speaker or the Chairman and no doubt they will examine the situation. But it is our duty to see that we work in a disciplined way and do not get carried away in anger because even if our anger is justified, our saying something in the heat of the moment only makes the situation worse. It also gives excuse to the others to misbehave. So, we should behave with discipline and decorum, and hope that the Speaker or the Chairman will control these things for, otherwise our entire democratic system of government will gradually collapse. I am surprised that anybody should behave the way some people have been behaving. Now I will say something in English.<sup>31</sup>

Translation Ends]

31. See items 12 [paragraphs 1-3, 8-11], 47, 147, 148, 152.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[Speech continues in English]

### [Colombo Proposals-II]

Since we met last, 3 weeks ago, well, in a sense much has happened in the world, but in our little world of India too, a good deal has been happening. When we met last, we had a long discussion on the so called Colombo proposals and after that discussion Government of India expressed its acceptance of the Colombo proposals in toto, that is without reservation, keeping in view the explanations and elucidations that had been given to us, by the sponsors of the Colombo resolution. We had been told previously that China had accepted these resolutions in principle, but when it came definitely for them to accept or reject, they have given no answer. In fact, the indications they have given are that they do not accept them as they are. They talk about accepting in principle and talking about the details. Well, details are the most important thing, there is no such thing in principle about them. We are not settling anything there—we were trying to—the whole object of the Colombo proposals was not to consider the merits but to create an atmosphere which will be suitable for further talks to take place. We thought that that atmosphere could only be created by China restoring the position as it was on the 8th of September. That will be some little admission, if you like, that they had been wrong in committing this fresh aggression and we judged the Colombo proposals accordingly and because we thought those Colombo proposals in a sense accomplished that fact, we have accepted them. Now if the Chinese talk about not accepting one or two major parts of them, the whole bottom of it is knocked out. Our acceptance obviously can only take effect when the other party accepts them and the other party has not. And I cannot say they will not, but thus far they have not and the indication is that they are not likely to accept them in that form. So, the position remains that.

### [Economic and Military Preparations]

Now what are we to do? If there had been no Colombo proposals, what would we have done? We would have gone ahead preparing ourselves, strengthening ourselves in every way to meet this menace. We will we go on doing that, preparing ourselves, strengthening ourselves and generally getting ready for whatever developments may take place or whatever we might like to in regard to that, but we are doing that. This is a big task and a frightfully expensive task. We are being helped by other countries and we are grateful for their help. But you must all realise that with all the help that we can get from



friendly countries, the main burden must be on India, must be and should be on India. If somebody else took the burden completely, and we felt that the others are going to do our job, that may bring some satisfaction to some people but you must remember that one of the attributes of independence is the capacity to take burdens to defend your country. If you leave that out, a basic part of independence slips away from you. So that we shall have to take these burdens, and I have no doubt that Parliament and the country will accept the burdens that we have to bear. Now we easily accept the burdens of defence. But many people seem to think that the burdens of economic development might perhaps be postponed, not realising that defence can, proper defence can, only come out of economic development and strength and industrialisation and better agriculture. They are essential parts of defence. Therefore, we have to carry both these burdens, and I have no doubt that we shall do so. Therefore, this year, 1963, which has begun recently and some years to come will be years of heavy burdens for our people and you must face this, understand this position fully and be prepared to face those burdens. After all, whatever burdens we may shoulder, they are less than those who on our frontiers or elsewhere play with their own lives, play the game of life and death, for the sake of our country.

In this session there will be the budget coming soon. I have no doubt our Finance Minister will consider both these sides of the question and he cannot escape from putting burdens on the people. There is no escape from it and I hope we shall accept them with goodwill, realising that thereby we pay some of the debt we owe to our country, very small part of course.

### [Indian Stability]

Then very recently there has been a revolution in Iraq. That is, there has been a complete upsetting there and the man who made the last revolution some years back, Qasim, was shot down in this revolution and a new Government has taken its place. After waiting for some time to see whether it was a stable Government, we recognised it, as most countries have done. This reminds me of what is happening all round us in Asia excepting Japan. Of course, China is a country run in a different fashion. We see changes taking place, sometimes revolutionary, sometimes coup d'état, in all these countries, and I do not wish to compare our country with other countries because each country has its merits and its failures. But the fact stands out that in spite of this, the record of India for the last fifteen to sixteen years has been a record not only of stability but of continuing progress. That progress may not have been as much as most of us wanted. We have often been disappointed in it, many things have come in our



way, but it has kept a certain ideal before it, a certain objective before it, and has pursued it without faltering, while other countries have been in difficulties.

[Congress Principles]

Now if you think of this, do not imagine for an instant that we in India are better people than people in other countries. That is a foolish way of thinking, we are not better but we have something here which other countries have not got. What is that something? That is the organisation that has been built up in this country for the last nearly 80 years, the Congress organisation. And more particularly, the way it has been built up in the last, shall we say, forty-five years or since Gandhiji came to it. Even before that it was a growing organisation, widespread. That organisation has lasted now and for the last fifteen to sixteen years it has been by and large in control of the destinies of India, which itself shows that whatever mistakes we may have made—and I have no doubt we must have made many mistakes—the broad approach of our problems has been on the whole a correct one. Broad approach to our problems of unity, our problems of avoiding the ways of communalism, the ways of sectarianism and narrowness of vision, and we have, therefore, because of this, you may conclude that there is something right in this organisation which had led it to last for so long. In the period when it has controlled the Government of a country, it has functioned with a degree of success which has been lacking in other countries of Asia. I am not at the moment referring to Japan. Japan has to be judged by other standards, it is an advanced country, industrially and otherwise. Of all people, we in the Congress party must realise that more than others. We must come to the conclusion that the basic principles that we have followed are broadly good, good for the country, good because they strengthen the country, and promote first thing the unity of the country. Secondly, apart from the unity, we do not believe in communalism or provincialism or linguism or any of these things. We believe in language but not in linguism, we believe in a State, but not in provincialism or statism. There is a difference between the two. And we have always to remember these things because they come up again and again in devious ways. If they come in straightforward ways, we can meet them, but they come in crude ways, in devious ways, and confuse people. Now it is quite essential that we of the Congress party should not be confused and should see straight and should act in a manner and in keeping with those objectives. What are those objectives? I have said unity, and anti-sectarianism, anti-communalism etc. The other objectives, the basic objectives are economic and social. You may call it building up a socialistic structure of society. Some people criticise us and perhaps there is some justice in their criticism that we move towards this idea

of a socialist structure remarkably slowly. I am prepared to admit that. I wish we could move a little faster. But the way we have adopted has its virtues also. Although we move relatively slowly, we move steadily, strengthening the base and probably once that is done the movement will be a little faster. That does not mean that we should continue to move slowly, we should always try to move a little fast, but movement, the growth of a people is not something which you can bring about by legislation. It is a complicated thing, the life of 444 million people, changing that by law—law helps of course—but so many other things are needed. Some people therefore in their desire to go ahead think in terms of violent upsets. Well we have set our face against violent upsets although we want to go fast. One has to balance all these things, and I just pointed out to you that one of the biggest virtues that India possesses today is that it has carried on with stability, with a certain fixed aim in view and trying to go there. We have erred for many reasons, we have many failings, but that is a remarkable achievement, while other countries round about us have not functioned like that, that is an obvious thing. I am not criticising the other countries and again, I repeat this is largely due to the fact that the Congress organisation exists, has existed, and it is a more or less disciplined organisation and its objectives and aims are good because those objectives not only aim at big change but at the same time aim at a certain continuity in bringing that change.

### [Change and Continuity]

There are two things in the life of a society, change and continuity, both are essential. You cannot do away with either. Obviously, continuity has a certain virtue, because it represents what we have gained in the past. It fits in with all our inherent tendencies and other attributes, change is essential because without change you get rooted, if you get rooted in something that has passed, you lose contact with the changing world. Indian history is an example of how a country can fall if it refuses to change, if it sticks to the past, if it loses contact with the changing world. Therefore, change and continuity are both necessary. You will see in every country even where there have been very big revolutions, say Russia, say France, old revolution in Russia or China it is extraordinary how the biggest revolutions gradually began to reflect, to bring in a sense of continuity in the end. In Russia after some years of revolution, gradually you see Russian nationalism coming up. In last great war, Russian nationalism played a very important part. Just as if I may give you quite a different example, religions spreading. Great religions have spread, Buddhism spread from India to all our neighbouring countries, notably China, Japan, etc., but even Bhddhism when it went to China gradually took on a garb of Chinese



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Buddhism. In Japan it became Japanese Buddhism, it is a mixture of Buddhism in Japan and Zen and other aspects of Japanese life. In China it got mixed up with Confucianism and Laotseism and all that; the national characteristics in a nation are very powerful. They mould other thoughts, and surely in India our national characteristics are very strong. I do not say they are all good; some may be bad, but broadly they are very strong and therefore, we have to keep in mind those national characteristics and yet change them to fit in with the modern world, without change we are lost because we get weak and we cannot play any part in the modern world. But if it is change only without regard to the past, then we lose roots. And it is thoroughly bad. Now we have attempted in our own way to keep in mind both the aspect of continuity and change. It may be that the emphasis sometimes is wrong but both the aspects have to be borne in mind, in fact we cannot ignore either aspect. Sometimes it appears to slow down the pace of progress. We cannot afford to slow down the pace because of other consequences, social consequences, flow.

### [Explanation for Chinese Invasion]

Now at the present moment one may say that the major problem before India is this Chinese aggression and invasion. That is so, in a sense not merely because it is aggression and invasion but that is a challenge to many things that we hold dear. That is ultimately a challenge to our own whole position in Asia, the world. So, it is not merely a question of land, although land is important. We have tried to think, have given great deal of thought to the reason why the Chinese have done this. It is not enough, it is a superficial way of looking that they wanted to grab some territory from us, that is not enough. The price they have paid for grabbing that is a heavy price, the heaviest being the hostility of India which has developed against them. So, it is a very heavy price to pay. Why should they pay it; they realise, they must have realised it. If they did not, they know it now and it is difficult to make a correct analysis of it. Many people have tried to do so, foreigners and other people. If you read foreign reviews, political reviews and others, there are plenty of articles just judging this, why has China done it at a great cost to herself, to her position in the world, to her reputation and so on. And most of them have different views but there is a certain constant in their thinking. Almost all agreed that China has done this because of China's world view at the present moment, the world view which includes in its ambit its relations with the outside world. Having formed a world view, then you put other countries into place in accordance with your world view. I am not going deeply into it. I am merely pointing out to you that there is a much bigger and deeper question than a question of some territory



being invaded by them. Apart from this world view or part of it, if you like, there is the question of, they are trying to humble or humiliate India. That is by showing that they are the most important and powerful country in Asia and no other country should come in their way and so on. So, this is a big thing and right from the day of this major invasion in October last, I have ventured to say that this is a long term conflict, I do not know how long, I suggested five years. I did not mean an actual war going on for five years, but the conflict is there, there may be war, there may not be war, it will come and go. But the burden, the menace is there, the burden is there for us. There is no choice – no choice for a country which values its honour and integrity but to carry that burden and face the menace and put an end to the menace when it can.

### [Defence and Economic Development]

So, there it is and in devising methods obviously defence, preparations for defence, is one of the important things. But there are many other important things for defence. The other is economic development. Defence is an essential part, an outcome of economic development. There is no such thing as just people defending themselves, without economic development. That means nothing. One refers in Indian history, you read of the emperors of Delhi marching out of Delhi in vast hordes to meet the invader. And the invaders have a relatively small army and the horde disappeared because the numbers is not strength, 400 million of India are not strength unless they are trained to a certain end. That is so even in old times, and now that with the industrial revolution which has changed the face of the world, you can see what countries are strong and what rather not strong. Only countries that have undergone industrial revolution today are strong, nobody else is strong; it does not matter how big or wide it is, it is not strong. So economic development is essential.

### [Economic Development Strategy]

That is why we have these Five Year Plans and the rest, but economic development further has to be directed to certain ends. They produce welfare for the people, there might be possibly some kind of economic development which took place in western countries 150 years ago, which was for many many years far from being a welfare state, it brought much suffering to the large number of people. Nevertheless, it has developed. Now we have to fight that suffering, that is why we call it socialistic pattern etc. Remember that the ways of development of a country today are much the same, whether it is a capitalist country or socialist country or a communist country. The way they

are, the essential difference – that comes through, but they are essential all the same. They are the development of the productive apparatus of a country, they are in the utilisation of science and industry and the machine. Russia utilises the same thing, America does the same thing, that is true. But the difference comes in first in certain methods and in certain objectives and there too it is not because I or you may feel that we are socialistic. There is no choice for us. If the same process had to be gone through by any western country now, which they went through 100 years ago, they cannot repeat that early phase of capitalism there. It can't be done because the social conscience is much greater, – it will not be submitted to by the people. Just as no people today in any part of the country, Asia or Africa or Europe will submit to the repetition of the early days of capitalism, so we have to choose a social way of proceeding. We may differ in some ways and even differ in viewpoint, but the old capitalist way does not suit a country in the present state of development as India is. There is no choice. We choose it of our free will, we like it. These social changes. But even if we do not like it we have to do it. There is no choice except trouble and conflict and chaos. Therefore, even in terms of defence, this economic development of our Five Year Plan became an inevitable part of it. Now wisdom would lie in the fact that we can carry these burdens and thereby not only help our defence but help the processes of nation building too at the same time. Because it is true that when under the stress of war, a nation has to bear a great burden, a country has to bear great burdens but the country may also move faster in a particular direction. All that has to be seen.

[Congress and Indian Unity]

It is--if I may say so--it is a truism, but I like repeating it because it seems to me true, the part that the Congress party has played in the past in holding this country together. It is not an easy thing, it is not an obvious thing, in a country like India, holding it together. It does not automatically happen. We have seen, we have got a history of some thousands of years to look at, we may talk proudly of our past, but our past is not one of unity, it is one of disunity. It is a fact, we have many virtues but unity is not one of them, and apart from the British rule which brought of our unity in subjection, the Congress party has brought unity to this country, no other, and it is the Congress and the Congress alone which has maintained this unity in spite of many disruptive tendencies in India. I repeat this because the other parties that we have to face in opposition, they may talk about unity, some of them, and some of them do not definitely, their policies are disruptive and I do not know what would happen to our country if those policies were given effect to. It will simply go to pieces. Therefore,



it is not through love of the Congress party which I have because I have been brought up in it, that I say so, but because some party like the Congress party is quite essential to keep the country together and march forward and I see no other, and you cannot build a new party with the same prestige, same strength. Now the Congress has many failings undoubtedly and the moment you take Congress or any organisation for granted, you begin to slip back. We tend to take it for granted as an electioneering organisation and all that. The moment we forget the basic ideals of the Congress we weaken, and the moment we forget that we have to fight continuously for those ideals and not allow anyone to get away with the rejection of these ideals. Therefore we have to be aggressive, aggressive always, not on the defensive. We tend to become too defensive, too afraid that if we say this or that, or, we may lose an election, somebody, a crowd may not like it. That is not the way the Congress has behaved or lived up to. The Congress has been positive of aggressive, aggressive not in a bad sense, aggressive in the sense of fighting for its ideals and fighting in the most difficult circumstances.

And I find now because of this Chinese incursion and aggression, some of our opposition parties trying to take advantage of it, trying to run down the Congress and trying to be supernationalists and competing in patriotism and nationalism loudly, how brave you are or cursing people. I think it is perfectly disgusting the way some of the opposition parties behave in this matter. Here is a national concern and they have made it, in spite of that they said, they made it party questions, just utilising it to damn the Government and the Congress. We have to fight that. I do not think we have to put up with this kind of nonsense. I do not say that we have not made any mistakes, I really do, in Government might have, but I do claim that we have functioned with a measure of success which is extraordinary in the annals of history. And these little parties growing up and talking about, they have nothing to do, that this and which if acted upon would surely bring trouble to our country and possibly even disaster. They do not, I am sure they do not know themselves – they think hard and realise that, but they think too much about a momentary gain that they might get vote. Therefore, I do not see any reason why we should be so submissive to these attacks made upon us. We should not, we should be, first of all, clear in our own minds. If we are clear in our own minds, then the next step is to act accordingly. There is a tendency because the other person shouts and blames us so much of what is happening on the frontier or somewhere else, and we become very defensive. I have no feeling of defensiveness and my analysis of the situation is that some of these parties that oppose us are so timid, so frightened of what is happening, they have no courage, they have cold feet, they want somebody to help them, somebody to take them out of the soup. That is not my feeling,



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I think we are strong, I am not saying gloriously but I do believe that India is strong enough to face these emergencies; we have defeats, we have ups and downs, every country has that.

So therefore, I would beg of you to remain firmly rooted in the principles for which we stand. Go to the public in confidence and do not care if for the moment what you say may not be welcome to the public. A wrong thing does not become a right thing, or a right thing does not become wrong, because somebody does not agree with you. Only thus are organisations built up, organisations based on principles. We are not an organisation just to win an election and get into a Parliament. The moment we become only that, we are doomed. We are sure to be doomed, we have some ideals, therefore we have to build up India, a united country, and we have not to do anything which disrupts that unity and which builds up our economic foundations, our agricultural foundations, our industrial growth etc. and then those who come after us will carry on no doubt. But for the moment the burden is upon us, in Parliament and outside and on the Congress organisation. And we must carry that burden honourably, bravely and with confidence in our people.

We are going to have a long session of Parliament and no doubt many things will come up before Parliament which may cause excitement. We live in exciting times. I cannot say what the developments on the frontiers may be. We are determined to face them and to strengthen ourselves to face them, but we are going to face them wisely I hope, that is, not going for any adventurist steps which rebound to our disadvantage. That is neither good in war nor in anything else, we must prepare and go straight, whatever we may do. Because many of our friends and opposition parties talk the purest adventurism which has not the slightest justification.

### [Misconduct in Parliament]

Now one or two more things I wish to tell you. One is to remind you of how behaviour in Parliament, both in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, is progressively deteriorating, not from our party but from some other parties and it is very painful thing because it is not only indecent for people to behave in that way but it gradually lessens the respect for our democratic institutions. It is not easy for you or me to do much about it, but I am sure, it is after all the business of the Speaker and the Chairman and no doubt they will think about it. But we have to behave with full discipline. Our discipline will itself be stronger, will bring stronger pressure on those who misbehave than merely orders from the Speaker or the Chairman. I hope we shall maintain our dignity and discipline whatever happens.

## [Language]

Yes, one thing more, about a subject which most of you must be deeply interested and I think it is right that I should let you know what our feelings are, the Government's feeling and what we propose to do. The matter should be discussed openly, not hidden behind a purdah, and that is the question of language. You will remember that some years ago an official language committee was appointed and they presented a long report that was discussed in Parliament, and the then President put forward a statement or whatever it is called on that report. As a result of that it was clearly stated in Parliament—I do not remember the President's language, but I think it was referred there—on behalf of the Government that English should be an associate language of Hindi. I think it was justified from every point of view, more particularly I will say from the point of view of Hindi. This may surprise some people. First of all, from the point of view of unity in India, and secondly from the point of view of Hindi, I am prepared to justify it, but in particular, I would say that the moment you put Hindi as the basis of struggle within India, you injure Hindi. Hardly anybody is against Hindi. Some people may shout about it, but the moment it comes as a protagonist in a linguistic struggle in India, not only do you disrupt India, but you injure the cause of Hindi. People then become bigoted. Just as some people will be bigoted for Hindi, others are bigoted against Hindi, and you bring it on the bigoted plane where it suffers at every step. And the country suffers, while the other way is open to you. Hindi is progressing, Hindi will progress, and we should try to help its progress as much as possible and to remove from the area of this argument and competition and bigotry. But I am not arguing this. I can argue it at length, but I wish to tell you that this was an undertaking given in Parliament by the Government of the day. I think the President also said so, but leave out the President and his undertaking and promise and the pledge given and no government that is worth its salt is going to budge an inch from that. It is going to stick to it, whether government falls or does not, whatever happens. If we have given that pledge two years ago definitely—I said so, Pantji<sup>32</sup> gave that pledge as Home Minister—if we go away because we are frightened of some agitation, what kind of a government is this I should like to know and how much faith will be put on it by any one in India. So, it is patent, I think that line that we took then was thoroughly justified for a variety of reasons. I think that it is essentially good for Hindi because I want to remove Hindi from this orbit of bitter controversy which will do harm to Hindi. Not only in the South but in other parts of India too. Put essentially, I say when we have

32. Govind Ballabh Pant.



given a definite undertaking as a government, as a matter of fact we thought the undertaking was quite enough. We did not think at that time of putting it in the form of legislation. Later, about a year ago I think or thereabouts, there was some talk about it and Pantji said certainly we have given the undertaking we can tell them in forms of words, if it satisfies various people in the South or elsewhere, and Pantji decided that, and since then we were not in a hurry for it, we were not in a hurry, we did not bring it up. There has been more talk of it, and some parties are raising an agitation about it, but we shall meet that agitation everywhere it is raised, whoever raises it, and strongly enough. Not mildly, we shall meet it strongly. It does not matter if we lose votes or people or members or not, we shall fight it. Yes, yes, I know, I know that is what I ventured to say, I am venturing to say that Hindi's progress is going on fast, people may not realise it, very fast in the South, and it will, but the moment there is a bitter controversy over this issue, Hindi's progress will be slowed down and stopped everywhere. Hindi becomes a controversial issue, we should not raise a controversy. As far as possible encourage it in every way. Whether it is our fault or somebody else's fault, there are people, there are parties and others in the South, elsewhere too. Even today as I am speaking, I saw some leading articles in the Madras papers because some doubt crept into their minds, that what is this, some people shouting so much that this matter should be shelved and they said this would be sheer betrayal of a pledge. Therefore, I am saying this here because I think it will be a disgrace to our government and to our party after having given a pledge to betray that pledge and we have no intention of doing that, whatever the consequences. But I wish you apart from that to consider it from the point of view of logic and reason, what is good for the nation, what is good for our honour, what is good for the Hindi language, what is good from every point of view. We are building a nation, we have Five Year Plans and all that. Now you are trying to make Hindi not only the constitutional language but the firm language, firm national language of India. What is the best way to bring it about, it may take a year more, five years more, does not matter, we are building a nation whose life is much longer than a generation or two. Look at it from that, how we built it on a firm basis and without creating conflicts now which will come in the way all the time and lessen the progress and the advance made by it.

[National Unity]

That is the old disease of India, conflicts which impede progress, lack of unity. All of us are very proud of our heritage. Take the heritage, I am talking about Rajput bravery and courage, amazing courage, and yet with all deference



to the great Rajput heroes, they were utterly, absolutely lacking in wisdom. Because they were always quarrelling and they had no concept of unity in them. No concept of unity, we praise Prithviraj Chauhan, we should, but he broke up, he weakened India as few persons have done, and Rajputs quarrel with Rajputs, cut off each other's heads. You see, that is our heritage, courage certainly, but forgetting our wisdom and the fact that the essential thing is unity of India. We do not progress otherwise. We go to bits with enemies surrounding us, whether in the North-East or North-West or all over. We have to hold together and the only thing that can help us hold together I believe is the Congress Party wedded to its concept of unity, wedded to its concept of all the different parts India and different languages all pulling together, and making that one viable, one vital hope which goes ahead and not like China which is a warlike nation, which is concentrating on war at the expense of everything and planning everything from the point of view of war.

Even now, China is the only country in the wide world which continues to say that there will be and should be a world war. No other country does it. The Soviet Union is dead opposed to it because it has much to lose by it. It will stop all their progress. China thinks it has not much to lose and they can afford to lose, one hundred million or two hundred million people. Well they can afford to lose them, they would have a few hundred million left still. So, if all these countries, almost everywhere even though there is a danger of war, take the last great war, or both the great wars. Germany had great advantage over other countries, last war Hitler and previous, old Kaiser. Although other countries like France specially had great armies, still, as the war showed they did not have adequate defences and in the last war they relied a great deal on the Maginot Line which was crossed right at the beginning, and the French a great nation, powerful nation, one of the biggest military nation was humbled by the Nazi troops. Then the German armies followed and drove the British army, the entire British army, completely into the sea, into the English Channel. Some escaped, some with fishing boats and some in other ways and swimming, what not. That was Dunkirk, and England was left without an army and they had a stretch of 22 miles to cross. Then it was touch and go what happened to England. They escaped by their discipline and courage, that is true, and then came the great blitzkrieg when hundreds and hundreds of aircraft went and bombed London. Well, they survived it, and gradually built up their army and although France was in Germany's power and then of course a little later Soviet Russia came in and so on. What I mean is that it is exceedingly difficult for any country, much less a developing country, to lay so much stress on that unless you are war minded and you place war as your ideal and prepare for it like China did.

[Modern Warfare]

Oddly enough, the more stress you lay on being immediately prepared for war, the less you ultimately prepare your strength for war. What I mean is this, a war, war strength, is not a question of some aeroplanes that we may get or buy from abroad. It is the capacity to produce that thing in your own country and therefore, our thinking was, even from the defence point of view, that the more our industrial base was strengthened, the more we will be stronger, even in the military way, although it will take a little time. Nowadays, the strongest nations in the world are industrialised nations. No other country can possibly support a modern war by just getting some gifts or buying some aeroplanes, it cannot be done simply. Therefore, we laid stress on industrialisation, general industrialisation, general industrialisation creating an industrial base, and today we are far stronger than we were ten or twelve years ago, not in actually conducting the war—to some extent we are—but in our capacity to conduct it rapidly, in a few months' time, or a year's time. When I say the industrial base, I am referring not only to the ordnance factories etc. but other bases, our machine-making factories, our tool making factories, our big things that we are making at Ranchi for instance. Our steel production, both in the public sector and the private sector, the base is there. Normally speaking, if we had finished our Third Plan, begun our Fourth Plan say about four to five years later, we would have been in a much better position. You see people think in terms of something that you may get from abroad, like guns or aircrafts or anything like that. Well, but you cannot, in the ultimate analysis, fight a big war by getting things from abroad, unless of course the whole world is having a war, and that means also we might even have been stronger here and there. But our whole policy would have been different in the last ten or twelve years if we were basically prepared for war. Now, I remember when I first came into Government, to the Interim Government before Independence, a question was put to us about the strength of our army. We were reducing our old wartime army. The question that Lord Wavell put was, you have to fix some date in your mind, provisional date of course, when you expect a war to come. That is to say war need not come then but suppose you think that you have got ten years before a war comes, well then, you make preparations so as to be ready ten years later and you make preparations, first year, second year, third year, you will say after three years only seven years now, and so you proceed. If you prepare immediately for war, immediate wars, then you cannot do anything, because that is an expensive business, you buy things and put them up and you may be ready, you may not be wholly ready, you may be partly ready, by enormous preparations, enormous expense and that will be wasted, because



you need not build up strength. I remember he mentioned the term ten years so that we may give a year for preparation. He was not thinking of any particular war. Whatever we wanted to do he said, you must divide it up by one-tenth and do it every year. So in a sense it is not that we ignored the possibility of war originally. Of course, it was natural, we thought of the possibility of war with Pakistan, not that we wanted it, but it might happen. That would have been a different type of thing and compared to China, a relatively smaller affair. Then gradually in the last few years our minds have been turning. We are not satisfied by any means by what Pakistan might do, in spite of our efforts to be friendly to Pakistan, which continue, I might tell you. But that was done, and in fact it is very easy being wise after the event and criticise something that has been done or not done. But the basic thing in our minds was to increase the industrial potential generally, not purely war industries, a larger industry that can be converted into war industry. You cannot have a very big war industry, because it is profitless. I mean to say in peace time it does not bring in returns, it is all wasted; but you must have big industry which can be converted to war industry immediately or quickly. This is our outlook.

Now in this crisis, two or three things can happen. Naturally our Third Five Year plan is affected, will be affected, but if you analyse it, it is essential for our Third Plan for agriculture to produce more and more. It is essential for our war effort for agriculture to produce more and more. We just cannot afford to go on importing food grains from outside. Therefore, it is a part of the war effort for agriculture to increase. I have suggested elsewhere I think, I have said it even in Parliament, that somehow, we have to take the present enthusiasm to the war effort. The farmer or the peasant must feel that what he is doing is a part of war effort and I have suggested that specific things like for instance, digging water channels from the canal to the villages. We require thousands of miles of water channels in India and this has been a big problem. If government undertakes this it means hundred and hundreds of crores, while if every villager takes it, it means very little expense. In the old days, to some extent the old zamindaris did it. I have suggested, let us say, that as a part of the war effort each year we will finish water channels in six months' time, or eight months' time. Divert their attention, they should feel they are not only doing good to themselves but helping in the war effort and bunding and this and that, other things like digging tanks. So we have to direct our normal development activities into the war effort. Something may be given up in the Third Plan, but most of them, agriculture, industry, and power production, are essential for the war effort. So all the basic things in the Third Plan have to go ahead for the war, apart from everything else. That must be realised.



[Functioning of the Congress Party]

Now I am sorry I have taken so much of time. But now I will come back at something I referred to in between, about the question of how our party should function. It is an obvious thing that a party like ours has to function with more or less one concentrated view before it. We cannot have the leisure to debate things endlessly. In war time we have to decide right or wrong, and even in peace time too, long debates sometimes is wasteful, but specially in war time you cannot conceal. I think it is Lord Macaulay who said, "many battles have been won by bad generals, but no battle in history has been won by a debating society." It is obvious. Now by virtue of our democracy, we are accustomed to debates, and we must have debates, I am all in favour of that. But one has to change one's mind, mentality. Nobody would suggest that our Generals should fashion their defence strategy by debating before the public or public meeting, it cannot be done. Ah, yes, the final aims can be discussed, our general policies can be discussed, but in regard to the other things it has to be left to the people in charge of it and to some extent we have to change our mentality. It is a difficult thing because war normally leads to authoritarianism. All this business of Defence of India Act etc. is a thing which is not good in itself but it is forced down on us by wartime conditions. If we do not do it we become weak. So, talking of the party, we have to be a strong, disciplined party. We cannot function quite as we might have functioned in peace time. One has to remember that, and specially when other parties, whether deliberately or through sheer habit, are constantly criticising us. They talk yes, yes, we must support Government but at a greater length they talk about how the Government is bad, it should be replaced. Well Government may be replaced, it is not the point, but if our own members, directly or indirectly, help in creating that atmosphere we are doing something, I think which is very injurious to the country, to our cause and to the party. From that point of view, it becomes very important. We are not, let us admit it, a very disciplined people. We are not, we cannot compare with the European peoples who had repeated experience of war and discipline and conscription and military service and all that. Every country in Europe, for the last 150 years since the French revolution, almost every country has had conscription, every young man has had training as a soldier, and we have never had it. We pat the jawans on their backs but we think it is their job to do that fighting. So, they are disciplined people. We have to develop that discipline to face this crisis, that is most important, and not indulge in loose talk. I am surprised how this loose talk is indulged in and sometimes it surprises me our younger officers also have indulged in it occasionally, not in the war but otherwise sitting around. It is a bad thing and specially our party must give,

set an example to it, because you cannot. Of course, the other parties whatever they may be, the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh or PSP, do not shoulder the responsibility, and anyhow they never have been very disciplined. Therefore, I want you to consider all these things and we have to gradually develop this in the country and before we develop it in the country, we have to develop it ourselves. I do hope that you would not go about, any of you, publishing things in the newspapers, about what I have said.

## 12. To Chief Ministers<sup>33</sup>

February 18, 1963

My dear Chief Minister,

The Budget Session of Parliament began today. There was a very unfortunate interruption to the President's Address to the joint session of the two Houses when two or three Members objected to the President speaking in English. They wanted him to speak in Hindi. Fortunately, all the other Members present, although they were greatly annoyed at this interruption, observed a disciplined decorum and remained quiet. The objectors were, I think, about six, all except one being members of the Socialist Party. They left the hall and proceedings went on peacefully after that.

2. This incident, the first of its kind in Parliament, lasted only two or three minutes or less. Nevertheless, it was most regrettable. It appears that the Socialist Party in particular is bent on creating trouble in Parliament, and thus bringing the whole process of democratic parliamentary procedure into disrepute. Subsequently, reference was made to this in the Lok Sabha and the leaders of every party there, except the Socialist Party of course, condemned this exhibition of discourtesy. The House agreed to the Speaker appointing a sub-committee of the House to consider this matter and what steps should be taken in regard to it and such like occurrences.

3. Although this incident happened for the first time in Parliament, similar incidents have, I believe, occurred in the Punjab, UP and Bihar. It is clear that this kind of thing has to be met effectively; otherwise the work of our Parliament and Assemblies would be made difficult and brought into disrepute. This is a vital matter and I hope Parliament will set a good example which will be followed in the State Assemblies.

33. Letter to Chief Ministers and the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. PMS, File No. 25(30)/ 63-71-PM, Sr. No. 3-A.



4. Since I wrote to you last, no appreciable change has taken place in regard to developments on our border. As I informed you, we had accepted the Colombo proposals without any reservation. The Chinese Government, however, after loudly proclaiming that they accepted these proposals in principle, are raising all manner of difficulties. In effect, they do not accept them and, it might be said, something in the nature of a stalemate continues. We cannot say what the Chinese Government will ultimately do. They might perhaps accept those proposals, but the probability appears to be that they will not. If so, then the question arises whether the Chinese will again attack us on our borders, either in NEFA or in Ladakh or elsewhere. We have to keep all this in view and prepare for it.

5. So far as NEFA is concerned, the rainy season starts there rather early, at the beginning of May, and even before that sometimes violent rain storms come over those mountains. It is difficult for any military operations to be carried on there when the rains come. It may be said, therefore, that if there are to be military operations, they will have to be undertaken in March or early in April.

6. In Ladakh conditions are different, and the summer is a relatively convenient time for military operations.

7. The Election Commissioner<sup>34</sup> expressed a wish that our elections occasioned by vacancies created for the Lok Sabha or in the State Assemblies should be held before the summer sets in fully; otherwise there would be great delay as it will be difficult to hold them during the monsoon period. We have informed him that we are quite agreeable to these elections to fill these vacancies being held sometime in April. Probably they will be fixed for the middle of April.

8. The incident at the time of the President addressing the Joint Session of the two Houses of Parliament, to which I have referred earlier, was meant to be in connection with the agitation in favour of Hindi and against English. It was an exceedingly foolish thing to do because this kind of thing injures the cause of Hindi more than anything else. Lately we have had a growing agitation over the proposal to have English as an associate language for official purposes. Because the Bill to this effect was not brought into Parliament during its brief session in January, there has been apprehension that it is going to be postponed indefinitely. There is no truth in this. We could not possibly have it during the five-day session in January because that was taken up almost entirely by the discussion on the frontier situation. The present session will, to begin with, be devoted to the budget, etc. We certainly hope to bring the Bill or amendment

34. K.V. K. Sundaram.



of the Constitution in regard to English being an associate language during this session as soon as it is convenient to do so. I have made this perfectly clear.

9. In any event, Government stated this in Parliament some two years ago when our late Home Minister, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, made a statement to this effect. The House accepted it at the time. We are, therefore, pledged to taking steps accordingly, and we certainly are going to honour our pledge.

10. But pledge apart, I am quite sure that this is the right thing to do, both for wider reasons and even in the interests of the growth of Hindi. The wider reasons are obvious, because in the world today English is becoming an even more important language than previously, and all the development in science and technology depends upon our knowledge of a foreign language. Hindi is growing pretty fast and will grow. The one thing that will come in the way of its growth is a heated controversy on this language issue. That will surely impede its growth and injure us in many other respects also.

11. There is another and, I think, a deeper reason for our being associated with English for some time more at least. We in India live in a large country and have been to a great extent, inward looking. Long before the British came, we had little knowledge of the world or of the developments that were taking place in the world. The coming of the British had two effects. We remained cut off from the world, except for our outlet on England, for political and linguistic reasons. Nevertheless, that outlet brought us into contact with the wider world and the currents that were moving it. It seems to me important that we should develop these outer contacts not only politically, but in the realms of thought and science and culture. If we discard English, we will revert even more to inward looking and will be cut off from the outer world, to a large extent. I have referred to some reasons for our continuing English as an associate language while at the same time developing Hindi as fast as we can. But essentially the overriding reason for it is the necessity of not encouraging any disruptive tendencies in India.<sup>35</sup>

12. As you must know, various missions from England and America have been here to enquire into our military and air needs in view of the Chinese aggression. These missions are largely technical, and they will soon go back to report. I do not yet know what kind of a report they will submit. Our needs are very considerable and all such preparation requires time. As it is, we are of course, doing our best in the way of preparation, but some things are urgently needed in the way of machinery and equipment. Our Air Force, though good, is rather outdated from the point of view of modern aircraft. We have to remember

35. See also items 11 [Misbehaviour in Parliament], [Misconduct in Parliament], [Language], 47, 147, 148, and 152.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

that China has got probably the largest land army in the world and the third biggest Air Force. They cannot, of course, bring all their army and air-force to our frontiers. Nevertheless, that is the challenge we have to meet, and we must be strong enough to meet it and beat it back from our frontiers.

13. There has been much reference in the newspapers to a so called “Air Umbrella.” As a matter of fact, there has been no formal or informal discussion about this with the teams that have come here, and much of this newspaper discussion has little basis. I have not encouraged this idea because, apart from political reasons, it means that our attention will be diverted from strengthening our own Air Force. We shall become complacent relying on others to defend us in case of necessity. That is a bad mentality to develop and that will leave us weak to meet any crisis. Therefore, it is much more important to develop our own strength, certainly with the help of others and thus prepare ourselves to face any contingency that might arise. This may take a little time. But this is the surest method. As I have often stated previously, we have to be prepared for repeated crises during the next few years.

14. Ultimate strength depends not on some weapons or aircraft which we get from abroad, although that may be necessary during an emergency, but rather on our producing them ourselves. That means developing our basic industrial strength. That again means our going ahead with our programmes for development and industrialisation as fast as we can. We cannot afford to allow the Five Year Plan to be ignored or delayed.

15. I have just been reading about the growth of science and technology in China, and it appears that they have made very considerable progress during the last dozen years. Most of this progress was due to the help received from the Soviet Union. That help has been stopped, during the past year or two, and this has been a great loss to the Chinese. Nevertheless, the progress made by them is considerable, and they will no doubt go ahead in this respect. It is basically science and the applications of science that give strength to a country. For this reason, it is highly important that we should go ahead with scientific research in all the fields and apply it to our needs.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



### 13. To S. Radhakrishnan: Hajarnavis for Home Ministry<sup>36</sup>

February 18, 1963

My dear President,

Owing to the sad death of Shri B.N. Datar, Minister of State in the Home Ministry, it has become necessary to appoint someone in his place. The work of the Home Ministry is heavy, and I think the Home Minister<sup>37</sup> should have someone to relieve him of part of this work.

I would suggest for your consideration that Shri R.M. Hajarnavis, at present Deputy Minister of Mines & Fuel, should be appointed Minister of State in the Home Ministry. I am suggesting that he should be appointed as Minister of State, as Shri B.N. Datar was, as this will enable him to help the Home Minister effectively. Shri Hajarnavis has been an effective Deputy Minister for many years. He was previously in the Law Ministry and lately in the Ministry of Mines & Fuel.

I have enquired from the Minister of Mines & Fuel, Shri K.D. Malviya, if he is prepared to release Shri Hajarnavis, and he has agreed. The Home Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, is also agreeable to having Shri Hajarnavis in his Ministry.

It will be necessary, I think, to appoint a Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Mines & Fuel. I hope to write to you about this matter in two or three days' time.

Meanwhile, I trust you will be good enough to accept my recommendation in regard to Shri Hajarnavis. If you are agreeable, this may be announced at your convenience. The actual oath taking ceremony may take place three or four days later.<sup>38</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

36. Letter to the President. President's Secretariat, File No. 8/63, p. 1.

37. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

38. See also items 10 and 14.



## 14. To R.M. Hajarnavis: Offer of Home Ministry Job<sup>39</sup>

February 18, 1963

My dear Hajarnavis,

I would like you to become a Minister of State in the Home Ministry. As you know, a vacancy has been created there by the death of B.N. Datar. I should like you to fill that vacancy.

I think that this work would particularly suit you with your knowledge of law. The Home Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, would be happy to have you as a colleague in his Ministry.

I have asked Shri Kesheva Deva Malaviya, Minister of Mines and Fuel about this, and he has agreed to my suggestion.

Please let me have your formal consent so that I can write to the President about it.<sup>40</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 15. In the Rajya Sabha: T.T. Krishnamachari on Governance<sup>41</sup>

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state<sup>42</sup>:

- (a) Whether he has read the speech of Shri T.T. Krishnamachari delivered on 4th February while inaugurating the 35th annual general meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power;
- (b) If so, whether the Ministers are free to criticise their colleagues in public; and
- (c) If the reply to part (b) above be in the negative, what action has been taken in the matter?

The Prime Minister (Jawaharlal Nehru):

- (a) The Prime Minister has read the press report of this speech.

39. Letter to the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Mines and Fuel.

40. Earlier correspondence, items 10 and 13.

41. Oral Answers, 27 February 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Volume XLII, Nos. I-II, 18th February to 4th March 1963, pp. 987-989.

42. Question by M.P. Bhargava and S.N. Mishra, both Congress.

- (b) and (c). Ministers do not usually criticise their colleagues in public. This is a matter largely in the discretion of the Ministers concerned. No action has been taken in the matter.

M.P. Bhargava: May I know whether the hon. Minister has been asked to submit the full text of his speech to the Prime Minister?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not necessary to ask him because it was available otherwise too.

M.P. Bhargava: May I know whether the Prime Minister is aware that the hon. Minister was pleased to say that the Ministers gloat over their imaginary achievements? May I know whether any reference has been made by Mr T.T. Krishnamachari to give specific instances where this sort of thing has happened?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no reference has been made to Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari. There is nothing to refer about because it is quite natural for a Minister of department of Government to say what they are going to do, but going to do does not mean that it has been done. It is a question of stress.

M.S. Gurupada Swamy:<sup>43</sup> Since the speech of Shri T.T. Krishnamachari was intended to bring forth some of the weaknesses, drawbacks and faults or the malfunctioning of certain schemes and the administration in particular, may I know whether steps have been taken by the Government, in view of the speech made by him, to bring about reforms and changes in the schemes and in the administration?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Steps are continually being considered and taken in regard to that matter, and in taking of the steps and in the consideration of those steps, Mr T.T. Krishnamachari is himself engaged but in a vague thing like this, I mean a vague charge like this, which covers almost every activity of Government, the whole administration, such charges are inevitably partly true and partly may be exaggerated or underrated, but we are always trying to improve. This is the main object of Government trying to improve its functioning.

S.N. Mishra: Sir, my question having been clubbed with another question of my colleague, has taken on a different complexion. I am not concerned

43. PSP.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

with the propriety or impropriety of it but what I want to know from the Prime Minister is whether he has drawn the attention of the various agencies concerned for mending matters as revealed by a very knowledgeable and responsible person.

Jawaharlal Nehru: If the hon. Member means, by taking steps, to draw the particular attention to the statement made by Mr T.T. Krishnamachari, I have not done so in any specific form but I am generally and frequently doing that.

Bairagi Dwibedy:<sup>44</sup> May I know whether the criticism leveled against some Ministers by Shri T.T. Krishnamachari is the bare realisation of the truth which he has spoken before the public?

Chairman: It is not clear.

Bairagi Dwibedy: The criticism leveled by Shri T.T. Krishnamachari against some Ministers is the bare realisation of the truth that has been spoken before the public.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, the hon. Member has taken the trouble to repeat the question twice and yet I have not understood him but I do not quite know what Ministers he refers to. I have read the full report of the speech and there is no reference to ministers. Ministries, certainly, he has referred to. He was speaking to engineers and he mentioned some engineering projects and said that what had been said by them had not been realised.

### **16. To Binodanand Jha: Rajendra Prasad's Death<sup>45</sup>**

February 28, 1963

My dear Binodanandji,

I have just had your telephone message, informing me of the sad passing away of Dr Rajendra Prasad. This has indeed come as a shock. I was greatly looking forward to seeing him on the 6th of March when I am visiting Patna.

44. Swatantra Party.

45. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar. PMO, File No. 2(456)/63-65-PMS, Volume I, Sr. No. 3-A.



One of our great men, a pillar of our old guard, and one who was particularly associated with Gandhiji, has passed away and we must all feel very sad about it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 17. Rajendra Prasad's Death<sup>46</sup>

I have just heard with great sorrow of the passing away of Dr Rajendra Prasad. This has come as a shock. I was looking forward to paying him a visit soon to pay my regards and respects to him. Rajendra Babu's death removes one of the greatest of our leaders, one who was a pillar of strength for the last forty-five years and who was so closely connected with Gandhiji. The great part he played in our independence struggle is a shining chapter in our history. Subsequently and inevitably, he was President of our Constituent Assembly and later he played a distinguished part in the high office of President. The old links with our past gradually disappear and we who remain have to carry the burden.

Rajendra Babu has however left a gracious memory which we shall always cherish, remembering his mature wisdom, his gentleness and the brave leadership he gave us during all these years. Our homage goes out to him.

## 18. In New Delhi: On Rajendra Prasad<sup>47</sup>

सदर साहब, भाइयो और बहिनो,  
मुझे कुछ ठीक समझ में नहीं आता कि मैं आपसे कहूँ क्या इस मौके पर। राजेन्द्र बाबू की तारीफें करना, हो सकता है, वे सभी कर रहे हैं और आप भी उनको किसी कदर जानते ही थे आप सब। मेरे सामने तो सैकड़ों, हजारों तस्वीरें आती हैं दिमाग के सामने, चित्र आते हैं उनके मुतालिक और उस जमाने के जिस जमाने में उन्होंने एक बड़ा जबरदस्त हिस्सा लिया। करीब पैंतालीस बरस से मैं भी उन्हें जानता था और ख़ाली जानता नहीं था करीब उनसे चालीस बरस तो बहुत करीब का साथ रहा, कांग्रेस के कामों में साथ रहा बहुत दिन तक और आखिरी दस-बारह बरस एक अजीब रिश्ता था मेरा उनका, वो हमारे राष्ट्रपति थे और मैं मंत्री था। एक विधान के तौर से भी रिश्ता था और पुराना अपना

46. Message, 28 February 1963, for the press. PMO, File No. 2(456)/63-65-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 1-A.

47. Speech, 2 March 1963, at Ramlila Maidan; NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 11340, NM No. 1961.

रिश्ता तो था ही करीब का। तो बहुत तरह से उनको देखने का मौका मिला और वे सब तस्वीरें मेरे सामने आती हैं।

एक मैंने आपसे कहा उनका गुजरना एक जमाने का गुजरना है और वह एकदम से जमाना नहीं गुजरता, हल्के-हल्के जो कड़ियाँ हम में थी उस जमाने से मिलाती थी, वो अलग होती जाती हैं और एक बहुत बड़ी कड़ी राजेन्द्र बाबू थे क्योंकि उनका पूरा जो कि गांधी युग कहलाता है, उसमें पूरा उनका साथ नहीं था बल्कि एक असर था, बड़ा हिस्सा उनका था और उसके बाद इस नये जमाने में। यह हमारे लिए एक खुशनसीबी की बात हुई कि एक जमाना बदला, एक युग बदला, दूसरा आया, उसमें कोई-कोई सिलसिला जारी रहा, टूटा नहीं, हालांकि दुनिया हिन्दुस्तान की बदल गयी आजादी आने पर, नई बातें आईं, लेकिन फिर भी कुछ ऐसा इत्तिफाक हुआ जिस तरह से वो आया कि वो सिलसिला जारी रहा, सिलसिला जारी रहा और उसमें, उस सिलसिले के जारी रखने में राजेन्द्र बाबू का भी बड़ा हाथ था। जाहिर है वो जमाना ख़तम होने ही वाला था, उस जमाने के लोग जो थे वो कड़ियाँ थी, वो हल्के-हल्के गुजरे। सबसे पहले आजादी के बाद गांधी जी गुजर गये, हल्के-हल्के और भी गुजरे हैं हमारे बड़े नेता उस जमाने के और जो-जो एक गुजरता है एक जगह ख़ाली हो जाती है, जिसका भरना दुश्वार है, और जो लोग उस जमाने के आदी हैं उनके लिए एक सूनापन सा हो जाता है। तो राजेन्द्र बाबू गुजरे और हमें रंज है, अफसोस है, दुख है क्योंकि एक पुराने साथी, एक पुराने बुजुर्ग नेता हमारे और एक जिन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान की शान बढ़ाई और अपने ढंग से बढ़ाई, एक महज उस ढंग से नहीं कि हम शेखी की तरह अड़ते फिरे। राजेन्द्र बाबू के साथ उठना या शेखी के शब्द भी अजीज मालूम होते हैं क्योंकि बड़े आदमी थे, बड़े लायक, बड़े ऊँचे से ऊँचे जगह पर पहुँचे हैं भारत के, फिर भी जैसा कि आप जानते हैं अच्छी तरह से और बार-बार कहा गया उनकी सादगी में जरा असर नहीं हुआ। और उन्होंने दिखाया कि हिन्दुस्तान का एक माने में एक मामूली हैसियत का आदमी कैसे बहुत बड़ा हो सकता है, मामूली हैसियत का मैंने कहा इस माने में कि वो राजा-महाराजा के लड़के नहीं थे, न अमीर ख़ानदान के, एक किसान थे और उन्होंने आपको मालूम होगा जो अपनी पब्लिक में जिन्दगी शुरू की वो भी किसानों में शुरू की चम्पारन के सिलसिले में, जबकि गांधी जी आये थे चम्पारन में। तो ऐसा आदमी भी ऊँचे से ऊँचे दर्जे पर पहुँच सकता है और जबरदस्त असर भारत के बदलने पर, भारत के इतिहास पर डाल सकता है और असली बात यह है कि ऊँचे पहुँचने पर भी वो, वो कुछ अपनी तर्ज को नहीं बदलता, वैसा ही रहता है। यह ख़ास एक, अगर मैं कह सकूँ हिन्दुस्तानियत है यह, ऐसे आदमियों को पैदा करना, मेरा मतलब नहीं कि और दुनिया में बड़े आदमी नहीं होते हैं, होते होंगे, हैं, लेकिन कुछ ख़ास हिन्दुस्तानियत, भारतीयपन है इस बात में। हमने अपना सबमें बड़ा नेता किसको बनाया था? गांधी जी को, एक सीधे-साधे फकीर आदमी, न उनके पास कोई बाहरी शक्ति थी, न फौजी, न पैसा, न कुछ, उनकी कदर ने बनाया। कदर तो ऐसे लोग अक्सर करते हैं, मजहबी पेशवा होते हैं, वगैरा, लेकिन उनको अपने राष्ट्रीय कामों का पेशवा बनाया, यह एक नई बात है, शायद बहुत कम मिलें कहीं, अगर कहीं हों तो कुछ हिन्दुस्तानियत, हिन्दुस्तानीपन इन बातों में है। इस माने में



राजेन्द्र बाबू भी खास एक सोलह आने उस हिन्दुस्तानीपन को दिखाते थे अपनी जिन्दगी में, अपने काम में, अपने बर्ताव में जिस ढंग से उन्होंने निभाया इस बड़े ओहदे को, शान से, नम्रता से, सरलता से, सादगी से, वो भी एक खास चीज है। तो, लेकिन जमाना गुजरा और जमाने के गुजरने से लोग भी गुजरते ही हैं लेकिन राजेन्द्र बाबू की याद और उनका नाम हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में एक बड़ी ऊँची जगह पायेगा। और हम क्या कह सकते हैं, उनको याद करें, उनकी मिसाल से फायदा उठायें, सीखें, यही हम कर सकते हैं और तब तक हम उन बातों को जिनके लिए राजेन्द्र बाबू, विशेषकर जिनकी आजकल तारीफें होती हैं उनमें यह बातें थी, उन बातों को याद करें और उनसे फायदा उठायें।

भारत के सामने राजेन्द्र बाबू की जिन्दगी में बड़े सवाल उठे। हमारी आजादी हासिल करने का सवाल उठा, उसमें उन्होंने बड़ा भाग लिया और जब आजादी हासिल करने के बाद वो यहाँ आये, हमारे राष्ट्रपति हुए पहले विधान सभा के, कॉन्सटीट्यूएन्ट असेम्बली के सदर हुए, फिर राष्ट्रपति हुए, नये सवाल उठे, नई जिम्मेदारियाँ थी। जिस तरह से उन्होंने उसको निभाया, उसके खास माने हैं यानी शुरु राष्ट्रपति वो थे, हमारे सभों के लिए शुरु था वो जमाना, लेकिन उनका एक बड़ी जिम्मेदारी का जमाना था, जिस तरह से उन्होंने निभाया उससे हमारे लिए एक मिसाल हो गई, कन्वेन्शन उन्होंने बनाये, बने, जिससे हिन्दुस्तान मजबूती से जमा, इस नये दौर पर चला। आप इधर-उधर देखें जरा दुनिया की तरफ, एशियाई दुनिया की तरफ, और मुल्क हैं, हमारे पड़ोसी मुल्क और और भी, अब मैं तो मुकाबला नहीं करना चाहता अपने मुल्क का किसी और से, लेकिन फिर भी कभी न कभी जरा नजर डालना इधर-उधर अच्छा होता है। हम देखें कि और मुल्कों में क्या-क्या हुआ, खासकर उनका तर्ज-ए-हुकूमत, उनके विधान वगैरा कैसे उलट-पलट होते गये, कोई जमा नहीं मुल्क। और उसके मुकाबले में हमारे देश को देखें आप, एक रास्ते पर चला, उसमें कुछ न कुछ अदल बदल होती जाये लेकिन बुनियादी एक रास्ते पर चला, चलने की कोशिश की और किसी कदर कामयाबी से चला और चलता जाता है बावजूद इसके कि अब बड़ा हमला चीनियों का हुआ हमारे ऊपर। वो एक ऐतिहासिक बात हुई हमारे लिए ख़तरे की, और उसका भी हमने सामना करने का इरादा किया, तैयारी की पूरी, कर रहे हैं, लेकिन उससे भी हमारा अन्दरूनी जिस रास्ते पर हम चल रहे थे उसमें कोई खास ख़लल नहीं पड़ा, यानी हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी एक मजबूती से जमी और अगर ऐसे मौकों पर नहीं फर्क पड़ा तो यकीन कर सकते हैं कि आइन्दा भी नहीं पड़ेगा। तो इस जमाने में कितना बड़ा हिस्सा राजेन्द्र बाबू का था इन कन्वेन्शंस को बनाने का, माकूल करने का, वो कहीं बाहर तो उनका जिक्र बहुत कम होता है लेकिन जो लोग, जिन लोगों का उनसे मिलने का इत्तिफाक होता था, जानने का, उनके साथ काम करने का, वो लोग इसको समझ सकते हैं, महसूस कर सकते हैं।

तो मैंने आपसे कहा जमाना बदला, बहुत बड़ा जमाना बदलने का, तो उस वक्त सवाल उठा था जब गांधी जी ने हमें छोड़ दिया। उसके बाद मैं समझता हूँ उस जमाने के सबसे हमारे बुजुर्ग और प्रिय नेता जो अब तक हमारे साथ थे उनका गुजरना दूसरी निशानी हो गई इसकी। और जमाना बदला लेकिन बदलने में उस जमाने में जो कुछ हमें सिखाता है उनको



नहीं भूलना है। बहुत सारे नौजवान आजकल हैं, उनके लिए तो वो पुराना जमाना, गांधी युग एक कहानी है, इतिहास है, जिसको किताबों में पढ़ा, उनको खुद को तजुर्बा नहीं है। यह तो होता ही है लेकिन न अपना जाति तजुर्बा न भी होने पर उनको यह जानना चाहिए कि बड़ा जमाना था। बड़ा तो यों है ही क्योंकि भारत में स्वतंत्रता लाया वो जमाना, उसके अलावा भारत के लोगों को उसने कुछ तैयार किया, कुछ अनुशासन सिखाया, डिसिप्लिन सिखाया और एकता सिखाई, तभी हुआ यह। हमारी पुरानी कुछ कमजोरियाँ थी, उनको हठाने की कोशिश की और कामयाबी से बहुत कुछ कोशिश की, ये सब बातें हुई। तो उस जमाने से हम बहुत कुछ सीखते हैं और सीखने में बहुत तरीके होते हैं लेकिन आखिर में एक अच्छा तरीका है—उस जमाने के बड़े आदमियों को देखना, उन्होंने कैसे क्या-क्या किया, उनका घर क्या असर उस जमाने पर हुआ, गांधी जी तो हैं ही हमारे सबमें बड़े सिखाने वाले अब भी, राजेन्द्र बाबू—बड़ा ऊँचे ओहदे उसमें, उनसे हम सीखें, उनके तर्ज, उनके, जिस तरह से उन्होंने बड़े सवालों का सामना किया और अपनी तबियत पर असर होने नहीं दिया बावजूद इसके। इस तरह से हम यह फायदा उठा सकते हैं इससे, महज एक जाबते की तारीफें तो हो सकती हैं, हरेक की होती हैं, ऐसे मौकों पर उनकी तारीफ करने की, बहुत बातें हैं कहने की, वो तो आप सुनते हैं, सुनेंगे, लेकिन कुछ मामूली तारीफ से एक अलग बात होती है एक आदमी का बड़ापन असल में, एक महापुरुष होना असल में, वो बात राजेन्द्र बाबू में थी, उसकी हम याद रखें और उससे कुछ सीखें।

[Translation begins:

Sadr Sahib, Brothers and Sisters,

I do not quite know what to say to you on this occasion. I can sing the praises of Rajendra Babu as others have done. All of you knew of him to some extent. Thousands of pictures come to my mind of the days when he played a prominent role in our freedom struggle. I have known him for over forty-five years and during that time, I have had a very close relationship with him in the Congress and outside. In the last ten to twelve years, of course, our relationship has been an extraordinary one, as that of President and Prime Minister. It was a constitutional relationship apart from the closer personal one which had already existed. In this way, I got the opportunity of being with him for a long time and so, innumerable pictures come to my mind.

As I said, his death marks the passing of an entire era. It does not happen suddenly. Gradually, one by one, the links between us and that age are being broken. Rajendra Babu was a very great link because he was there almost throughout the age that is known as the Gandhian era. He played a very prominent role and exerted a great influence upon everyone. It was our good fortune that times changed and the transition into the new age took place smoothly. India became free and our world began to change in innumerable

ways. But by a strange coincidence, the link with the past remained unbroken and Rajendra Babu played a prominent role in ensuring the smooth transition. But it is obvious that the old era had to end some day and with the passing away of the old guard, one by one, the process is coming to an end. The first to go after India became free was Gandhiji, then other leaders passed away one by one and each death leaves a big void which it is difficult to fill. To those of us who are left behind, there is a strange emptiness of spirit.

So, we are all grieved and saddened by the passing away of Dr Rajendra Prasad, an old and valued comrade, and a leader who had enhanced the prestige of his country greatly, in his own way. He did not do it with any outward show. It seems strange to use the word pomp and show in connection with Rajendra Babu because he was a very great man, very able and learned and had reached the highest position in the land. Yet, as you know very well, and it has been said repeatedly, it did not make the slightest difference to his simplicity and austerity. He demonstrated to the world how a man of very humble beginnings and stature can rise to the highest honour in India. I said ordinary stature in the sense that he was not the son of a prince or a rich man. He came from peasant stock and you may be aware that he started his public life in Champaran among the farmers when Gandhiji went there. So, a man can start from humble beginnings and reach the highest position and impart a powerful influence on India's history. Even when he reaches the highest position, he does not change his basic way of life. This is, if I may say so, a specially Indian quality which produces such greatness. I do not say that great men are not born in other countries. I am sure they are. But there is something uniquely Indian about this. Our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, was a man of a simple, austere way of life who had neither wealth nor military might behind him. The entire country holds him in reverence. Such reverence is usually reserved for religious leaders. It was a new thing to revere a political leader as we revered Gandhiji. You will seldom find this anywhere else. There is something peculiarly Indian in this. In this sense, Rajendra Babu proved himself to be a hundred per cent Indian in his life style, work and behaviour. He held this great position with dignity, humility, courtesy and simplicity. But the times change and people pass away. However, the name of Rajendra Babu will occupy a prominent place in the history of India. We must strive to keep his memory fresh and learn from his example. That would be the most fitting tribute to his memory.

During Rajendra Babu's lifetime, India faced great problems. There was the struggle for freedom in which he played a very prominent role. Then, after India became free, he became the first President of India. Before that he was elected President of Constituent Assembly. New issues came up, new



responsibilities fell upon his shoulders and the manner in which he handled them has a special significance. He was the first President of India. For all of us, it was the beginning of a new era. But for him, it was a time of tremendous responsibility and the manner in which he discharged it has become an example for all of us. He was responsible for a number of conventions which have grown up and for setting our feet firmly upon the path of parliamentary democracy. If you look around at our neighbouring countries of Asia—I do not wish to make any comparisons but sometimes it is a good thing to see what is happening all around us—you will find that there has been great instability in most of them with coups and change of government and what not. Compared to that, India has managed to stay on an even keel and adhered to a basic policy or at least tried to, and has succeeded to some extent. We continue to abide by that policy in spite of the Chinese aggression which was a historic event for us and posed great danger to the country. We were determined to face it calmly and are making all the necessary preparations. However, that has made no difference to the fundamental domestic policy which we have been following. The freedom of India has been consolidated and having braved this crisis, it is to be hoped that nothing can shake it in the future too. The role played by Rajendra Babu in this period in developing the proper conventions seldom finds mention outside. But those who had the opportunity of meeting and knowing him and working with him were able to understand and realise it.

As I said times changed and the greatest blow was dealt when Gandhiji left us. After that, I think the passing of one of our oldest and most beloved leaders is another symbol of the passing of an era. But in all this upheaval, we must not forget the lessons of that age. To most of our youth today, the Gandhian era belongs to the history books. They have no personal experience. That is inevitable. But even though they have had no personal experience, they must know that that was a great age not only because it was the time of our freedom struggle but also because of the fact that it moulded and prepared the people, instilled a sense of discipline and unity among them. It made an attempt to get rid of some of our old weaknesses with some success.

So, we can learn a great deal from those days. There are many ways of learning things. But ultimately the best way is to learn about the things that the great men of that age did and how they influenced the times that they lived in. Gandhiji remains our greatest teacher even now. But we must learn from Rajendra Babu too, who occupied a great position and from the manner in which he faced great problems without allowing them to overcome him. In this way, we can benefit from his life. On such occasions, it is usual to praise the individual and there is a great deal which was praiseworthy in his life. But there is something apart from all this which is to be found in really great men.



That was to be found in abundance in Rajendra Babu and we must cherish that memory and learn from it.

Translation ends]

## 19. In Patna: Congress and India<sup>48</sup>

कुछ अरसे से मेरी इच्छा थी पटना जाने की, विशेषकर तो इसलिए कि मैं राजेन्द्र बाबू से मिलना चाहता था और यों भी एक जमाने से मैं नहीं आया था पटना, जबसे यह चीनी आक्रमण हुआ और कुछ मेरी इच्छा थी कि यहाँ के हमारे साथियों से, औरों से मिलना हो, उनसे कुछ कहना-सुनना हो। फिर स्वामी जी<sup>49</sup> मेरे पास आये थे, उन्होंने विशेषकर जोर दिया कि मैं यहाँ आऊँ, भारत सेवक समाज के लोगों से मिलूँ। तो उनके जाने के बाद ही तारीख़ वगैरा निश्चय हुई मेरे आने की। अब मुझे दुख है, जाहिर है कि जो एक पहला कार्य मेरा था यहाँ आने का, राजेन्द्र बाबू से मिलने का वो नहीं हो सका, लेकिन ख़ैर दुख भी है और उसी के साथ यह भी मैं सोचता हूँ कि हमारे जो महापुरुष देश में पैदा हुए और उन्होंने शान का, जोरों का काम किया। यह कोई दुख की बात नहीं है, हाँ दुख है कि वो चले गये, वो तो होवे ही गा लेकिन हमें, इस बात से हमारा दिल भी बढ़ना चाहिए कि ऐसे लोग हमारे देश में हुए हैं, कार्य किया है। क्योंकि आखिर में किसी देश की भी कोई गिनती से देश नहीं चलते हैं, कितने लोग हैं, क्वांटिटि से नहीं, क्वालिटी से चलते हैं, कितने ऊँचे दर्जे के लोग हैं, ऊँचे दर्जे के किसी बात में भी, उससे देश का अच्छा होता है। यहाँ तो ख़ैर एक किस्म के ऊँचे दर्जे के लोग, एक बुनियादी तौर पर महात्मा जी ने कुछ चुन-चुन के निकाला और लोगों को सिखाया जिससे भारत की एक बुनियाद मजबूत हुई। दूसरे ढंग के लीजिए, वो भी अब बहुत आवश्यक है जो कि आजकल की कलाओं में, आजकल की विद्याओं में, विज्ञान में ऊँचे हों, आजकल की दुनिया। आजकल अगर देश कोई बढ़ता है, तो आजकल के गुण होने चाहियें उनमें, जो कि सब बुनियादी तौर से विज्ञान से निकाले हैं। यह सब मशीन वगैरा जो कुछ हैं, तो वो होने चाहियें। जिस देश में ऐसे लोग काफी होते हैं वो देश बढ़ता है, और बातें आप नहीं समझिए कि रुपये से बढ़ता है। रुपये की आवश्यकता तो होती है कुछ, जरूर, वो जल्दी हो सकता है लेकिन रुपये को आदमी पैदा करता है और अगर आदमी न हो तो कितना ही रुपया हो उससे कुछ काम नहीं चलता।

तो हमारे सामने इस वक्त भी देश में यह विषेशकर ख़्याल है कि लोग सिखाये जायें, लोग इन बातों को सीखें जिससे उनकी हालत, उनकी क्वालिटी बढ़ती है, इससे देश बढ़ता

48. Speech, 6 March 1963, at Rabindra Bhawan, Patna. J.N.'s speeches from Tapes, AIR, TS No. 9356, NM No. 1790.

49. Swami Harinarayanand.

है सारा। हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में बहुत सारी बातें हैं, लेकिन बुनियादी बात यही है कि लोगों को सिखाना, चाहे वो सिखायें जैसे हमें शुरु से सिखाना, बच्चों को सिखाना, बच्चों को सिखाना होता है। यह अति आवश्यक बात है कि बच्चों को हम छोटी से छोटी उम्र से सिखाना शुरु करें, प्राथमिक शिक्षा दें, दूसरी शिक्षा दें, और ज्यादा दें और सिखाना खाली किताब पढ़ना नहीं, लेकिन काम करना और मेरी तो बहुत इच्छा है कि जो जिसको हम बेसिक स्कूल्स कहते थे और अब भी कहते हैं उनका सिद्धांत बहुत अच्छा है, यानी पढ़ाई-लिखाई में भी कुछ हाथ का काम करना हो, कुछ पैदा करना हो। इससे पढ़ाई-लिखाई में हानि नहीं होती बल्कि पढ़ाई-लिखाई भी ज्यादा अच्छी हो जाती है, चाहे कुछ समय किसी और काम में लगे, कुछ बिहार में तो है यह बात, मैं तो चाहता हूँ सारे देश में फैले, अच्छी तरह से फैले। रोज-ब-रोज मुझे इस बात का विश्वास होता जाता है कि एक पढ़ाई का यह एक बहुत आवश्यक अंग है कि कुछ आदमी पैदा करें अपने परिश्रम से, जिसको परिश्रम करने की आदत हो और कुछ पैदा करने की।

आजकल हमारे यहाँ चीनी आक्रमण हुआ तो अलावा इसके हम फौज वगैरा को हम तैयार करें, हमारा बड़ा सवाल यह हुआ कि हम कैसे देश का धन बढ़ायें, देश का धन बढ़ता है पैदा करने से, चाहे किसान पैदा करे खेती से या कारखाने में मजदूर पैदा करे या कारीगर करे, कुछ न कुछ इस तरह के काम करने से बढ़ता है। तो काम तो खैर है लेकिन इसके लिए फिर एक हवा होनी चाहिए, जिसमें कदर हो हाथ के काम करने की। हमारे देश में अब कुछ होती जाती है लेकिन है नहीं, अब तक है यह पूरी, और देशों में आप जायें, किसी में जाइये बड़े बहसों करते हैं साम्यवाद, समाजवाद और पूँजीवाद वगैरा की, लेकिन जिस वाद में भी आप जाइए वहाँ हाथ से काम करने वाले की कदर है, चाहे रूस में जाइये, चाहे अमेरिका जाइये। अमेरिका में अमीर से अमीर घराने का लड़का वो उसके लिए गौरव की बात है कि वो एक मामूली मजदूर की तरह उसने काम किया है और फिर बाद में जो कुछ हो। यह समझा जाता है आवश्यक सिखाने का उनका शिक्षा की दृष्टि से। जिस देश में हाथ से काम करने की कदर नहीं होती वो देश तरक्की नहीं करता और हमारे यहाँ इतने जातिभेद और जातिवाद वगैरा हुआ। यह काम करें या न करें और और बाज लोग कुछ भी काम न करें, औरों के काम पर रहें, इसलिए हमारे देश को बहुत हानि पहुँची।

यह सब मैंने आपसे इसलिए कहा कि भारत सेवक समाज जो शुरु हुई थी उसके पीछे कई विचार थे। एक तो खैर जो लिखा हुआ है वो तो है ही, कि कोई एक राजनीतिक संस्था न हो, न कोई खास दल के साथ हो, लेकिन एक संस्था काम करने की, सेवा करने की हो, लेकिन विशेषकर उसमें यह भी था विचार कि लोग खुद हाथ-पैर चलाना जानें, काम करना। हमारे यहाँ काम के माने, राजनीतिक काम के माने अधिकतर हो गये थे यह कि इधर-उधर फिर के व्याख्यान दें, नेतागिरी करें। खैर, व्याख्यान की जरूरत होती है, मैं यह तो नहीं कहता कि न दें लेकिन सारी दुनिया व्याख्यान दे, कुछ और न करे, दुनिया ठंडी हो जाये, यह आप भी समझ सकते हैं, और कामों से दुनिया चलती है, खाली व्याख्यानों के देने से नहीं, व्याख्यान भी समय पर उचित है देना। इसलिए इस बात पर जोर भारत सेवक



समाज ने दिया गया था कि खुद काम करने पर और एक और बात उसमें से निकालने की कोशिश की गई थी कि उसमें कोई यह बहस और झगड़े न हों जैसे अक्सर हमारी और संस्थाओं में होते हैं—कौन पदाधिकारी हो, बहुत गर्मागर्मी होती है, आप जानते हैं। तो जहाँ तक बन पड़े हमने कोशिश की थी उसमें कोई ऐसे पद रहे ही नहीं, कुछ न कुछ तो प्रबंध के लिए होना होता है, इंतजाम करना पड़ता है और वो दरवाजा उसका खुला हो कुछ काम करने वालों का, थोड़ा सा काम करें, चाहे वो रोज, प्रतिदिन थोड़ा सा समय दें, समय या एक सप्ताह में कुछ थोड़ा समय दें, जो कुछ है कुछ दें और उससे कुछ न कुछ हो जाये और हो जाने के अलावा उससे उनका लाभ हो। मुझे इसमें कोई शक नहीं जो ऐसे काम करते हैं उनको शारीरिक और मानसिक लाभ दोनों होते हैं।

खैर, यह तो मैंने आपसे पुरानी बातें कहीं जो आप सब जानते ही होंगे, हालांकि दोहराने की उसकी आवश्यकता है। तो अभी तक पूरीतौर से इस देश में वो हवा नहीं पैदा हुई है काम करने की, मेरा मतलब नहीं कि इस देश के लोग आलसी हैं, लेकिन ज्यादातर हमारे किसान वगैरा काफी मेहनत करते हैं, लेकिन फिर भी बाहर देशों का इसका मुकाबला हो तो असर नहीं होता है कि यहाँ बहुत काम करने वाले आदमी हैं, बहुत परिश्रमी आदमी हैं और कैसा ही देश हो जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा आप इसमें न पड़िए, इस बहस में कि वहाँ कौन वाद चलता है, किन-किन विचारों के लोग हैं, चाहे आप अमेरिका जाइये, चाहे जर्मनी जाइये, चाहे रूस जाइये, चाहे जापान जाइये, अलग-अलग नीति वहाँ चलती है, लेकिन उसके पीछे परिश्रम है। क्योंकि एक सिद्धांत को सब मानते हैं कि देश परिश्रम से बढ़ता है, खाली जबानी जमाखर्च से नहीं बढ़ता, जहाँ परिश्रमी लोग हैं और परिश्रम के साथ अक्ल होनी चाहिए वहाँ बढ़ता है। तो ये बातें कुछ मन में थी जब भारत सेवक समाज शुरू हुआ कि कोई रास्ता खुल जाये लोगों के लिए कि खाली राजनीति के मैदान में काम करें, वो तो ठीक है लेकिन उसी में न फंसे रहें और आपस के झगड़ों में बल्कि कुछ हाथ-पैर चला के काम करें जो हरेक कर सकता है और उसमें कोई बहुत बहस की बात भी नहीं है कि क्या आपकी ऊँची बातों में नीति है। अजीब बात है आप देखें, दो सबमें बड़े देश आजकल गिने जाते हैं, शक्ति से, एक अमेरिका और एक रूस और बड़ी बहसें होती हैं लेकिन साम्यवाद वगैरा की बहसें हों, कुछ विरोध करें उसका, कुछ उसके हक में हों, लेकिन दोनों जिस रास्ते पर चलते हैं वो बहुत कुछ एक रास्ते हों, यानी वो आजकल के विज्ञान के रास्ते पर चलने की कोशिश करते हैं। विज्ञान आपने अभी ऐसा सुना नहीं होगा कि विज्ञान साम्यवादी विज्ञान है और पूँजीवादी विज्ञान है या विज्ञान के अंश हैं, फिजिक्स हो, कैमिस्ट्री हो, यह तो नहीं आपने सुना साम्यवाद कैमिस्ट्री है और पूँजीवाद फिजिक्स है, यह तो नहीं है। इंजीनियर बनते हैं, वो साम्यवादी इंजीनियर नहीं होते, होंगे भी साम्यवादी, वो और बात है, इंजीनियरिंग की जो शिक्षा दी जाये उसमें न साम्यवाद आता है न पूँजीवाद आता है, वो तो एक यंत्रों की शिक्षा है, क्या दें, क्या उनका एक-दूसरे पर असर होता है, क्या शक्तियाँ हैं, बिजली है, यह है, वो है। आजकल की दुनिया इन्हीं बातों से चलती है, विज्ञान और विज्ञान की जो औलाद है वो बढ़ती जाती है, चाहे छोटी सी बातें हों, चाहे किसान की खेती हो या कारखाना हो या हवाई जहाज हो या रेलगाड़ी



हो या बिजली हो या लोग चाँद तक जाने की कोशिश करें सब विज्ञान की औलाद हैं। इसने सबमें बड़ी दुनिया में क्रांति पैदा की है पिछले डेढ़-दो सौ बरस में और जहाँ सबमें ज्यादा उनकी क्रांति हुई है वहाँ उस देश ने तरक्की की है, उसकी शक्ति बढ़ी है, उसकी धन-दौलत बढ़ी है, वहाँ लोग खुशहाल हो गये। तो अगर हम चाहते हैं अपने देश को गरीबी से दूर करना तो इन बातों को सीखना है, विज्ञान को, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं और विज्ञान के बच्चे हैं वही, मैंने आपसे कहा औलाद हैं, मशीनें, यंत्र वगैरा कैसे चलती हैं इनको समझना है और समझने के माने क्या हैं? यानी यह नहीं कि एक मोटर में मैं आया, कोई साहब मोटर रखते हैं, कोई साहब आपमें से? आप मोटर को चलाना सीखें, दस-पन्द्रह मिनट में आपको आ जायेगी, पहिए को पकड़ो, इसको दबाओ वो चलेगी, लेकिन मोटर में जरा गड़बड़ हो जायेगी तो अपाहिज हो जायेंगे, आप कुछ कर नहीं सकेंगे। इसके माने ये हैं कि आप मोटर का हाल कुछ जानते नहीं हैं, आप खाली वहाँ बैठकर बटन दबाना या कुछ करना जानते हैं। एक बच्चा-बच्चा अमेरिका में इसको जानता है, क्योंकि पैदा ही हुआ ऐसी हवा में, एक मशीन-ऐज का पैदा हुआ और वो कुछ उसको सही भी कर देगा आमतौर से मशीन में कुछ हो जाये। इसलिए, यानी एक हमें ऐसी हवा पैदा करनी है कि लोग कुछ पुराने गढ़ों में जो पड़े हैं विचारों के इस माने के उससे निकलें।

आपके बिहार का किसान से भला आदमी शायद ही कहीं ही मिले, तगड़ा आदमी, अच्छे आदमी हैं लेकिन आपके बिहार के किसान और बिहार के नहीं उत्तर प्रदेश के भी अधिकतर निहायत पिछड़े हुए हैं बावजूद भले होने के, निहायत पिछड़े हैं, जो उनके हल होंगे वो पुराने जमाने के हैं, जो उनका काम करने का तरीका है, मेहनत करते हैं लेकिन लाभ नहीं उठाते, जो दुनिया में नई बातें निकली हैं। अजीब हालत है कि बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश यह दुख की बात है कि हमारे देश में इस फेहरिस्त में जिसमें दिया जाता है कि व्यक्तिगत रूप से क्या आमदनी है, 'पर-कैपिटा इन्कम' क्या है, उसमें बहुत नीचे हैं और प्रदेशों से, और इसीलिए, हालांकि बिहार में बहुत बड़े-बड़े कारखाने हैं, फिर भी हैं क्योंकि किसान, किसान काफी नहीं पैदा करता, क्यों? मुसीबतें आयी हैं, बाढ़ आती है, नुकसान करती है, बहुत-बहुत बातें हैं माना और उनको हमें सम्भालना है लेकिन बात यह है कि वो अभी तक बिल्कुल उसके सामने नई दुनिया की मशीनें नहीं आयी। मेरा मतलब नहीं है आपके सब किसान ट्रैक्टर चलायें, न उनकी हैसियत है चलाने की, न इस इन्कम से वो चला सकते हैं, हाँ जो चला सकते हैं चलायें, लेकिन अच्छे हल हों, और छोटी-छोटी चीजें हैं, कीमती भी नहीं, तीस-चालीस-पचास रुपये के यंत्र हैं जो कि एक किसान चलाये, उनका समय बचे और उससे ज्यादा पैदा हो और असली बात यह है कि वो एक नई दुनिया में आयें जिसमें कुछ अपने मानसिक गढ़ों में से निकलें।

आपके पास उड़ीसा प्रांत है। उड़ीसा प्रांत बहुत बेचारा गरीब प्रांत है लेकिन मेरा ख्याल है कि आप देखेंगे कि बहुत तेजी से आगे बढ़ेगा। एक तो यह है कि उड़ीसा में जैसे बिहार में बहुत कुछ सामान है बढ़ने का, जमीन के नीचे और ऊपर है, जैसे बड़े कारखाने लोहे के बने हैं वगैरा, लेकिन यह नहीं वहाँ जो कोशिश हो रही है, विशेषकर यह है कि वहाँ के एक-एक, एक-एक जो ब्लॉक्स हैं उनमें एक ब्लॉक में, पंचायत समिति वगैरा में

सब जगह ऐसा काम किया जाये जिससे इन लोगों का ध्यान हो, इस नई दुनिया की तरफ जाये, यानी कुछ यंत्रों की दुनिया की तरफ, कुछ छोटी सी चीजें बनायें, गाँव-गाँव में बनायें। और उनको कुछ सिखाया जाये यहाँ मामूली किसानों को, सभों को, खाली कुछ स्कूल में नहीं, स्कूलों में तो कुछ करना ही चाहिए, इससे एक बुनियादी हवा बदलेगी और इससे खुद करना सीखेंगे। हम अब तक नहीं निकले हैं, हमसे मेरा मतलब है इस वक्त विशेषकर बिहार में और उत्तर प्रदेश में, अभी तक जमींदारी के असर से हम निकले नहीं, जमींदारी के दिमाग से निकले नहीं, जमींदारी चाहे खत्म हो जाये, लेकिन दिमाग बाकी है और वो दिमाग आजकल की दुनिया में नहीं चलता जैसे जमींदारी नहीं चलती थी, उसको हटना पड़ा, हटाया, लेकिन वो दिमाग चिपक गया है और उसको हटाना है। दो बातें हमें पीछे करती हैं एक तो जमींदारी का दिमाग और एक यह कास्ट और अलग-अलग बिरादरियाँ हों, जातिभेद, यह दो चीजें बड़ा पीछे करती हैं और दोनों बातें बिहार में जोरों से मौजूद हैं और मेरा ख्याल है कि अगर ये दो बातों पे कुछ उनका बोझा कम हो जाये बिहार पर तो बिहार बहुत तेजी से बढ़े। यह सवाल नहीं है, यह आप समझ लीजिए, सवाल नहीं है कहीं से रुपया यहाँ आता जाये और रुपया आपको ऊँचा कर देगा, रुपया बहुत काम नहीं करता है और जहाँ काम ठीक होता है रुपया आ ही जाता है। इंसान पैदा करता है रुपया, रुपया इंसानों को नहीं पैदा करता है, इंसानों को खराब कर देता है रुपया अक्सर। तो इस तरह से यह तो मैंने आपसे सब इधर-उधर की बातें कहीं, जिसका क्या सम्बन्ध है भारत सेवक समाज से, है कुछ न कुछ, क्योंकि कुछ इन बातों से अलग होके भारत सेवक समाज काम करना चाहता है और उससे लाभ होगा जहाँ वो करेंगे, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं। लेकिन सबमें अधिक लाभ होगा उन लोगों को जो उसमें काम करते हैं, उस काम को, वो ज्यादा अच्छे नागरिक हो जायेंगे और हम मदद करेंगे इस नई हवा को फैलाने में।

मैंने सुना है कि यहाँ बिहार में अक्सर जगह भारत सेवक समाज के कार्यकर्ताओं ने अच्छा काम किया और उसका काम जो बड़ा था उससे कुछ बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाओं में पड़ी थी, 'कोसी' वगैरा में उसमें भी अच्छा काम किया था, 'कोसी' में शुरू किया था ऐसा बड़ा काम। अब तो अक्सर जगह हो रहे हैं। तो गुंजाइश बहुत है करने की, लेकिन याद रखिए आप कि हमेशा जो काम आप करें उससे अन्दाजा किया जायेगा कि आप में कितना काम करने का मादूदा है। हर वक्त इम्तिहान आपका होगा क्योंकि और उसमें अगर आप दिखा न दें, साबित नहीं कर दें कि आप ज्यादा अच्छा उस काम को कर सकते हैं, ज्यादा किफायत से, ज्यादा लाभ होता है गाँव सभा को, औरों को जहाँ-जहाँ काम हो, तब आप सफल होंगे। शायद मैं नहीं जानता, बहुत हिन्दुस्तान भर में भारत सेवक समाज काम करती है थोड़ा सा, बहुत नहीं कहीं, उसमें शायद बिहार में और जगहों के मुकाबले में कुछ ज्यादा ही अच्छा होगा या मुझे मालूम नहीं, मुझे पता नहीं, और जगह शायद मालूम न हो, मुझे कभी-कभी स्वामी जी भी मिलकर मुझे बता देते हैं यहाँ का काम, उससे भी मालूम हो जाता है।

तो अब विशेषकर यह एक संकट का समय हमारे सामने आया चीनी आक्रमण की वजह से और जैसा मैंने कहा है यह बात दो-चार-दस महीने की नहीं है, यह देर की है।



मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि बहुत दिनों तक मुसलसल लड़ाई होती जायेगी हममें सरहद पर या कहीं और, लेकिन लड़ाई हो या न हो हमारा मुकाबला हो गया और मुकाबला जब दो बहुत बड़े देशों का होता है तो हल नहीं हो जाता कि हम अपना जोश आये और गाली दें दूसरे देश को, उससे हम पर कोई असर नहीं होता है। कभी-कभी हमारे उत्साह का असर हम पर ही हो, लेकिन कुछ जरा हम धोखे में पड़ जाते हैं कि हम कुछ गुल मचाने से हम अपनी हिम्मत दिखाते हैं इसलिए काम हो गया। कभी-कभी गुल मचाया जाये, मुझे उसमें कोई ऐतराज नहीं है लेकिन गुल काम की जगह नहीं रहता है और कुछ धोखा ही देता है। जब ऐसे दो बड़े देशों का मुकाबला हो जाये, जो भी उसका कारण हो उसके पीछे और दोनों की उसमें इज्जत फंस जाये कि हम भी नीचा नहीं देखेंगे, जैसा कि हम नहीं देखेंगे, किसी सूरत से नहीं देखेंगे नीचा, हम किसी सूरत से उनके डर के मारे दबेंगे नहीं। तो हमें यह ख्याल हुआ, चीन को भी यह ख्याल हुआ, हालांकि चीन हमारी राय में बहुत उसने अन्याय किया है लेकिन ख्याल हो सकता है तब वो लम्बी बात हो जाती है। आसान नहीं है किसी एक देश का दूसरे को पूरीतौर से हरा देना, लड़ाई में जीतना हराना हो सकता है, एक लड़ाई में जीते एक में हारे लेकिन उसके अलावा, लेकिन यह समझना कि दूसरा देश बिल्कुल दब जायेगा हार के, यह बड़े देश दबते नहीं हैं आसानी से, न हमारा देश दब सकता है, न चीन। इसलिए यह बात जरा लम्बी है, बरसों चलेगी और काफी हमारी, इसमें हमारा इम्तिहान होगा और उसके लिए इम्तिहान खाली हमारी फौजों का नहीं, जो वहाँ जाति हैं उनका तो होगा, लेकिन सभी लोगों का इम्तिहान, सारी जनता का। क्योंकि आजकल की लड़ाई या लड़ाई की तैयारी फौजी खाली नहीं होती, एक-एक फौज के सिपाही के पीछे सौ आदमी काम करते हैं, उसको खिलाने-पिलाने, सामान देने के लिए, हथियार बना-बना के देने को, चाहे वो किसान हो, चाहे कारखाने में हो, और कितने काम हैं, सारे देश का काम कुछ उसी किस्म का होने लगता है जिससे लड़ाई में या लड़ाई का सामान पैदा करने में मदद मिले। यह सब काम आजकल बढ़ते जाते हैं।

आपने देखा कि हमारी विकास योजना और 'कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट मिनिस्ट्री' है, उसने कुछ कहा है कि गाँव-गाँव में क्या करना चाहिए, सबमें बड़ी बात यह है अधिक पैदा करना चाहिए, उत्पादन होना चाहिए, यह बहुत आवश्यक है, गाँव में और कारखानों में, अलावा उसके और बातें भी लिखी हैं, उसमें स्वयंसेवक बनें, वॉलेन्टियर बनें एक-एक गाँव में। कोई वॉलेन्टियर वहाँ सरहद पर लड़ने नहीं जायेंगे लेकिन उससे हममें कुछ अनुशासन बढ़े, डिसिप्लिन बढ़े, मिलकर काम करने की आदत हो, वो मदद करे बहुत बातों में, हमारे खेत के कामों में मदद करे वहाँ, शांति रहे गाँव में, कोई झगड़े वगैरा न हों, इससे ताकत बढ़ती है। हम इसको गाँव-गाँव में इसको अपनी शक्ति बनाना चाहते हैं, बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और लोगों के दिल में डर न हो क्योंकि हम लोग लम्बी-लम्बी बातें करते हैं, लेकिन मैं नहीं जानता हूँ क्योंकि कोई भी नहीं जान सकता जब तक कि इम्तिहान नहीं हो कि अगर पटने शहर पर एकदम से बम्ब के गोले गिरने लगें तो क्या असर हो पटने के रहने वालों पर जो लोग बड़े शेर की तरह से इस वक्त गरजते हैं, क्योंकि कोई भी नहीं कह सकता,



अपनी निस्वत कोई नहीं कह सकता जब तक उसका सामना न किया हो कि क्या असर हो, उसके लिए हमें तैयार होना चाहिए। मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि कल-परसों या साल-छः महीने में बम्ब के गोले आपके शहर पर गिरेंगे, गालिबन नहीं गिरेंगे, लेकिन बम्ब गोले तो महज एक कहने की बात है, कोई भी आपत्ति हो, तो उसका कैसे सामना करें? उसके लिए हमें अपने दिमागों को सम्भालना है, तैयार करना है और तैयार होते हैं अपना यही है संगठन बना के, डिसिप्लिन करके, इसी तरह से होते हैं। इसलिए गाँव-गाँव में, शहर में हम चाहते हैं। गलत खबरें, इस कदर गलत खबरें तेजी से यहाँ फैलती हैं जिससे लोग घबरा जाते हैं अक्सर, इसको रोकना वगैरा, बहुत बातें हो सकती हैं अगर हम संगठित हों। इन सब बातों में भारत सेवक समाज बहुत सहायता दे सकता है अलावा इसके जो काम कुछ बनाने का करता है वो तो करना ही चाहिए, उसकी बहुत जरूरत है, और हवा पैदा करनी चाहिए ऐसे काम करने की।

तो मुझे खुशी है यहाँ बिहार में भारत सेवक समाज ने कुछ अच्छा काम किया है और मैं आशा करता हूँ और भी यह करेगा मजबूती से और उसके काम का असर होगा यह कि एक नई हवा, हरेक कुछ काम करने की नजर आयेगी, जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि हमारे सारे स्कूलों में, विद्यालयों में हैं, यह एक अंश हो पढ़ाई का कि वो कुछ हाथ-पैर से काम करते हैं। महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था कि चर्खा चलाने को। चर्खा बड़ी अच्छी चीज है चलाने की, लेकिन मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि खाली चर्खा चलायें, कुछ और हाथ-पैर का कुछ काम करें।

फर्ज कीजिए मैं मिसाल देता हूँ आपको, एक लड़ाई की मिसाल कि वो बनायें 'बैंडेजेज', जरूरत है उसकी, लेकिन कुछ न कुछ करें काम जो काम की चीज हो यानी वो बच्चा भी महसूस करे मैं कुछ पैदा कर रहा हूँ, मैं कुछ जरूरी चीजें बना रहा हूँ। तो उसको भी उसमें एक अच्छा असर होता है और चीज बनती है। उसमें कुछ देने में चाहे दो-दो आने, तीन-तीन आने का सूत भेज दें, कितना हो जाता है। तो मैंने जब यह सुना तो मैंने बिल्कुल पसन्द किया कि हाँ अच्छा है, किसी तरह से आप इसको चलायें बजाए इसके सरकारी मदद हो। आपको दस-बीस-पचास हजार रुपये मिल जायें सरकारी से और सरकारी ढंग से हो ठीक नहीं। एक मजबूत चीज है जो कि अपने ढंग से और कुछ न कुछ इस वजह से कुछ हवा रखनी है वो, उस जमाने से जब गांधी जी वहाँ रहते हैं इस ढंग से। इस तरह का हम देश बनाना चाहते हैं।

मैं खुद, आप जानते हैं कि एक मैं हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार का एक जुज हूँ, हिस्सा हूँ, लेकिन हर वक्त कुछ उस सरकारी आब-ओ-हवा के खिलाफ कुछ बलवा किया करता हूँ अपने दिल में, पसन्द नहीं है ढंग सरकारी, वो एक रूटीन हो जाता है, मशीन हो जाता है, अच्छे होते हैं वो जाहिर होते हैं नहीं तो देश नहीं चले, आवश्यक है करना, लेकिन मैं चाहता नहीं इस फंदे में पूरीतौर से पड़ना। तो भारत सेवक समाज सरकारी चीज नहीं है, यह अच्छी बात है इसके लिए, न इसको बहुत सरकार की तरफ देखना चाहिए सहायता के लिए। हाँ काम मिले और काम करना चाहिए और खुद काम निकालना चाहिए। तो

फिर से जो भारत सेवक समाज ने जो यहाँ काम किया है मैं आशा करता हूँ और जोरों से बढ़ेगा और इससे आप बिहार की सेवा करेंगे, देश के अपनी और अपनी भी सेवा करेंगे।  
जयहिन्द!

[Translation Begins:

I have been wanting to visit Patna for some time now, especially since I wished to meet Rajendra Babu. Even otherwise it has been a long time since I had visited Patna. Ever since the Chinese attack, I have wanted to meet with my colleagues, to talk about various matters. So, when Swamiji came to me and insisted that I should come to Patna and meet the members of the Bharat Sevak Samaj I agreed. The date was finalised only after he left. Now I feel sad that the first thing I had wanted to do, to meet Rajendra Babu, could not be done. It is obvious that I feel sad at his passing but at the same time he was a great man who had served the nation all his life. So though it is sad that he is no more we have to take courage from the fact that great men like him have been born in this country and worked for the nation. Ultimately, a nation is great not because of quantity but the quality of the human beings. The greater the men who work for the country, the better will it be in stature. In India, we have had men of great stature, Gandhiji had chosen each one and trained them and so strong foundations have been laid.

If you look at it from another angle, it is very important that we should excel in the arts, education, and science. A nation has to advance in science to become modern and develop. A country has to adopt new technology and machines etc. which are the offshoots of science. Please do not think that a country can go ahead only on the basis of wealth. It is the people of quality and training and skill which make a country advance. Wealth is of course necessary, it facilitates everything. But it is human beings who create wealth, without them nothing is possible.

So we have before us the urgent need to train human beings in fields which will make the country grow and develop. It will lead to the betterment of the people. Our Five-Year Plans have many aspects but the fundamental necessity is to train human beings. We have to start teaching children. Basic education is extremely important. It is very important that we start training and educating children from a very early age, primary school and then secondary, and not merely book learning but in other ways as well. I am very keen that the system of basic education should spread all over the country because it is based on very sound principles with its emphasis on developing skills, to be able to work manually. It does not hinder book learning, on the contrary, it actually helps if a child learns to do other things as well and to produce something. As



time goes by, I am more and more convinced that this is a very essential part of education, to be able to be productive, to do something manually.

Recently we have had the Chinese aggression, and apart from military preparedness, the major issue before us is how to produce more wealth in the country. A nation's wealth is what is produced in the country, agriculture, industry, what a farmer produces from land or workers manufacture in factories etc. But the important thing is that there should be the right mindset for this, and a respect for manual labour. This has not been so in India so far, though slowly people are learning the value of manual labour. If you visit other countries, no matter what ideology they may follow, socialism, communism, Capitalism, there is great respect for manual work, whether it is Russia or America. In America, even young people from the richest families take pride in tilling the land like an ordinary farmer. This is regarded as an essential part of their education. The country where manual labour is not held in respect cannot progress. Due to casteism, great harm has been done to the country, with some people living off the labour of the majority.

So, as I mentioned, the idea behind setting up the Bharat Sevak Samaj is, apart from what is written down in their manifesto, that it would not be a political organisation affiliated to any single party but an organization to serve the people, that people should do something manually, and not merely give speeches etc., which is what has been happening so far. Well, I am not saying that giving speeches is a bad thing or that people should not make speeches. They should do that but if everyone just made speeches and did nothing concrete otherwise, the world will come to a standstill. Speeches should be made at the appropriate time but we need work of different kinds. That is why the idea behind setting up of the Bharat Sewak Samaj has been to lay emphasis on manual labour. The other thing that it believes in is that there should be no tussle for posts, as it often happens in most organizations in the country which generates a lot of heat, as you are aware. So as far as it is possible, an attempt has been made to see that there are no hierarchical posts in the organisation. Of course, some administrative system has to be set up. But its doors are open, and people can work for as long as they want, whether it is daily or weekly. All that adds up and moreover it helps in the growth of the individual also. I have no doubt about it that those who serve in the organisation will benefit both physically and mentally too.

Well, I have repeated some things which all of you are aware of, since it is necessary to say them again. But this mindset is still not fully prevalent in the country yet. I don't mean to say that the people are lazy. They are extremely hardworking, especially those who till the land. But it does not bear comparison with what happens in other countries. And no matter what ideology is followed



in those countries, whether it is Capitalism or Communism, whether you go to America, Russia, Japan or Germany, and they follow different ideologies, it is backed by a belief in hard work. Everyone believes in the principle that a country can grow only with the hard labour of human beings combined with intelligence. So these were some of the underlying thoughts behind the setting up of the Bharat Sewak Samaj to provide a platform for service to the people, instead of only being in politics, though that is also necessary. Care has to be taken not to get bogged down in internal rivalries. This is not open to great debate after all that people should try to serve to the extent they can.

You will see that the strange thing is, the two superpowers are America and Russia and there are great debates about Communism etc., with some in favour and others opposed to the ideology. But ultimately both these countries are on the same path, on the path of science and technology. Now you would not have heard of Communist science or Capitalist science, Communist Physics or capitalist Physics or Chemistry etc. If someone is an engineer, he is not a Communist engineer, though he may believe in Communism. Engineering is taught as an education in technology and there is no Communism or Capitalism involved in that. It involves the offshoots of science like electricity and how they impact one another. The world of today is dependent on these forces of science and its offshoots. Whether it is big or small, whether it is agriculture or industries or railways, electricity, and now man is trying to go to the Moon—all these are offshoots of science which have led to a great revolution in the world in the last hundred or hundred and fifty years. The countries where this revolution has occurred are the ones which have progressed by leaps and bounds, they have generated great wealth and the population has become very prosperous. Therefore, if we want to eradicate poverty from India, we have to imbibe all this knowledge of science and technology, and learn to take advantage of their offshoots, machines and industry. What does that mean? You may drive a car, you may learn to drive in a very short time but if the car stalls, you will be helpless because you don't know how the car functions. But even a child in America will know how a motor car runs and may also be able to repair it because that is the mindset that prevails there. They are the product of the machine age. Therefore, we too must strive to change the mindset of the people steeped in outdated ways of thinking and create the atmosphere for imbibing new knowledge.

There is probably no better man than a farmer from Bihar, strong, good men. But the farmers in Bihar and also Uttar Pradesh are extremely backward in their thinking. They are good farmers but very backward working with outmoded ploughs and implements. They work hard but their methods are outdated. They do not take advantage of new techniques and knowledge. It is painful to see

that when we take into account the per capita income of individuals in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, they are very low on the scale in the country compared to other States. Though there are many large industries in Bihar, the output from agriculture is low. Why? Floods take place, causing great damage. I agree that there are many factors and we have to deal with them. But the fact is that they have not yet adopted new techniques and machines. I don't mean to say that all farmers should be driving tractors, for they do not have the skill or the income. But they can certainly use more modern ploughs and other small implements, not very expensive, for about forty-fifty rupees, which would be time saving and help with greater productivity. The main thing is that they should emerge into the modern world and get out of old mental ruts.

The State of Orissa adjoins Bihar. It is an extremely poor State. But in my opinion, it will progress very fast. For one thing, like Bihar, Orissa is also very rich in mineral resources, and big steel plants have come up. Not only this but an effort is being made through its various blocks and panchayat samitis etc. to educate people in modern techniques and to take them out of their old mental ruts. They will be encouraged to build small machine tools etc. They will be trained in these skills, the farmers as well children in schools. This will help to bring about a fresh way of thinking and enable them to learn to work and produce things themselves in the villages.

We have not yet got out of our old feudal mentality, in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Though zamindari has been abolished, we are yet to get rid of that mindset. That mindset does not fit in with the modern-day milieu. Two things drag us down, one is a feudal outlook and another is the caste system, with innumerable castes and sub-castes. Both these things are prevalent in Bihar, and in my opinion if they were both eradicated then Bihar can progress very fast. It is not merely a question of money. That can come from anywhere and in any case, once people become skilled, wealth will be automatically generated by them. It is human beings who produce wealth, not the other way around, on the contrary too much money can ruin a human being. I have been talking at random about all these things but they are connected to the aims and ideas behind setting up the Bharat Sewak Samaj. It wants to distance itself from these things which weaken the State and serve the people. There is no doubt that their efforts will be successful. The greatest benefit that will accrue is to the people who become skilled and we will help them in their efforts.

I have been told that the Bharat Sevak Samaj has been working at several places in Bihar and helped with some of the big projects like the Kosi Dam which are coming up in many places. So there is a great deal of scope to serve the nation. But please remember that whatever you do, you will be judged by how much you are capable of doing, how skilled you are. You will be constantly



under scrutiny. If you prove that you are capable of doing better and excelling at what you do and which benefits the villages, you will be truly successful. I do not know but I think Bharat Sewak Samaj works all over India, and perhaps more so in Bihar than in other States. I am not fully aware except from what Swamiji tells me from time to time.

I mentioned the Chinese aggression and as I said, it is likely to be a long drawn out affair. It will not be a matter of a few months. I don't mean to say that there will be warfare on our borders constantly. But whether there is fighting going on or not, the fact remains that two great countries are in conflict. And when there is conflict between two great countries, it does not get resolved quickly. Nor will slogans raised against the aggressor help. We may be led by our passion but we will be in error if we think that by shouting slogans, we are showing how brave we are or that that is enough. I have no objection to slogan-mongering but it cannot take the place of real hard work. When two nations are in conflict, it involves the pride of each, with no side ready to yield its position. We will certainly not bow down to pressure or be afraid to stick by our position. This is what we feel and no doubt so does China, though we feel that China is the aggressor. But the matter will be long drawn out. It is not easy for any one country to vanquish the other completely any longer. Nor is it possible to think that one country can dominate the other wholly, neither India nor China. Therefore, this matter will be long drawn out, it will go on for years, it will test us not only militarily but it will be a test of the entire country. In today's world military preparedness is not only about the armed forces, because behind every soldier, a hundred human beings have to work, to produce food for them, weapons, on land and in factories and innumerable other things. The entire country's efforts have to focus on the job of producing goods for use by the armed forces. All these tasks are increasing.

As you have seen our Community Development Ministry have set out some guidelines for the development of the villages. The most important thing is to increase productivity from land. That is very important. Then productivity in factories and industries must also be boosted. Other guidelines include the need for volunteers in every village. The volunteers need not be deployed at the border but by enrolling as volunteers, they will become disciplined, learn to work together as a team, and then they can help the farmers, maintain peace and calm in the rural areas, etc. which will make us stronger. We want to make every village our strength and make sure that there is no fear psychosis. Often all kinds of tales are spread. I don't know what will happen, and nobody can tell until we are put to the test, if bombs were to start falling on Patna. Nobody knows how that will affect the population and also how those who roar like tigers now will react then. Nothing can be said unless we are put to that test.



But we must be prepared for every eventuality. I don't mean to mean to say that in the near future or in a few months or a year you will have to face falling bombs. That may never happen. I am only citing an instance. The important thing is how we prepare ourselves to face any crisis that may befall us. We have to prepare ourselves mentally, and that is possible by getting ourselves organised, with discipline, in every village and town. Rumour mongering is rampant and that creates an atmosphere of fear. That must be stopped. We can do a great deal if are organised. Bharat Sewak Samaj can help a great deal in this respect, apart from helping in increasing productivity which is of course very essential. We have to create the right atmosphere.

So, I am very happy that Bharat Sewak Samaj is doing excellent work in Bihar and I hope that it will continue to do so with more determination. Its work will create a new mindset of being able to do something concrete. As I mentioned I want that in every school and college, apart from book learning a component of manual labour must form part of the curriculum. Mahatma Gandhi had talked of spinning the charkha which is a very good thing. But I don't mean merely spinning the charkha but the need to learn new skills.

Let me give you an example. Take the war effort. They can make bandages. Something useful can be made and each child will feel that he is contributing to the war effort. They can earn a little money also. When I heard that all this is happening, I was very pleased. The government will of course help. But just getting financial aid of a few thousand rupees from government is not enough. You have to contribute your mite in kind. We must all do our bit as we did in the time of Mahatma Gandhi.

As you are aware, I am myself a part of the Government of India but I constantly rebel against bureaucratic procedures and atmosphere because it is too mechanical, a routine. That is also important obviously for the smooth functioning of the country but I do not want to get bogged down in it. So it is a good thing that the Bharat Sewak Samaj is not a governmental organisation, nor should it look constantly for government doles. They should themselves work to generate wealth. So once again I will say that I hope the Bharat Sewak Samaj will function smoothly and effectively and spread its activities all over the country. You will be doing a great service to the people of Bihar and to the country and yourselves also.

Jai Hind.

Translation ends]

## 20. To Asoke Kumar Sen: Constitutional Review<sup>50</sup>

March 8, 1963

My dear Asoke,

S.S. More, MP,<sup>51</sup> wrote to me some time ago that we are dealing with amendments of the Constitution as occasion arises. The time has come when we might look at the whole Constitution and try to overhaul it with the experience gained during the last dozen years of its working. This will prevent odd changes which might conflict with some other parts of the Constitution.

This is logically a correct position. How far it can be done now, I do not know. Anyhow, as I told him, something has to be urgently taken up as delay would be harmful. He agreed to this but, nevertheless, said that a full review is necessary.

I am informing you of his viewpoint. Perhaps, if you like, you can have a talk with him on the subject.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 21. In Rohtak: Public Meeting<sup>52</sup>

बहिनो और भाइयो और बच्चो,  
आपके रोहतक शहर से बहुत दूर मेरा आमतौर से रहना नहीं होता, दिल्ली में, लेकिन फिर भी बहुत ज्यादा आना-जाना नहीं रहा है, दो-तीन दफे आया हूँ पहले भी। तो आज जो मैं आया, चौधरी रणवीर सिंह<sup>53</sup> की कोशिश से, तो मुझे खुशी है। बात तो यह है, मैं चाहता हूँ बहुत जगह हिन्दुस्तान में जाना, शहर और गाँव, पंजाब में और और सूबे हैं, लेकिन हमारा मुल्क लम्बा-चौड़ा बहुत है और बहुत वक्त लगता है मुझे दौरा करने में, और काम भी बहुत हैं, घर बैठ के, दफ्तर में। तो इसलिए मैं आ नहीं सकता जहाँ-जहाँ चाहता हूँ। खैर, आज यहाँ रोहतक फिर आया और इस बड़ी सभा में मैं आपसे बोल रहा हूँ, आपको देखता हूँ, आपका जोश, तो मुझे खुशी होती है। ख्तालियाँ,। खासकर रोहतक का अभी चर्चा सरदार प्रतापसिंह<sup>54</sup> ने किया, कुछ रोहतक की शोहरत हमारी फौज के सिलसिले में, और बातों में भी पहुँची है दूर तक। [तालियाँ]।

50. Letter to the Law Minister.

51. Congress.

52. Speech, 9 March 1963, AIR Tapes, TS No. 9353, 9354, 9355, NM No. 1788, 1789.

53. Ranbir Singh Hooda; Minister of Power and Irrigation, Government of Punjab.

54. Chief Minister of Punjab.



तो आपके पास मैं आया, कुछ आपको बधाई देने, मुबारिकबाद और याद रखिए मुबारिकबाद देने के दो माने होते हैं, एक तो पिछले कामों के लिए बधाई देना और उसके दूसरे माने हैं कि आगे के कामों के लिए और भी उम्मीद रखना। क्योंकि जो मुल्क महज पिछले ख्यालों में डूबा रहता है और समझता है कि बस हम, हमने कमाल दिखाया पिछले जमाने में, आगे का नहीं सोचता वो मुल्क हल्के-हल्के फिसल जाता है, कमजोर हो जाता है। हमेशा हमारी आँखें, निगाहें आगे रहनी चाहियें और आगे के लिए तैयार होना चाहिए। हाँ, ठीक है पिछले जमाने से भी हमें ताकत होती है याद करके, उसको याद रखना है, उससे सीखना है बहुत कुछ, लेकिन देखना तो हमें आगे है।

आप जानते हैं कि जब से हम आजाद हुए हमारा अव्वल काम क्या रहा? आपके सामने, पंजाब के सामने, अलावा अव्वल काम के कि आजादी के जो सारे मुल्क हुआ था, एक और मुसीबत आई थी, पंजाब के टुकड़े हो गये जैसे हिन्दुस्तान के हुए और बेशुमार लोग शरणार्थी होकर पाकिस्तान से आये और बहुत कुछ यहाँ से पाकिस्तान गये, सारा सूबा उखड़ सा गया। अब इसी पंजाब को आप देखें जो कि इतना परेशान था, रंजीदा था, एक माने में गिरा सा था, कैसे तगड़ा हो के फिर से खड़ा हो गया और हिन्दुस्तान में इस वक्त बाज बातों में पंजाब और जितने हमारे सूबे और प्रांत हैं उनके आगे हैं। इससे क्या हम नतीजा निकालें? यही कि पंजाब में जो लोग रहते हैं वो कामकाजी लोग हैं, मेहनती लोग हैं और हिम्मत रखते हैं, किसी दिक्कत आने पर, मुसीबत आने पर वो सहम नहीं जाते हैं, उसका सामना करते हैं, यह बड़ी बात है। असल बात यह है कि कहीं किसी मुल्क में भी आप जायें, दौलतमंद मुल्क हैं, तरह-तरह के मुल्क हैं, लेकिन आखिर में मुल्क बढ़ता है आगे लोगों की, वहाँ के लोग जो रहते हैं उनकी काबिलियत से, उनकी हिम्मत से। आखिर में आदमी रुपया या और कुछ बातें बनाता है, रुपया आदमी को नहीं बनाता है और अगर हमारे हिन्दुस्तान भर में लोग ऐसे हैं, काफी तगड़े, अक्लमंद, हिम्मत वाले, तो यकीनन हिन्दुस्तान आगे बढ़ेगा और बढ़ रहा है। ख्तालियाँ, अगर ऐसे लोगों की कमी है तो रुपये से नहीं कोई बढ़ता है, इंसान इंसान हो के बढ़ता है। तो यह बात।

हाँ, इंसान को मौका मिलना चाहिए, मौका न मिले तो क्या करे बेचारा। मौका कैसे मिलता है? हम चाहते हैं, हमारा ध्येय-लक्ष्य क्या है हिन्दुस्तान में? आपने सुना होगा कि हम चाहते हैं समाजवाद के ढंग पर समाज बनाना। अब समाजवाद का ढंग तो पेचीदा है, लेकिन मोटी बात उसकी बताऊँ आपको कि जिसमें हरेक शख्स को, मर्द और औरत को बराबर का मौका तरक्की का मिले। इसके क्या माने हैं, कैसे तरक्की होती है? अव्वल तो जाहिर है तरक्की होने के पहले आदमी को पेट भर के खाना मिलना चाहिए, फाकेमस्त लोगों की तरक्की नहीं होती। खाना मिले, घर रहने को मिले, कपड़ा पहनने को मिले, पढ़ने का इंतजाम हो, स्वास्थ्य का इंतजाम हो, डाक्टरी वगैरा, यह सभी के लिए होना चाहिए और उसके बाद जितनी काबिलियत हो, लियाकत हो उतना वो आगे बढ़ेगा, मौका मिले तब। आजकल सच बात तो यह है मौका सभी को नहीं मिलता है, पढ़ाई-लिखाई में भी, कुछ बढ़ता है, जाता है जरूर, तेजी से बढ़ रहे हैं लेकिन बहुत लोग हैं, बच्चे हैं जिनका पढ़ाई-लिखाई का ठीक इंतजाम नहीं है अभी। बाज का जरा अच्छा है, तो औरों का

जरा अच्छा नहीं है। खैर, इसको हमें करना है। मुल्क बहुत बड़ा है, लम्बा-चौड़ा है, और मुल्क को हिलाने में, उठाने में, चलाने में भी उसके बड़ेपन से कुछ कठिनाई हो जाती है। चवालीस-पैंतालीस करोड़ आदमी यहाँ रहते हैं और महज रहते नहीं हैं एक पुराने सिलसिले में बंधे हुए हैं, पुराने ढंगों में, उससे उनको किसी कदर नई बातें सिखानी हैं, नये तरीके सिखाने हैं जिससे वो मुल्क की सेवा करें, अपनी सेवा करें, और बढ़ें। जरा और दुनिया की हालत को देखें कैसी है, क्यों और दुनिया में खुशहाल हो गये लोग, क्यों और दुनिया में जमीन पे काम करते हैं, किसान जमींदार वगैरा, क्यों वो हमारे देश से दुगुना-तिगुना पैदा करते हैं फी एकड़, दुगुना-तिगुना भी क्या मैंने कहा चौगुना-पंचगुना करते हैं फी एकड़, क्यों बड़े-छोटे कारखाने हजारों बन गये हैं और जगह भी? हम भी कर सकते हैं, हमारे यहाँ भी काबिलियत काफी है लेकिन काबिलियत से जभी फायदा हम उठा सकते हैं जब हम इस दुनिया की नई हवा को समझें। यह दुनिया है एक यंत्रों की दुनिया, विज्ञान की दुनिया, मशीन की दुनिया, मशीन का युग है। इसको हम समझें जो कि किसानों को भी, वो जमीन में भी काम में आता है और कारखानों में तो आता ही है।

आप जानते हैं इस दुनिया की निशानियाँ कैसी हैं, रेलगाड़ी चलती है, सौ-सवा सौ बरस से चलती है, नई चीज आई, नई ताकत आई, ख़ाली रेलगाड़ी नहीं बल्कि वो इंजन जो चलता उससे बहुत और चले, कारखाने चले, बिजली आई, ख़ाली रोशनी के लिए नहीं, लेकिन बड़ी ताकत है, उस ताकत से भी बहुत काम हो सके, यह निशानियाँ हैं। एक गाँव में बिजली जाती है, वो जाग उठता है, ख़ाली रोशन नहीं होता बल्कि जागने लगता है, नये-नये विचार आते हैं, नये-नये ख़्याल। तो हम तो अपने हिन्दुस्तान को पूरीतौर से जगाने में हम लगे हैं। आजाद हो जाने के बाद एक बड़ा काम हुआ, लेकिन उसके बाद उससे भी बड़ा था और है कि हम नई दुनिया को यहाँ ले आयें, अपनी पुरानी दुनिया को छोड़ के नहीं, पुरानी दुनिया में तो हम पैदा हुए, उसकी मिट्टी में, उसको हम छोड़ें कैसे, उसकी बातें हम याद रखेंगे, लेकिन नई दुनिया की बातें भी हम सीखें, उससे सीखने से हम अपने देश को मजबूत भी बनायें और खुशहाल भी बनायें, इस कोशिश में हम इस पिछले चौदह-पन्द्रह बरस से हैं जब से हम आजाद हुए हैं।

आपको याद होगा शुरु ही में आजादी के हमने एक पाँच बरस का प्रोग्राम बनाया, पंचवर्षीय योजना। वो किस बात का था? सब बातें थी, क्योंकि हमने सारा नक्शा देखा हिन्दुस्तान का और देखा कि हमारे पास जो सामान है वो बहुत ज्यादा नहीं है, गरीब मुल्क था, कैसे इसको धनी करें, दौलतमंद करें, कहीं बाहर से तो पैसा आयेगा नहीं और अगर आया भी, हमने कर्जा ले के किसी तरह से कुछ ले आये तो थोड़े दिन चलता है, खुद ही पैदा करना है, जो कुछ करना है, क्योंकि पैसा आखिर में वही चीज होती है जो कुछ हमने अपने परिश्रम से, मेहनत से पैदा करें। आप जमीन से जो पैदा करें वो दौलत है, धन है। सोना-चाँदी तो दौलत नहीं होती, सोना-चाँदी तो एक व्यापार की चीज है या कारखाने में हम पैदा करें, जिस देश में ज्यादा से ज्यादा चीजें पैदा होती हैं वो धनी है। अमेरिका बहुत दौलतमंद है, क्यों? इसलिए नहीं कि सोना-चाँदी उसके पास बहुत है, इसलिए कि अपनी



जमीन से, अपने कारखानों से बेशुमार पैदा करता है और इसलिए करता है कि उसने आजकल की दुनिया के नये-नये तरीके सीखे हैं और उनको इस्तेमाल में लाते हैं।

तो हमें नई दुनिया समझनी थी और खाली दो-चार आदमियों को नहीं, करोड़ों आदमियों को समझनी थी। उसमें बहुत बातें करनी हैं, पहले तो सबमें बुनियादी बात है पढ़ाई खूब फैले, पढ़ाई के जरिए से मालूम करना, स्कूल फैलें, कॉलेज बनें, विशेषकर ऐसे कॉलेज बनें जहाँ कि खाली बी.ए., एम.ए. नहीं हो जाते हैं लेकिन काम करना सीखते हैं, जहाँ इंजीनियर बनें, जहाँ खेती करने का काम और अच्छा सीखें, ऐसे बनें, उससे हवा बदले मुल्क की। और बहुत बातें और होती हैं, खेती के लिए नहरें हों, नहरों का इंतजाम हो, फर्टिलाइजर को अब आप बहुत काम में लाने लगे हैं, नकली खाद, उसके कारखाने बनें, बड़े-बड़े और कितनी और बातें बनें, बिजली पैदा हो, क्योंकि बिजली खास चीज है आजकल की। इन सब बातों में बड़ा पैसा लगता है और बड़ा वक्त लगता है, खैर। पाँच बरस हमारे गुजरे, शुरु पाँच बरस की योजना, हमने उसको पूरा कर लिया, तो दूसरी हमने योजना बनाई, वो उससे बड़ी थी, उसके पूरा करने में कुछ दिक्कतें हुईं, लेकिन फिर भी बहुत कुछ हुआ, फिर हमने तीसरी बनाई, अब हम तीसरी योजना के बीच में हैं, तीसरा बरस है उसका शायद, शुरु हुआ है और इस तरह से हम बढ़ते जाते हैं मुल्क में। हम बुनियादें डाल रहे हैं मुल्क की नई इमारत के खड़ा करने की, एकदम से कोई जादू तो है नहीं कि बटन दबाया या चाबी घुमाई और देश सारा बदल जाये, लेकिन हल्के-हल्के देश बदलता जाता है। जो लोग यहाँ आते हैं बाहर से देखने दो-चार बरस बाद, वो फौरन देख लेते हैं कितना फर्क हो गया है बहुत सारी बातों में, जो आप भी देखते ही हैं।

तो हम तो इस कोशिश में थे कि जल्दी से जल्दी हम बढ़ के ऐसी जगह में पहुँचे, चन्द बरस बाद कि हम अपनी ताकत से, हममें ताकत हो काफी बढ़ने की। अब मैं आपको जरा समझाने की कोशिश करूँ कि इसके माने क्या हैं। इस वक्त हम नई दुनिया को यहाँ लाना चाहते हैं, तो हमें सामान लाना पड़ता है, और दुनिया से मशीन लानी पड़ती है, मशीन लाने में बड़ा पैसा खर्च होता है, गरीब मुल्क को और पैसा देना पड़ता है। तो हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे यहाँ कारखाने बन जायें कि बड़ी से बड़ी मशीन हम बना सकें, बड़ी-छोटी। तो उसमें, उसके जरिए से हम तेजी से और कारखाने बना सकते हैं और उद्योग-धंधे चल सकते हैं, खेती में बहुत मदद मिल सकती है और हजारों बातें हो सकती हैं। खैर, यह सब करने में, इन बातों को करने में यूरोप के देशों को जो सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस लगे हैं, अब जो उन्होंने सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस में किया उतने तक तो हम करते नहीं जायेंगे, जल्दी हमें करना है लेकिन उसी के साथ फिर भी कितनी ही जल्दी हम करें, कुछ समय लगता है इतने बड़े मुल्क को बदलना। तो हमारी उम्मीद है कि और एक शायद दस-बारह बरस में हम बहुत आगे बढ़ जायें, अभी भी बढ़े हैं, और बढ़ जायें।

खैर, यह मैंने आपसे कहा कि हमारा असली काम तो यही था कि अपने देश की हिफाजत करें और तेजी से हम आगे बढ़ें और सब लोग खुशहाल हो जायें और इस मुल्क में हम एक ही लड़ाई लड़े, हमें किसी से लड़ने की ख्वाहिश नहीं थी। आप जानते हैं कि हम अपनी आजादी की लड़ाई में भी गांधी जी के नीचे हमने शांति से काम करना सीखा।

तो हम किसी से लड़ाई नहीं लड़ना चाहते थे। एक लड़ाई वो अपने से, अपनी गरीबी से, अपने देश से हम लड़ना चाहते हैं, बेरोजगारी, गरीबी, उसको निकाल दें, तेजी से सारा देश तरक्की करने लगे यह हमारी इच्छा थी, ख्वाहिश थी और अब भी है। लेकिन बद-किस्मती से हम फंसते रहे और मुल्कों, हम देशों से दोस्ती करना चाहते हैं, हमारा पड़ोसी देश है जो भारत का हिस्सा था, पाकिस्तान, उससे से भी हम दोस्ती करना चाहें, लेकिन वो कुछ ऐसी बातें हमसे कहें कि उससे दोस्ती न हो। अभी तक वो चर्चा चला आता है। हमारी ख्वाहिश है कि हम उनसे दोस्ती करें, लेकिन दोस्ती करने के यह माने तो होते नहीं कि जो हमारे सिद्धांत हैं, हमारी बड़ी बातें सब को छोड़-छाड़ के हम करें, दोस्ती करें, दोस्ती कैसी जब हमें छोड़ देना पड़े अपनी बातें, जिससे हमारे मुल्क को नुकसान हो। खैर, यह सब तो था।

फिर हमारी दूसरी सरहद पर चीन का झगड़ा शुरू हुआ, तिब्बत की तरफ से। अब अजीब बात यह है कि चीन की हमने, जब से चीन में इंकलाब हुआ पूरी हमने उनसे एक माने में हमदर्दी की है, कुछ मदद की, उनकी सिफारिशों की और मुल्कों के सामने और उन्होंने हमारा यह बदला दिया। और कहते हैं कि हम तो साम्यवादी मुल्क हैं, साम्यवादी मुल्क कभी एक-दूसरे की जमीन पर जा ही नहीं सकता है, यह बहस पेश करते हैं। अजीब एक मुझे रंज होता है कहते हुए यह है कि कोई मुल्क इस तरह से धोखा दे जैसा कि चीन ने हमको दिया, जबकि हम उसकी तरफ बहुत कहते थे। आपके यहाँ पंजाब में जो साम्यवादी लोग हैं, पंजाब में, हिन्दुस्तान में, उनमें से बहुत सारे तो इस बात को समझ गये हैं और उन्होंने कहा कि चीन ने बहुत गलती की और बहुत धोखा दिया है और उसका मुकाबला करना है। कुछ अब भी हैं साम्यवादी लोग पंजाब में जो कि चीन का साथ देते हैं, इस कदर, इस कदर गलत रास्ते पर पड़ गये हैं, गलत दिमाग उनके हो गये हैं कि यह होने पर भी और चीन हमारे देश पर हमला भी करे, फिर भी वो इस बात को साफ-साफ नहीं समझते हैं। आमतौर से तो कम्युनिस्ट लोग इस बात को समझ रहे हैं और मदद कर रहे हैं हिन्दुस्तान में चीन के खिलाफ, कुछ लोग हैं जिन्होंने नहीं किया है और कुछ लोग ऐसे पंजाब में भी हैं। खैर, उनसे कुछ बहुत थोड़े हैं और आमतौर से लोग, आप सब लोग इस बात को समझ गये हैं और किसी गलती में, धोखे में नहीं आयेंगे क्योंकि हमारे लिए, मैंने आपसे कहा सबमें बड़ा काम हमारा आजादी के बाद था कि इस मुल्क को खुशहाल करना, मुल्क की पैदावार को बढ़ायें, हर तरफ से, मुल्क में हजारों नये काम हों, कारखाने बनें, नहरें बनें, यह सब हो, स्कूल-कॉलेज बनें। लेकिन वो उन सबके पहले भी एक काम होता है मुल्क वालों का, वो मुल्क की रक्षा करना, मुल्क की आजादी की हिफाजत करें, अगर आजादी नहीं रहती किसी मुल्क की तो और चीजें क्या रहती हैं। इसलिए हम समझते थे कि हम आजाद हो गये कि अब हमें अपने मुल्क को आजाद करने का कोई सवाल ख़ास नहीं आयेगा, हो गये आजाद, अब हम कोशिश करें कि हम अपने मुल्क की ताकत बढ़ायें और काम करें और कोई हमला नहीं होगा हमारे ऊपर।

हमने दुनिया भर में एक शांति का झण्डा उठाया, कहा कि दुनिया में लड़ाई न हो, कहीं न हो और हमारी कुछ शोहरत भी हुई और मुल्कों में कि हिन्दुस्तान में यह लोग कुछ



गांधी के चेले हैं और अमन और शांति चाहते हैं लेकिन अजीब तमाशा यह है कि दुनिया भर में हम जा के अमन और शांति की चर्चा करें और अपनी सरहद पर हमला हो, हमारी सरहद पर। अगर हमला हो तो क्या किया जाये? जाहिर है कितना ही हम शांति चाहें, जैसे हम चाहते हैं और काम करेंगे उसका, लेकिन कोई हमला करे हमारे मुल्क पर तो हम सिर झुका के तो बैठ नहीं जायेंगे, जाहिर है उसका मुकाबला करना है। क्योंकि जब एक मुल्क में कोई मुल्क के रहने वाले अपने मुल्क की हिफाजत नहीं कर सकते तो वो गिर जाते हैं, वो मुल्क गिर जाता है, उनकी कदर नहीं होती और उनके मुल्क पर और लोग काबू पा जाते हैं। मेरा मतलब नहीं कि चीन हमारे सारे मुल्क पर काबू हो जायेगा, कोई भी नहीं होगा, लेकिन यह कमजोरी की निशानियाँ हैं। अगर हम पर वो हमला करें और एक हिस्से, सरहद पर एक हिस्से को, मुल्क को अपने कब्जे में ले आयें तो मुल्क कमजोर हो जाता है और सारे और मुल्कों की निगाहों में भी गिर जाता है और हम अपनी निगाहों में गिर जायें। यह बात तो बरदाश्त नहीं है, हम कितना ही अमन चाहें और शांति चाहें और हम चाहते जायेंगे क्योंकि अमन और शांति अच्छी चीज है, लड़ाई लड़के अपने को तबाह कर देना ठीक नहीं है, लेकिन अपने मुल्क की हिफाजत करने के लिए और आजादी के रखने के लिए अगर कोई उस पर हमला करे, हमें जरूर उसका मुकाबला करना है और पूरी ताकत से करना है। [तालियाँ]।

तो यह हमारे सामने सवाल उठाया और अब भी उठा है, एक महीने भर सरहद पर जोरों से लड़ाई हुई, चीनियों ने हमला किया, कुछ आगे भी बढ़ आये हमारे मुल्क में, फिर पीछे हट गये। इसके माने यह नहीं हैं यह सब सवाल खत्म हो गया, वो पीछे हट गये हैं, हमारी आँख उनके हमले से खुल गई कि उनकी नीयत अच्छी नहीं है और उनकी बड़ी-बड़ी फौजें हमारे सरहद के उस पार तिब्बत में मौजूद हैं, जब चाहें ला सकते हैं वो, और हम पे दबाव डालते हैं कि यह बात मंजूर करो या ना-मंजूर करो। इससे हमारे लिए जरूरी हो गया कि हम आगाह हो जायें और हम तैयार रहें, तैयार रहना मुश्किल बात है क्योंकि चीन, हमारा मुल्क बड़ा है, चीन हमसे भी बड़ा है, हमारे यहाँ चवालीस करोड़ आदमी रहते हैं तो वहाँ सत्तर करोड़ रहते हैं, बड़ा देश है, ताकतवर देश है, पुराना देश है, हम पुराने देश हैं तो वो भी पुराना देश है। तो उनका मुकाबला आसान नहीं है और उसके लिए हमें पूरी तैयारी करनी है, फौजी तैयारी करनी है, नई फौजें बनानी हैं, हवाई जहाजों की तैयारी करनी है और आम लोगों को तैयार होना है हर जगह।

आपके यहाँ पंजाब रक्षा दल है, अब पंजाब रक्षा दल तो कोई बन्दूक ले के सरहद पर नहीं जाने वाला है या ऐसे हमारे होमगार्ड्स वगैरा हैं लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि सारा मुल्क एक तैयार हो जाये, मुनज्जम हो जाये और उसमें अनुशासन हो, डिसिप्लिंड हो, कुछ सिपाहीपना मुल्क में आये ताकि जो भी बात हमारे सामने हो उसका हम सामना कर सकें। लड़ाई याद रखिए, लड़ाई लड़ने में ख़ाली सरहद पर हथियारबंद सिपाही नहीं लड़ते हैं, वो तो लड़ते ही हैं, ख़ाली वो नहीं लड़ते, बड़ी लड़ाइयाँ आजकल होती हैं, वो पुराना जमाना गया कि कुछ सिपाही गये बादशाह के साथ, वो अगर हारे तो बादशाह भी हार गया और सारा मुल्क चला गया दूसरे के पास। यहाँ दिल्ली के पास कितनी लड़ाइयाँ हुई हैं जिससे

दिल्ली की सल्तनत बदल गई, दूसरा शहनशाह आ गया, दूसरा बादशाह आ गया, अब वो नहीं होता है, अब लड़ाई एक बादशाह की नहीं होती, अब लड़ाई होती है एक मुल्क की जनता की, और मुल्क की जनता को हराना बहुत मुश्किल है एक बादशाह को हरा देने से, क्योंकि उसमें अगर एक लड़ाई हारें भी तो लड़ाई जारी रहती है। एक लड़ाई में कोई बादशाह को हरा देना काफी नहीं है, मुल्क को हराना बहुत मुश्किल है। इसलिए आजकल की लड़ाइयाँ लम्बी होती हैं। यह जर्मन लड़ाई हुई, आपको याद होगा शुरु-शुरु में हारे थे, फ्रांस पर पूरा कब्जा कर लिया था जर्मन वालों ने, फिर भी लड़ाई जारी रही और साढ़े चार बरस के बाद जर्मनी और उसके साथी बिल्कुल हारे, क्योंकि वो लड़ाइयाँ थी आम जनता की, सारी ताकत लग जाती है उसमें। ताकत लगने के माने हैं हथियारबंद ताकतें तो यह हैं, बल्कि माने हैं कि हम एक फौज के पीछे, एक-एक आदमी के पीछे सौ आदमी काम करते हैं तब आदमी लड़ सकता है। कैसे सौ आदमी काम करते हैं? हजारों तरह से, जो सामान उसको चाहिए उसको बनाते हैं, जो खाना उसको चाहिए उसको पैदा करते हैं, जो हथियार उसको चाहिए उसको पैदा करते हैं, और हजारों चीजें उसको चाहियें, गाड़ी वगैरा, मोटर, सब चीजें पैदा करते हैं तब वो लड़ सकता है। इसलिए सारे देश को ऐसा प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए कि सब चीजें बनें, और इस तरह से बनें जिसमें लड़ाई पूरीतौर से हो सके और मुल्क का भी फायदा हो। यह हमें करना है, यह बड़ा काम है।

मैं फिर आपसे दोहराता हूँ, हमें कोई लड़ाई पसन्द नहीं है, लड़ाई करना। हम चाहते हैं अमन से हम रहें, नहीं तो दुनिया तबाह हो जायेगी। आजकल की दुनिया में बड़ी लड़ाई, हो सकता है उसमें एटम बम्ब की लड़ाई हो, एटम बम्ब सारी दुनिया को तबाह कर दें, हमारे पास तो हैं नहीं, न चीन के पास हैं, यह एक अच्छी बात है कि चीन के पास भी नहीं हैं, नहीं तो उनका कोई भरोसा तो है नहीं कब चलायें, क्या करें। हम भी एटम बम्ब बना सकते थे, क्योंकि उस फन में, उस विज्ञान में काफी हमने तरक्की की है लेकिन पाँच बरस हुए जब हम इस काम को जोरों से उठा रहे थे, मैंने एक एलान किया, घोषणा की कि हम एटमिक एनर्जी को कोई हथियार की तरह नहीं बनायेंगे, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं और लोग भी छोड़ दें, तो हम कैसे बनायें। हमारा अब भी इरादा नहीं है बनाने का, हालांकि तरक्की उसमें हम काफी कर रहे हैं। तो यह हमारी दुनिया में हमारी शक्ल अब तक कोई खूनभरी आँखों की नहीं होगी, हम नहीं पसन्द करते, हमारी शांति की शक्ल रहे लेकिन बावजूद उसके रहने की, फिर भी अपने मुल्क की रक्षा करने के लिए हम पूरी ताकत से करेंगे और उसमें जहाँ तक लड़ना है लड़ेंगे, हथियारों से, अच्छे से अच्छे हथियारों से। अब उसके साथ जो पहली बात आपके समझने की है वो यह कि इस खास वक्त पिछले दो महीने से सरहद पर खास लड़ाई नहीं हो रही है, क्योंकि चीनी लोग पीछे हट गये हैं, लेकिन खतरा है और मालूम नहीं किस वक्त वो फिर से लड़ाई छिड़ जाये, उसके लिए हमें तैयार होना है, यह न हो कि हम होशियार न हों और हमारी गफलत में हमें नुकसान हो। और तैयार होना है, अलावा हथियारबंद लड़ाई के, हमारा उनका मुकाबला एक बड़ा हो गया, उसकी बड़ी बुनियाद है, गहरी चीज है और खाली थोड़ी सी जमीन के लिए नहीं है कि कुछ थोड़ी सी भारत की जमीन चाहते हैं, लद्दाख में, नेफा में, वो गहरी चीज है।



इसलिए यह बात साफ नहीं होती एकदम से, यह बरसों तक चलेगी और हमारी तैयारी भी बरसों की होनी चाहिए, कोई यह नहीं कि जल्दी से हमने हल कर देना है इस सवाल को। तो हमारा यह एक पहला बड़ा इम्तिहान है आजाद हिन्दुस्तान का और इस इम्तिहान में कैसे हम अपना काम करते हैं उससे मुल्क का भविष्य है, कैसे आइन्दा का, फ्यूचर है। तो यह बड़ी भारी बात है, इसलिए इसमें हम कोई कमजोरी नहीं दिखा सकते, अक्लमन्दी से, लेकिन ताकत से, दृढ़ता से हमें काम करना है और मुल्क की हिफाजत करनी है और उस हिफाजत करने में, मुल्क की खिदमत करके मुल्क को और आगे बढ़ाना है।

हमारे सामने एक सवाल आया कि लड़ाई के बोझ बहुत हैं, लड़ाई के सामान, आजकल की लड़ाई के सामान बहुत रुपये खाते हैं कि पूछिए नहीं। तो हमारे ऊपर इतना बोझा आया है तो इस बोझ को लादें तो फिर जो दूसरा बोझा हमारा था पंचवर्षीय योजना का उसको कैसे उठाएंगे, लेकिन हमने ज्यादा उस पर गौर किया तो देखा कि पंचवर्षीय योजना जरूरी है मुल्क की हिफाजत करने के लिए। पंचवर्षीय योजना क्या है? बहुत कुछ तो खेती से, हमारी जमीन से ताल्लुक रखती है, वो बिल्कुल जरूरी बात है क्योंकि अगर हमारी खेती ढीली पड़ गई तो हमारा सारा कारखाना ढीला हो जाता है, हमें अपनी जमीन पर पहले से बहुत ज्यादा पैदा करना है, दुगुना-तिगुना। फिर उसमें हमें कारखाने बनाने हैं, हमें यह बिजली का पावर बनाना है, नहरें बनानी हैं, यह सब चीजें हैं जो कि जरूरी हैं, अगर न बनायें तो हमारी ताकत कम हो जाती है। इसलिए जो हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना है उसको हमें जारी रखना है, इसलिए हमें दो बोझ उठाने हैं, एक लड़ाई लड़ने का, एक मुल्क की तरक्की का। असल में दोनों मिले हुए हैं, अलग नहीं हैं, यह उठाने हैं और अगर हम नहीं उठा सकते तो हम कमजोर हैं, नहीं हम अपने को सम्भाल सकते, मुल्क की हिफाजत नहीं कर सकते, यह आप समझ लें।

अभी दिल्ली में दस दिन हुए सालाना, सालाना बजट पेश होता है, मुल्क का साल भर का हिसाब का अन्दाजा, क्या टैक्स होंगे, क्या नहीं, कैसे खर्च होगा, कितना जरूरत है, कितना पैदा किया जाये वो होता है। तो वो हुआ था देश भर का, उसमें आपको मालूम होगा कि बहुत नये-नये जरिए, नये-नये टैक्स लगाये गये हैं, कोई किसी ने खुशी से उनको नहीं लगाया, लेकिन मजबूरी थी, हमें अपनी लड़ाई का सामान लेना है, मंगवाना है, उसके लिए हमारे दोस्त हमारी मदद कर रहे हैं, खुशी की बात है, लेकिन खाली मदद से नहीं चलता, हमें उसके दाम देने हैं, हमें अपने यहाँ कारखाने बनाने हैं, बड़े-बड़े लड़ाई के सामान के कारखाने और उसी के साथ हमें यह अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना को चलाना है। अगर हमें यह करना है तो उसका इंतजाम करना है हिम्मत से, नहीं तो हम अभी ढीले पड़ जायें और हमारी गाड़ी हिन्दुस्तान की ठीकतौर से न चले, खतरे बढ़ जायें तो फिर बाद में क्या हशर होगा हमारा। तो हमने दिल कड़ा करके यह तय किया कि यह हम करेंगे, बोझा पड़ेगा हमारे लोगों पर, लेकिन हमारे लोग भी समझदार हैं, वो देख लेंगे मौका क्या है और इस वक्त अगर हम हिम्मत से करें तो उसका नतीजा अच्छा होगा और दुनिया पे असर होगा और दुनिया भी समझ जाये कि हम इस मामले में ढीले नहीं हैं, हम तगड़े रहेंगे, मजबूती से सामना करेंगे, अपने ऊपर तकलीफें बरदाश्त करेंगे। आप देख लीजिए, तकलीफें

पैसे की मैं कहता हूँ जबकि लोग अपनी जान पर खेलते हैं देश की रक्षा में, तो पैसे की गिनती क्या होती है। इसलिए टैक्स वगैरा बढ़ाये गये और बोझा पड़ेगा यकीनन आप पर, हम सभी पर, मालूम नहीं आइन्दा क्या हो, कब तक हो, लेकिन उसी के साथ हम चाहते हैं इस काम को इस तरह से करना कि हिन्दुस्तान की शक्ति बढ़ती जाये, हिन्दुस्तान की आर्थिक शक्ति, इकितसादी, यानी जो हमने यात्रा की थी मुल्क की खुशहाली की तरफ उस यात्रा को हम नहीं छोड़ना चाहते, चाहे लड़ाई भी हो। और हो सकता है, मुमकिन है, अगर हम उसको ठीक तौर से चलायें और बोझा उठाने को तैयार हों तो मुल्क की तरक्की ज्यादा तेजी से भी हो, क्योंकि लड़ाई से बहुत नुकसान होते हैं, बहुत खर्चे, लेकिन कुछ ऐसी बातें भी होती हैं जिससे देश ज्यादा आगे तेजी से बढ़ता है। फर्ज कीजिए लड़ाई की वजह से हमारे देश में बहुत ज्यादा कारखाने बन जायें, तो वो कारखाने तो हमेशा के लिए बने, खाली लड़ाई के लिए नहीं, उससे एक तो कारखाने बनना ही अच्छा होगा और दूसरे हमारी पैदावार बढ़ेगी और तीसरे यह कि हवा मुल्क की बदलेगी और जो नई दुनिया है वो हवा आयेगी, यानी के यंत्रों की दुनिया, मशीन की दुनिया, वो फैलेगी सारे हिन्दुस्तान में। आपके यहाँ पंजाब में कुछ और जगहों के मुकाबले में कुछ ज्यादा ही है यह बात, लेकिन सारे मुल्क में हमें फैलाना है।

गरज की हमारे सामने बड़े जबरदस्त सवाल हैं। एक जैसे मैंने आपसे अभी कहा कि एक बड़ा भारी इम्तिहान हमारा है। पहला इम्तिहान तो हुआ जब यह चीनियों ने एकदम से हमला किया और हमला किया एक धोखा देकर हमला किया और कुछ थोड़ा सा शुरु-शुरु में जीत भी गये वो, कुछ जमीन पर कब्जा कर लिया। हमारे लोग भी बहुत मरे, मरे तो उनके भी। तो वो समझते हैं चीनी लोग कि इससे हमें डरा देंगे वो, घबरा जायेंगे हम और घबरा के उनके सामने, फिर वो हमसे जो चाहेंगे सुलह करा लेंगे। तो उन्होंने पहले हमले के चार दिन बाद हमसे कहा कि अच्छा हम तुमसे सुलह करना चाहते हैं, हमसे बातें करने आओ इन शरायत पर, हमने इंकार किया, हमने इंकार किया, उसके बाद फिर उन्होंने हमला किया दो हफ्ते बाद और फिर उन्होंने एक तजवीज पेश की, फिर हमने इंकार की, क्योंकि जो शरायत वो पेश करते थे वो हमारी शान के खिलाफ थे, हमें मंजूर नहीं था कि हिन्दुस्तान सिर झुकाये उनके सामने, उन्होंने हमारे सामने बदतमीजी की और हम सिर झुकायें।

फिर कुछ हमारे और दोस्त मित्र देश हैं, चीन के भी, हमारे भी, वो बीच में मैदान में आये, सीलोन और बर्मा और इंडोनेशिया और घाना और मिस्र वगैरा आये, उन्होंने आपस में बातचीत की, कुछ हमसे बात की, कुछ चीन वालों से और कहा कि हमारी यह बात फैसला करने की तो नहीं है, फैसला तो आप लोग मिल के कीजिए, लेकिन हम ऐसी हवा पैदा करना चाहते हैं कि आप लोग मिल के करें। खैर, मैंने कहा कि कीजिए आप और उन्होंने कुछ तजवीजें पेश की और वो तजवीजें ले के वो चीन गये, उनको बताने और फिर दिल्ली आये हमें बताने। चीन वालों ने कहा कि हाँ उसूलन हमें यह तजवीजें आपकी मंजूर हैं, उसूलन, उसमें उसूल की क्या बात, आप मंजूर करें या न करें। हमारे यहाँ आये, हमने उनसे पूछा कि इसको हमें पूरीतौर से समझा दीजिए तो उन्होंने उसको



साफ किया, समझाया। तो हमने उनसे बहस ज्यादा नहीं की। हमने कहा कि अच्छा हम अपनी तजवीजों को मंजूर करते हैं, उसके माने यह थे मंजूर करने के कि चीन पूरी तौर से हट जाये जहाँ पर आया था और फिर हम उनसे बातें करें, चीन के नुमाइंदों से, असली सवाल पर बात करें। तो हमने पूरा मंजूर कर लिया उसको, क्योंकि हमारे दोस्त मुल्कों ने कहा था, हमें अच्छा नहीं लगता था उनको हम ना-उम्मीद करें। फिर वो गये चीन उनसे कहने कि उन्होंने मंजूर कर लिया है, यह समझ के कि चीन वाले भी मंजूर करेंगे क्योंकि उन्होंने कहा था कि हमने उसूली तौर से मंजूर कर लिया है, लेकिन ज्यादा गौर करने पर उन्होंने कई बातें नहीं मंजूर की और अब तक उन्होंने नहीं मंजूर किया है। खैर, यह उनके हाथ में है, हमने अपनी बात कह दी, मंजूर हमने किया है, नहीं करते तो नहीं करते।

अब मैं नहीं जानता इसका नतीजा क्या होगा यकायक, लेकिन इसी से जाहिर होता है हर सूरत से कि हमें अपनी पूरी तैयारी जारी रखनी है, हर किस्म की तैयारी, फौजी तैयारी, आर्थिक तैयारी, लोगों को तैयार करना, लोगों के दिमागों को तैयार करना, जरा भी हम ढील देते हैं तो यह बहुत नुकसान होगा हमारे मुल्क को। और फर्ज कीजिए कि हमें ऐसा मौका आता भी है बाद में, चीन के नुमाइंदों से बातें करने का, एक मेज पर बैठ के दोनों बात करें तब भी ऐसी बातें हवा में नहीं होती, जिसके पीछे ताकत होती है उसकी बात सुनी जाती है। चुनांचे, हमें हर सूरत से अपनी ताकत बढ़ानी है, यह इस धोखे में नहीं पड़ना है कि इस वक्त लड़ाई नहीं हो रही है तो हम ढीले हो सकते हैं। यह इस वक्त हालत है। इस वक्त जो चीन का और हिन्दुस्तान का मुकाबला है चाहे लड़ाई से हो या अलग हो, वो एशिया के लिए और दुनिया के लिए एक बहुत बड़ी बात हो गई है। अव्वल तो दो बड़े मुल्क हैं, उनका मुकाबला होगा ही, लेकिन उसके पीछे बहुत बातें हैं जिससे सारी दुनिया को इसमें बहुत दिलचस्पी है कि क्या होता है। और अजीब हालत यह है कि रूस देश जो कि साम्यवादी देश है, आप जानते हैं कम्युनिस्ट देश और जिसने बहुत चीन की मदद की है और चीन बढ़ा उसकी मदद से है, रूस इस बात को चीन की पसन्द नहीं करता और इस मामले में, हमारे उनके झगड़े में रूस अलग सा रहा है, बिल्कुल कुछ झुकता रहा हमारी तरफ और बहुत उन्होंने चीन वालों पे तो दबाव भी डाला कि यह न करो। चीन वालों ने उसका जवाब यह दिया है कि बेहद गालियाँ दी रूस को और अब भी देते जाते हैं। अजीब हालत है उनकी कि अपने इतना गुरुर उनमें हो गया है, इतना अभिमान हो गया है कि वो कोई न दुनिया के कायदों को मानते हैं, न किसी सिद्धांत को, महज अपनी धमकी से लोगों को अपनी तरफ लाना चाहते हैं। यह इस वक्त सवाल है।

मैंने आपसे कहा यह सवाल हमारे लिए तो है ही, एक बड़े भारी इम्तिहान का भारत का, और आज की बात नहीं है इस तीन-चार-पाँच बरस में यह दिखायेगा कि कैसे हम इस इम्तिहान में पास हुए, जोरों से हुए या कमजोरी से हुए या कैसे हुए हैं, क्योंकि इसके ऊपर हमारा आइन्दा का इतिहास बनेगा इससे, हमारा नहीं एशिया का, और जो कुछ इस आपसी झगड़े का नतीजा होगा उसका असर एशिया के और देशों पर होगा, अफ्रीका के देशों पर, ये सब देख रहे हैं। तो हमारे ऊपर बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है, काफी जिम्मेदारी है अपने देश की हिफाजत करने की, बड़ी है, काफी है लेकिन अलावा उसके इसमें बंधा हुआ है

एशिया, एशिया की तरक्की, एशिया का भविष्य, तो और भी हो जाती है और इसको हमें करना है, शान से करना है, अक्ल से करना है। शान से मेरा मतलब यह नहीं है कि हम एक बैठ के, बैठ के चीनियों को कोसें, गाली दें, समझें कि हमने अपना फर्ज अदा कर दिया, यह शान की बात नहीं, किसी कौम को कोसने से नहीं अच्छा होता है, हमें उनसे लड़ना है हिम्मत से जहाँ लड़ना हो, जवाब देना है जहाँ जवाब देना हो। और यह हमारे बहुत लोग समझते हैं कि शायद समझते हैं कि जुलूस निकालना और नारे उठाने से चीन हार जायेगा। इस धोखे में तो हमें पड़ना नहीं। आप जुलूस निकालिए, नारे उठाइए, अपने को जोश दिलाने को अच्छा है लेकिन यह समझना चीन पर जरा भर भी उसका असर पड़ा, यह गलत है। वहाँ भी बहुत जुलूस निकलते हैं, नारे भी उठते हैं। आखिर में अपनी असली ताकत का अंदाजा करना है, असली ताकत को बढ़ाना है, बनाना है, असली ताकत हमारे आदमियों में होती है, असली ताकत हमारे इंतजाम में मुल्क भर के होती है, असली ताकत हमारे कारखानों में, हमारे काम करने वालों में, खेती या कारखाने में या कहीं, इसमें होती है, इसको बढ़ाना है। इसलिए जोरों से हमें काम करना है, इन सब तरफ, एक तरफ काफी नहीं है और हिम्मत से करना है और घबरा नहीं जाना है चाहे कुछ, कोई बात ऐसी हो जिससे हमें चोट लगे, तो घबरा नहीं जाना है।

मैं नहीं समझता कि आपके रोहतक के ऊपर कोई हवाई जहाज आ के बम्ब फेंकेगा, मैं नहीं समझता, लेकिन अगर फेंके तो आप क्या करेंगे? सवाल तो यह है। उस वक्त नारे उठा के उसको डरा दें, हवाई जहाज को, तो कोई असर नहीं होगा उस पे, जाहिर सी बात है। आप जुलूस निकालें उस वक्त तो वो भी कुछ असर नहीं पैदा करेगा। सच यह है कि आजकल जिस दुनिया में हम रहते हैं वो खतरनाक दुनिया है, उसमें हिम्मत होनी चाहिए, डिसिप्लिन होना चाहिए, घबराना नहीं चाहिए, जितना ही खतरा हो उतना ही ज्यादा हमें ठंडे दिल से उसका सामना करना है। इसलिए यहाँ आपका पंजाब रक्षा दल बन गया।

हमारे सारे हिन्दुस्तान में वो कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट का जो काम होता है, विकास योजना का उसने नक्शा बनाया है कि हर गाँव में हमारे यहाँ स्वयंसेवक, वॉलेंटियर होने चाहियें, शहर में भी, किसलिए? वो कोई सिपाही बन के सरहद पे नहीं जायेंगे, लेकिन वो अपने घर में एक तो हवा ठीक रहेगी उससे, जितना ज्यादा हम डिसिप्लिंड होते हैं उतना ज्यादा हमारी ताकत होती है, दूसरे अपने घर को सम्भाल के रखें, अपने गाँव को सम्भाल के रखें, उसमें मदद करें। तीसरे मदद करें जो हमारे जरूरी काम हों, चाहे खेती में हों, चाहे पढ़ाई-लिखाई वगैरा उन कामों में। और कुछ सीख लें कि अगर इत्तिफाक से ऐसा मौका हुआ, जैसे कोई बम्ब-वम्ब आये, आसमान से गिरे हमारे ऊपर तो क्या करना है, घबराने से कुछ नहीं होता है। हाँ, मुझे होता क्या है, मुझे इस बड़ी लड़ाई के पहले मुझे इत्तिफाक हुआ था दो जगह, यह बम्ब गिरते थे ऊपर से, उनको देखने का। एक तो मैं स्पेन गया था, बड़ी लड़ाई के पहले का मैं आपसे कह रहा हूँ, लड़ाई के बाद तो बहुतों को हो गया तजुर्बा इसका, स्पेन गया था, वहाँ एक शहर है, वहाँ लड़ाई हो रही थी, आपसी जंग थी, सिविल वॉर थी। मैं होटल में टिका हुआ था ऊपर पाँचवें-छठे मंजिल पर कि रात को दुश्मन के हवाई जहाज आये और उन्होंने बम्ब फेंकने शुरू किये। अब मैंने सोचा छठी-सातवीं



मंजिल से मैं कहाँ भागूँ, कहाँ जाके छिपाऊँ, तो मैं जाके छज्जा था, बालकोनी में चढ़ के मैंने कहा तमाशा ही देखूँ अच्छी तरह से। तो ख़ूब अच्छी तरह से उसको देखा वहाँ से और इत्तिफाक था कि हमारे होटल पर नहीं कोई गिरा, और गिरे शहर पे। वो जमाना जरा उस वक्त तक बम्ब इतने तरक्की नहीं की थी उन्होंने जितनी अब कर गये हैं। ख़ैर, वो रात को आये, चले गये। सुबह हम गये, गाड़ी पर घूमें, शहर को देखने कहाँ-कहाँ वो गिरे थे, मकान तबाह हो गये थे, टूट गये थे लेकिन एक बात की मुझे बहुत दिलचस्पी हुई वो देख के, कई महीनों से हो रहा था, और मैंने सुना पहले जब शुरू हुआ था तो लोग बड़े घबरा जाते थे, अब इतने आदी हो गये थे कि रोज बम्ब गिरते थे, इतने आदी हो गये थे जब वो हवाई जहाज वाले आये तो शहर में वॉरनिंग दी जाये, सूचना दी जाये, घंटे बजाके, क्या-क्या तरीके थे, वो लोग छुप जायें और जहाँ दूसरी घंटी बजी कि हवाई जहाज चले गये फिर निकल कर आ गये, सब दुकानें खुली हैं, फिर कामकाज जारी था। बहुत जल्दी आदी हो गये लोग, ख़तरे का भी आदी बहुत जल्दी हो जाता है आदमी, अगर दिल उसका तगड़ा हो। मैंने चीन में भी देखा था इसी तरह से, ख़ैर।

अब दुनिया बढ़ गई है और दुनिया में ख़तरे भी बढ़ गये हैं और चुनांचे उन ख़तरों का भी हमें आदी हो जाना चाहिए। इसलिए सबमें ज्यादा जरूरी यह है कि हम यह अनुशासन, डिसिप्लिन अपने में पैदा करें और हर गाँव में, हर मोहल्ले में लड़के-लड़कियाँ लोग डिसिप्लिंड हों, जिससे जो भी कुछ हो उसका सामना कर सकें मिलकर, यह नहीं कि डर के भाग जायें। और यह सब हमें करना है और जो लड़ाई पे जाते हैं वो तो जायें, बाकी लोगों को कोशिश करनी है अपनी जमीन में ज्यादा पैदा करने की, कारख़ाने बन रहें, कारख़ानों में लग के पैदा करें और जो लड़के स्कूल वगैरा में हैं ख़ूब पढ़ें, लिखें ताकि जल्दी से वो भी सीख लें और और काम कर सकें, यानी मामूली काम हमारा जारी रहे, ख़ाली दुगुना-तिगुना होके जारी रहे, इस तरह से।

और फिर क्योंकि याद रखिए जो आजकल स्कूल-कॉलेज में हैं बच्चे पढ़ने वाले उनके ऊपर हिन्दुस्तान का बोझा आने वाला है। मेरे जैसे लोग तो चन्द रोज के मेहमान हैं लेकिन आप ही लोगों पर बोझा आने वाला है और उसके लिए आपको तैयार होना है और दुनिया नरम दुनिया नहीं है, सख़्त दुनिया है, जो कमजोर होता है वो गिर जाता है, उस पर कोई रहम नहीं करता। तो हमें अपने मुल्क को तगड़ा बनाना है, मजबूत बनाना है और मजबूत बनाने में बाज बातें हैं जो बुनियादी हैं—अव्वल बात मुल्क की एकता की, मुल्क बड़ा है। अब आप देखें वहाँ नेफा में और लद्दाख़ में चीनी हमला हुआ, उससे हजार मील, दो हजार मील फासले पर दक्षिण में, मद्रास में उसकी चोट लगी, क्यों? क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान एक, एक समझो एक जिस्म है, शरीर है। अगर आपके पैर की छोटी उंगली में चोट लग जाये तो ख़ाली पैर की उंगली की चोट नहीं, आपके शरीर भर की चोट हो जाती है, दर्द होता है, तकलीफ होती है, बुख़ार चढ़ जाये आपको। इसी तरह से एक हिन्दुस्तान का एक शरीर है, एक जिन्दा शरीर, कहीं भी उस पे हमला हो, चोट लगे तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान में चोट लगती है। [तालियाँ]। तो, क्योंकि आप और हम हैं, आप पंजाब के हिस्से में हैं, हरियाने में हैं, रोहतक में हैं, ठीक हैं, लेकिन हमारी और आपकी विरासत जो है पैदा होते

ही मिलती है, वो सारा हिन्दुस्तान है, सारा हिन्दुस्तान हमारा है, आपका है। और आपका खाली पंजाब नहीं है, वो जो मद्रास में रहते हैं उनका भी पंजाब है, उसी तरह से आपका मद्रास है, इस तरह से सारा हिन्दुस्तान हमारा है। अब उसकी हमें, उसकी तस्वीर हमारे सामने रखनी है और समझना है कि हिन्दुस्तान, हमारे होने के माने हैं हिन्दुस्तान भर की एकता होनी चाहिए, चाहे अलग-अलग मजहब क्यों न हों, अलग-अलग जातियों के क्यों न हों, वो सब एक हैं, हिन्दुस्तान में रहने वालों का पहला मजहब, अलग-अलग मजहब रखें लेकिन सियासी मजहब है हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा करना, हिन्दुस्तान की सेवा करना और हिन्दुस्तान की एकता रखना। अगर यह नहीं रहती बात तो हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े हो जाते हैं और हम लोगों के हो जाते हैं और हम कमजोर हो जाते हैं, हमारी पुरानी जो हमारी आदत थी, एक बीमारी आपस में लड़ने की वो हमें फिर कमजोर कर देती है, सारे इतिहास में यह लिखा है कि बार-बार हिन्दुस्तान कमजोर हो गया आपस में लड़ाई की वजह से। इसलिए हमने अब जो नया आजाद हिन्दुस्तान बनाया उसमें शुरू ही में साफ कह दिया और जो हमने आर्देन बनाया, विधान बनाया उसमें लिखा है सब हिन्दुस्तानियों के बराबर के हक हैं, चाहे वो हिन्दू हों या मुसलमान हों, सिख हों या पारसी हों, बौद्ध हों या ईसाई हों। जो हिन्दुस्तान में रहता है चाहे उसका कोई मजहब हो, उसके मजहब का आदर करें, हम अपने मजहब पर रहें, उसके, दूसरे के मजहब का आदर करें और उसको अपना बड़े हिन्दुस्तान के खानदान में, एक अपने परिवार का समझना, इसी को राष्ट्रीयता कहते हैं, कौमियत, जो जोड़ती है हमें हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वालों को। अब हम कहें कि हिन्दुओं का हिन्दुस्तान है तो फौरन हम अपनी राष्ट्रीयता से गिर जाते हैं, हम कौमियत से गिर जाते हैं, मुसलमान नहीं, ईसाई नहीं हैं उसमें, माना कि हिन्दू ज्यादा रहते हैं यहाँ, लेकिन हिन्दू ज्यादा रहने से इसके माने नहीं हैं कि और लोग जो हिन्दू नहीं हैं वो रहते हैं, उनको पूरा हक नहीं है। पंजाब में आपके ज्यादातर हिन्दू और सिख हैं। अब जाहिर है, मोटी बात है कि पंजाब की तरक्की एक ही तरह से हो सकती है जब वो मिलकर पूरीतौर से रहें, एक-दूसरे की मदद करें और सहयोग से, न कि एक-दूसरे से लड़ें। कभी कोई लड़ने की कोशिश की आपने देखा कितना नुकसान हुआ। और सारे हिन्दुस्तान को आप देखिए, एकता बिल्कुल जरूरी चीज है, एकता के माने हैं राष्ट्रीयता को मानना।

हमारी कुछ संस्थाएँ हैं, साम्प्रदायिक संस्थाएँ, फिरकेवाराणा। मुझे हैरत होती है कैसी गलत बातें वो कहते हैं जिसका नतीजा एक ही हो सकता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े हो जायें, जो यहाँ रहते हैं लोग एक-दूसरे से लड़ें, हिन्दू-मुसलमान लड़ें, हिन्दू-सिख लड़ें, जो कोई हों सब लड़ते रहें। यह तो जहालत की इतिहा है, छोड़ दीजिए, ऊँचे उसूल तो हैं ही, ऊँचे उसूलों के अलावा, इससे हम फौरन नुकसान करते हैं, अपने पैरों पर कुल्हाड़ी मारते हैं। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि यह साम्प्रदायिक संस्थाएँ जो हैं, कम्यूनल बॉडीज, फिरकापरस्त बॉडीज यह निहायत गलत हैं, खतरनाक रास्ते पर ले जाती हैं। एक खतरा तो हम बरदाश्त कर चुके इनका बहुत बड़ा, मुस्लिम लीग ने हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े करा दिये, पंजाब के टुकड़े कर दिये। अब अगर उसी बात को मंजूर करें तो जाने क्या-क्या और खतरे हिन्दुस्तान पे जायें। इसलिए हिन्दुस्तान की एकता बहुत जरूरी चीज है और



इसलिए जो हमारी जातियाँ बहुत सी हैं वो भी गलत चीज हैं। आजकल की दुनिया में यह जातियों का सवाल नहीं रहता है, हमें सभी को बराबर का हक देना है, ऊँच जाति, नीच जाति को हम नहीं बरदाश्त कर सकते आजकल, इसको भी हटाना है और इसी की वजह से हिन्दुस्तान में अलग-अलग फिरके बहुत हो गये और कमजोर हो गया, इनको भी हटाना है। यह दो बुनियादी बातें हैं, यह दोनों।

तीसरी बात यह है कि आजकल की दुनिया को समझना है और अपनाना है। अगर हम नहीं समझेंगे तो और दुनिया बढ़ती जायेगी, हम पिछड़ जायेंगे, ये अच्छी बात नहीं है और जो हम समाज बनाना चाहते हैं उसमें ऊँच-नीच कम से कम हो, हरेक को बराबर का हक हो। सब बिल्कुल बराबर तो हो नहीं सकते, फर्क होता है लोगों में, लेकिन हक बराबर का है और मौके हरेक को बराबर के मिलें, और बहुत ज्यादा फर्क लोगों में न हो, ऐसे मौके हों, ऐसी समाज हो जिसे उसका फायदा हरेक को हो, कोई ज्यादा मेहनत करे ज्यादा फायदा हो, वो ठीक है। यह बातें हमें करनी हैं और यह बातें हमने ही नहीं करनी हैं दुनिया को करनी हैं और दुनिया हल्के-हल्के कर रही है इन बातों को और तरक्की कर रही है। एक तरफ से बड़ी लड़ाइयों की तैयारी होती और अगर लड़ाई हुई एटम बम्ब वगैरा की तो सारी दुनिया तबाह हो जायेगी, यह हालत है। अब इसमें, ऐसे जमाने में, ऐसी दुनिया में हम इतने ख़तरे हमारे सामने हैं, चाहे हमारी सरहद पर हों, चाहे दुनिया के ख़तरे हों, हम क्या कर सकते हैं। जो कुछ हम दुनिया की महफिलों में कर सकते हैं वो तो कहें, लेकिन असल बात तो यह है कि उनकी आवाज सुनी जाती है जिनके पीछे ताकत हो, मुल्क के पीछे। चुनांचे, हमें अपनी ताकत बढ़ानी है और ताकत के माने ख़ाली फौजी लोगों को ड़िल करा देना नहीं है ऊपर-नीचे, पंजाबी रक्षा दल की तरह से, वो भी एक अच्छी है अपनी जगह पर, लेकिन हमें उससे ज्यादा करना है, हमें मुल्क को बनाना है। फौज तो एक चीज होती है उसकी, उसके पीछे इंतजाम होता है मुल्क का, एक सारा मुल्क की जमीन पे काम, खेती, कारख़ाने वगैरा, हजार बातें, वो सब मिल के ताकत होती है। और मुल्क की ख़ुशहाली, फाकेमस्त मुल्क की ताकत नहीं ज्यादा होती है, मुल्क को ख़ुशहाल बनाना है इस जरिए से, जमींदार हों, जो कुछ हों अपना काम जोरों से कीजिए। याद रखिए कि लोगों की राय है, बाहर से आये थे लोग हमारी जमीन की हालत देखने कि हमारी जो कुछ हम पैदा करते हैं उसको चौगुना हमें पैदा करना चाहिए जमीन पर, चार सौ फीसदी बढ़ाना चाहिए अपनी पैदावार को, और चार सौ न करें, इस वक्त हम उसको दुगुना भी कर दें तब भी हिन्दुस्तान का रूप बदल जाता है। यह हम कर सकते हैं और कर रहे हैं और हो रहा है, होता जाता है लेकिन तेजी से हमें करना है और उससे आप मुल्क की हिफाजत करते हैं, जितना ज्यादा मुल्क की दौलत बढ़ती है उससे मुल्क का ख़ून बढ़ता है, मुल्क की ताकत बढ़ती है, मुल्क की हिम्मत बढ़ती है [तालियाँ] और चाहे लड़ाई में मुकाबला करने का, सामान बढ़ता है, ताकत बढ़ती है और इसके पीछे सब कुछ जो मैंने आपसे कहा कि मुल्क में एकता, यह बहुत ही जरूरी चीज है। बात करते हैं हमारे यहाँ, झगड़ा करते हैं, कभी मजहब के नाम पर, कभी जाति के नाम पर, कभी सूबे के नाम पर, भाषा पर, क्या बात है। यह तो एक बचपने की बातें हैं बिल्कुल, एक कौम

के सामने बड़े ख़तरे हैं, वो इन छोटे खेलों में, छोटे झगड़ों में पड़ जायें, यह तो अपने को साबित कर देती है कि नालायकी, जहालत इसकी। यह तो नहीं होना चाहिए।

तो आपको, मैंने शुरु से आपसे कहा था कि आपके रोहतक जिले की कुछ तारीफ़ कर दी थी, महज आपको खुश करने को नहीं, कुछ खुश करने का भी ख़्याल था आपको लेकिन रोहतक जिला एक भला जिला है, अच्छा जिला है, तगड़े लोग रहते हैं यहाँ हरियाने में और बहुत कुछ उम्मीद है इससे। तो मैं आशा करता हूँ वो जो उम्मीदें हैं वो पूरी करेंगे आप सब लोग। पानी की कमी है, पैदावार कैसे बढ़ायें, पानी की कमी है?, इसका कुछ चर्चा तो चौधरी रणबीर सिंह ने भी किया था, मैं इसका क्या जवाब दूँ? मैं जवाब क्या दूँ इसका, मेरी जेब में तो पानी है नहीं कि मैं निकाल के दे दूँ लेकिन हल्के-हल्के इनका इंतजाम होता है, नहरें बनती हैं, लम्बा काम होता है नहर बनाने का, मुझे उम्मीद है कि यहाँ भी आये, आपके भाखड़ा का पानी जा रहा है कहाँ-कहाँ होके राजस्थान, राजस्थान, रेगिस्तान को एकदम से आबाद कर रहा है वो, करेगा।

तो बस आपको फिर से मैं बधाई देता हूँ, मैंने यहाँ आते हुए अभी बिग्रेडियर होशियार सिंह के मकान पर ठहरा था, चन्द मिनिट एक बहादुर आदमी जिन्होंने आपके जिले की शोहरत बढ़ाई क्योंकि असल में बहादुर आदमी तो ख़ास नाम हासिल करते हैं किसी काम में, चाहे लड़ाई हो, चाहे अमन के काम हों, वो इज्जत बढ़ा देते हैं मुल्क की, सूबे की। यों तो बहुत भेड़-बकरियाँ हुआ करते हैं, तो ऐसे आपके यहाँ काफी हैं, हुए हैं, और होंगे, इसलिए आपको बधाई देता हूँ। तो बस अब आप लोगों को भी घर जाना है और मुझे दिल्ली जाना है।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters, Brothers and Children,

I live in Delhi which is not very far from here. But I have not been able to come here very often. I have come here twice or thrice only before this. Therefore, I am happy to be here today at Chaudhary Ranbir Singh's invitation. The fact is that I want to go to every single city and village in India. But India is a vast country and my work keeps me very busy. So I cannot go wherever I wish. Well, I am here today and happy to see all of you present at this meeting [Applause]. As Sardar Partap Singh mentioned just now, Rohtak has acquired fame in the rest of the country, in military circles and in other ways too.

I am here to congratulate you which has two meanings. One is congratulations on tasks completed. The other is to cherish hopes for the future. A nation which is buried in its thoughts of past glory and achievements, gradually slips and becomes weak. Our eyes should be constantly fixed on the future. It is true that past achievements give us strength and therefore, they must not be forgotten. We must learn from the past but look ahead to the future.



You must be aware of the urgent task which confronted us after independence particularly in the Punjab. We had to undergo a traumatic experience in the wake of freedom, Punjab was divided into two and people were uprooted in large numbers and fled from one side to the other as refugees. Now you can see how the Punjab which had to undergo great hardships at the time of independence is once again on its feet. It is, in many ways, the most advanced province in India today [Applause]. What is the conclusion to be drawn from it? It shows that the people of the Punjab are hardworking, courageous, and do not give in to panic when faced with disaster. This is a great thing. The fact is that ultimately, a nation's progress depends on its people, their ability, courage and spirit. It is men who make money, not the other way round. If there are large number of people in India who are strong, intelligent and daring, then we shall undoubtedly progress, as we are already doing [Applause]. If there is a dearth of such people, no amount of wealth or resources can help. It is human beings who contribute to progress.

Yes, human beings must be given opportunity. Now how is that to be done? What is our goal in India? As you may have heard, we want to build a socialist pattern of society. Socialism is complex. But broadly speaking, it envisages equal opportunity for every man, woman and child in the country. What does that mean? First of all, everyone must get the basic necessities of life like food, clothes, house, education, health care and means of earning a livelihood. Once everyone is assured of these things, each one can go as far as his ability and intelligence takes him. But it is important for everyone to have the right opportunity. The fact is that today everyone does not get the opportunity. Education is spreading but there are innumerable children who do not have the opportunity to study. We have to make arrangements for all of them.

India is a vast country and so it is difficult to make it move in any direction. There are 44-45 crores of people living in India shackled by old social customs and traditions. They have to be taught new ideas and methods so that they can serve the nation and themselves too. How did other countries become so affluent? How is it that the farmers in other countries produce two or three times or more than we do from an acre of land? How have they managed to open thousands of small industries everywhere? We can do all this too. There is no dearth of ability and talent in India. But we can take advantage of that only by understanding the modern trends. This is the age of science, technology and machines. This is something which all of us must learn, including the farmers.

Do you know what the symbols of the modern age are? They are sources of energy like steam and electricity, etc. They have been responsible for industries and railways and various other inventions. Electricity does not merely provide light but brings entire villages to life. New ideas and thoughts percolate down.

We are engaged in the task of infusing new life into the whole country. This was the big task which confronted us after independence. But even more important was the need to usher in the modern age in India. We must not give up our old traditions for our roots lie in them. But we must imbibe what the modern age has to offer in order to build a strong and prosperous India. This is the task we have been engaged in during the last fourteen to fifteen years since independence.

You may remember that immediately after independence we took up planning. We took into account the resources we had at our disposal and drew up a plan to increase the national wealth. India is a poor country and we could not get money from some outside agency. We could borrow but that would not take us very far. Therefore, we have to produce wealth in the country by our own effort. It is not gold and silver but the goods produced from land and industries which constitute the wealth of a nation. The country which produces a great deal becomes affluent. The United States of America is extremely rich not because of its vast reserves of gold and silver but due to the fact that it produces an enormous amount of goods from land and industries. It has been possible because they have adopted modern techniques and inventions.

We too must understand the age that we live in. Firstly we must ensure the spread of education and open special training institutions to teach people science, engineering, agriculture, etc. The outlook of the nation must change. Agriculture needs irrigation, fertilisers and electricity. We have to make arrangements for all these things. Electricity is very important nowadays. But all these things require great investment and time. We completed the First Plan. The Second Plan was more ambitious and so it was a little more difficult. But we have completed it somehow. Now we are in the middle of the Third Plan. In this way we are trying to lay the foundations of a new India. There is no magic formula for all this. But India is changing gradually. Those who come from abroad are quick to notice the changes which take place even in a few years.

We have been trying to reach a stage of development from where we can take off. I am trying to explain to you what that means. We want to usher in the modern age for which we have to get machines from outside. That means great investment. We must build our own heavy industries and produce the machines ourselves. That is the only way to improve agriculture and industrialise the country. The West took nearly 150 years to accomplish all this. But we have to do it in a shorter time. No matter how hard we try, it takes time to change such a vast country. We hope that in the next ten or twelve years, we would have advanced very far.

As I said, our only goal was to bring about progress and prosperity in India. The only war that we wished to fight was against poverty. As you know, we fought for our freedom too by peaceful methods under Gandhiji's leadership.



So we wanted to fight only against the poverty and unemployment which afflict India. However, unfortunately, we have got involved in wars with other countries. We want to maintain friendly relations with everyone, including Pakistan. But Pakistan is forever indulging in unfriendly acts. The process continues to this day. We want to be friendly towards Pakistan but that does not mean that we should give up all our principles. How can there be enduring friendship under such circumstances? It would harm India.

Then another war started on our borders with China on the Tibetan side. The strange thing is that when there was a revolution in China, we had extended our sympathy and help to them, pleaded their cause before other nations and this is how they have repaid us. On top of it, they say that being a communist country, China can never commit aggression on another country's territory. I am filled with sadness that any country should betray the trust and friendship of another. Most of the communists in India in the Punjab and elsewhere have denounced the Chinese action. But even now, there are some communists in the Punjab who are pro-Chinese. Their thinking is so addled that in spite of the Chinese attack upon our territory, they fail to understand that China is in the wrong. But by and large, the communists are against China and are cooperating with us fully. As I said, our greatest goal after independence was to ensure progress in India, increase production in every way and open up thousands of avenues of employment, schools, colleges, irrigation canals, etc. But the defence of one's country takes precedence over all this. Without freedom, nothing else is of consequence. Once we become free, we were confident that there was no danger of external aggression and we could go ahead with our tasks of development. We held aloft the banner of peace in the world and became famous as the apostles of peace and Gandhi's disciples. But now the dilemma before us is what to do if there is an attack on our borders. It is obvious that no matter how much we desire, we cannot sit by and watch if there is an aggression upon our soil. The people who are unable to defend their country's honour become weak and degraded. Others will easily establish control over them. I do not mean that China can conquer India. But it is a sign of weakness to allow the enemy to attack and take possession of a part of our territory. A country which allows this to happen falls in the eyes of others as well as in one's own esteem. We cannot tolerate that. We want peace and are opposed to war. But if there is an attack on India and our freedom, we must combat it with all our might [Applause].

The border situation is fraught with danger. A month ago, there was a heated battle. The Chinese attacked in great strength and advanced into our territory but have withdrawn a little. That does not mean that the problem is solved. We have been given a rude jolt and must now remain vigilant. The Chinese

forces are present across the border in Tibet in great strength and can come down at any time. They are trying to use that to coerce us into accepting their proposals. Therefore it has become extremely important for us to be vigilant and prepared for any eventuality. The problem is China, is larger than India in size and population. It is an ancient country like ours but stronger. It is not easy to challenge them successfully. Therefore, we must reinforce our armed strength and have more aeroplanes, etc. The masses must also be prepared and vigilant.

You have the Punjab Raksha Dal. Now they are not going to march to the borders. Then there are home guards, etc. They are meant to instill discipline among the people and prepare them to face any crisis calmly. Please remember that it is not the soldier on the borders alone who fights. Gone are the days when an emperor could lose his empire in one single battle. It happened so often in the past near Delhi when empires changed hands with the speed of lightning. In the modern age, war is the business of the entire people of a nation. So it is more difficult to defeat an entire nation than an emperor. The war goes on even if battles are lost initially, that is why modern wars are so protracted. You may remember that during the Second World War, the British and the French lost many battles and the whole of France was overrun by Germany. Yet the war went on and ultimately after four and a half years Germany and its allies lost completely. It was a war of the people and all their resources were pitted against the enemy. Today a hundred men have to work behind the lines to keep one soldier at the front, to supply him with food, arms and ammunition, transport, etc. We have to make arrangements to produce all these things. It will help the war effort and benefit the nation too.

I would like to repeat that we do not like wars. We want peace in the world. In the atomic age of today, the weapons of warfare are so lethal that they can destroy the whole world. Neither India nor China possess an atom bomb. Otherwise they may have used it at any time. We too could have made the bomb for we have advanced considerably in the field of nuclear technology. But when we first took up the production of atomic energy five years ago, I had made an announcement that we shall not use it for military purposes. We have no intention even now of making a bomb though we are advancing very rapidly in the field of atomic energy. We shall not turn bloodshot eyes upon the world. Our image is that of a peace-loving nation. But in spite of that, we shall defend our country with all our might and use the best weapons to fight the war.

I want you to understand that though the Chinese have withdrawn and there has been no fighting on the borders for the last two months, the situation is fraught with danger and nobody knows when fighting will break out again. We must be prepared for it for otherwise we will have to suffer great losses. Apart from the military aspect, this has become a great challenge to us. It is



not a question of a few miles of territory in Ladakh and NEFA. The conflict goes down much deeper. That is why it is much more difficult to solve the problem quickly. It will go on for years and we must be prepared for that. This is the first great test we are facing after India became independent. Our entire future depends on how we handle this crisis. Therefore, we cannot show any weakness. We will have to work intelligently, with strength and determination to defend the country. We can do that only by carrying on the projects that we have already taken up.

The war with China has imposed a heavy burden upon us for weapons and war materials are expensive. So, the dilemma before us is whether we can continue to carry the burden of Five Year Plans as well as the additional burden of war. But when we examined the matter closely, we found that the Five Year Plans are necessary for the war effort too. What are the Five Year Plans? They are concerned chiefly with improving agricultural production without which our industrialisation programme is weakened. We must double or treble our production. Then we need industrialisation, power generation, irrigation canals, which are all extremely important. Without these things, our resources will be depleted. Therefore, we cannot give up the Five Year Plans even though it means carrying two heavy burdens at the same time. In fact, the two things are linked together. We cannot do one without the other.

Ten days ago, the annual budget was passed, indicating the income and expenditure and the taxes that are being levied. We have not done it happily. But we are helpless. We need weapons and other war equipment. Our friends are helping us but we have to pay for what we are buying. We have to set up factories in India to produce whatever the armed forces need. At the same time, we must continue the Five Year Plans. We will have to shoulder the additional burden with courage and determination. If we slacken even a little, there may be fresh dangers to the nation. So we are determined to shoulder the burden cheerfully. Our people are intelligent and will realise why we are doing all this. If we brave this crisis, the outcome will be good. It will make a good impression upon the world for they will realise that we are strong and determined to face any hardship that may descend upon us. What does money matter when people are giving up their lives for the country? Taxes have been increased which will undoubtedly cast a greater burden upon all of you. We do not know how long we will have to carry it. But we want that the work of development must go on so that India may become economically strong. We do not wish to give up the task of improving the economic condition of the people even when there is a war on. If the people are willing to shoulder the additional burden, there may be greater progress in the country. Even though wars mean loss of life and money, usually the task of development gains momentum during wartime. For

instance, the ordinance factories that we are setting up will benefit the country even after the war is over. For one thing, any new industry is a good thing. Two, it will add to our production, and three, it will bring about a change in the outlook of the nation and make it more modern. India will enter into the machine age more rapidly. Punjab is ahead of the other states in this respect. But it must spread all over India.

In short, there are grave problems before us. As I said, this is a testing time for us. The first test came when the Chinese attacked us suddenly, betraying our trust and friendship. They won some victories initially and captured some of our territory. There was loss of life on both sides. The Chinese thought that they could throw us into a panic and coerce us into signing an agreement favourable to them. Four days after the attack, they said they would come to an agreement if certain conditions were met. We refused. Then they launched another attack after two weeks and presented yet another proposal which we could not have accepted because it was against our honour and prestige. We could not tolerate bowing down before an obvious wrong [Applause].

Then some of our mutual friends like Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Ghana and Egypt entered the field and have been holding consultations among themselves and with us as well as China with a view to creating a climate in which an agreement would become possible. Well, I was agreeable. They presented some proposals to China and then to us in New Delhi.<sup>55</sup> The Chinese expressed their consent to the proposals on principle. When they came to us, we wanted to know in detail what exactly was involved. We did not enter into any arguments. We said that we would agree to the proposals on the strict understanding that the Chinese would vacate all the territory that they had occupied. Only then would we agree to come to the conference table. Since the proposals were made by friendly countries, we did not want to disappoint them. They notified the Chinese about our consent thinking that there would be no further hitch since the Chinese had accepted our principle. However, they have gone back on that after examining the proposals in greater detail. Well, anyhow, the ball is in their court now.

I do not know what the outcome of all this is likely to be. But it is obvious from every point of view that on our part, we will have to be fully prepared in every way, militarily, economically and mentally. If we slacken even a little, it will do great harm to the nation. Even when we go to the conference table, we must do so from a position of strength if we want to reach an agreement with honour. Therefore from every point of view, we ought to increase our strength. We must not allow ourselves to be misled into becoming slack since there

55. The Colombo Proposals. See relevant items in section III subsection (f) *infra*.



is a war on. The present conflict between China and India, in the battlefield and otherwise, has assumed great importance for Asia and the world. For one thing, we are two great nations and therefore the world is keenly interested in the outcome of this conflict. Strangely enough, the Soviet Union which is a communist country and has helped China to a very large extent does not approve of its attack on India. In fact, they have kept themselves aloof in this quarrel. They have even tried to put pressure on the Chinese to stop it. The Chinese have responded by roundly abusing the Soviet Union. It is strange that the Chinese have become so full of pride that they do not wish to accept any principles or etiquette in their foreign relations. They want to coerce everyone through threats and abuses.

As I said this is a crucial test for India and the next four or five years will show how we fare. Our future depends on the outcome of this struggle and it is bound to have an impact on Asia and Africa. So there is a great responsibility upon us. Apart from the duty to defend India, the fact is that this entire question is linked to Asia's progress and its future. Therefore, we must conduct ourselves with honour. We cannot sit by and abuse the Chinese. We must fight with courage and determination if there is war. Some people in India seem to think that we can win the war by shouting slogans or taking out processions. If you think such activities will have the slightest impact on China, you are mistaken. Processions are taken out in China too. But ultimately, we will be judged by our real strength, our economic strength. Therefore, we must work hard and increase production by every possible means and not give into panic even if we have to face some losses.

I do not think there is any danger of aerial bombing upon Rohtak. But the question is, how you will react in case it does? You cannot frighten the planes by shouting slogans or taking out processions. The fact of the matter is that we are living in a dangerous, ruthless world where discipline and courage are extremely important. The greater the danger, the calmer we should become. The Punjab Raksha Dal has been constituted for that purpose.

A scheme has been drawn up in our community projects to have volunteers in every village and city. They will not be required to march to the borders. It is merely to create an atmosphere of discipline and organisation. The more disciplined we are the greater will be our strength. We must help in any way we can. If by chance there is bombing from the skies, we must not panic. I have had the opportunity to witness an aerial bombing twice before. One was in Spain before the Second World War. Since then, many people have gone through this experience. I was in Spain during the civil war, staying in a hotel on the sixth floor. Planes started bombing in the middle of the night. There was no escape from the sixth floor. So I decided to go out on the balcony and

watch the fun. By some chance, no bomb fell on our hotel. The bombs were not so sophisticated as they are now. Anyhow, in the morning, we went on a tour of the city to see the damage that had been done. There was great debris everywhere.<sup>56</sup> But what interested me greatly was to hear that in the beginning people used to get frightened. After months of such air raids, they became so used to them that they would go into the air raid shelters as soon as the signal went up and come out the moment the all clear sounded to go about their business. Life went on as usual. Man gets used to danger very quickly if he is strong. I have seen the same thing happening in China too.<sup>57</sup>

The world has advanced since then and the dangers have increased enormously too. We must grow accustomed to that. Therefore, it is most important that we should create an atmosphere of discipline in every village. The people must organise themselves to face any crisis and not run away in panic. The soldiers will go to the front. But those who are left behind must work hard to produce more from land and industries. The boys and girls in schools and colleges must study hard and prepare themselves for the future. We must go on with our day-do-day tasks but with redoubled vigour. Please remember that it is the children of today who will have to shoulder the burden of the country tomorrow. People like me have only a few years more to go. The burden will fall upon your shoulders and you must prepare yourselves for that. This is a ruthless world in which there is no place for the weak. So, we must become a strong nation.

There are certain important factors which go to make a nation strong. Firstly, unity is very important. You saw that when the Chinese attacked on our borders, it made a deep wound on Madras two thousand miles away. It is because India is one. A small wound on the little finger hurts the whole body. Similarly, the body politic of India is one living, vital being and any wound to it hurts all the parts [Applause]. You live in the Punjab or Haryana, in Rohtak. But the whole of India is our heritage. Punjab belongs not to you alone but to the citizens of Madras too and vice versa. The whole of India is our heritage. We must always bear that in mind. India's unity is crucial, no matter how many religions and castes there are. Everyone is first and foremost an Indian and their most important duty is to defend India, serve her interest and maintain unity in the country. If this is not done, India will break up into fragments and become weak. It is an ancient vice of ours to fight among ourselves and if we allow it to overcome us, we will become weak.

56. In 1938. See SWJN/FS/9/Relevant Section.

57. In October 1954.



The entire history of India shows that we were weakened again and again due to our internal squabbles. That is why as soon as India became independent, we wrote down clearly in our new constitution that all Indians have equal rights, whether they were Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis or Buddhists or Christians. Everyone who lives in India must show respect to the other religions and regard themselves as part of one large family. This is known as nationalism which binds the people of India together. If we say that India belongs to Hindus alone, the spirit of nationalism begins to slip away. I agree that the Hindus are in a majority and Muslims and Christians are in a minority. But that does not mean that the minorities do not enjoy equal rights in the country. The majority of the people in the Punjab are Hindus or Sikhs. It is obvious that the progress of Punjab depends entirely on their mutual cooperation and help. We have seen the harm that internal squabbles can do. Therefore, unity is crucial for India's stability and that means fostering the spirit of nationalism.

There are certain communalist organisations in India which amaze me by the kind of things that they say. The only outcome of following them would be to break up India into fragments and civil war. It is extremely foolish even apart from principles. It is like cutting the nose to spite the face. That is why I feel that the communal bodies try to lead the people into absolutely wrong paths. We have gone through the trauma of Partition once due to the activities of the Muslim League. If we allow it to rear its head once again, nobody knows what dangers it will bring upon India. Casteism is also wrong. In today's world, everyone must enjoy equal rights. We cannot tolerate the division of people into high caste and low. We must get rid of casteism and communalism from India.

Thirdly, we must understand the world we live in and adapt ourselves to it. If we fail to do so, the world will advance while we remain backward. We want to build a society in which there is no disparity between the haves and the have-nots and equal rights for all. There are bound to be differences among individuals. But everyone must get equal opportunities for progress. Then those who work harder may go further than the others. These are some of the things which the whole world is striving for.

The world is in a strange flux today. On the one hand, there is great progress and on the other, preparations for war are afoot. If there is a nuclear war, mankind will become extinct. We try to throw our weight on the side of peace whenever we can. But it is only the powerful countries whose voices are heard. Therefore, we must become strong, not only militarily, though that is also necessary in its own place, but as a nation. The armed forces have to be backed by economic strength, agricultural production, industries etc. A poor nation cannot become powerful. Everyone of us must work hard in our own chosen profession. Please remember that people from outside who have examined our

soil feel that we should produce four times as much as we do at the moment. Even if we can double the production India will be transformed. We are doing this. But we have to accelerate the pace. The more wealth we produce, the stronger India will become [Appluse]. We will increase our capacity to ward off external aggression. Above all unity of the country is absolutely essential. It is childish to fight in the name of religion, language, caste and province. If we indulge in such foolish pastimes at a time when the nation faces grave danger, we will demonstrate our uselessness to the world. We must not let that happen.

As I said right in the beginning, I praised your district not in order to please you, though that was also there [Laughter] but because Rohtak is a good district. The people of Haryana are tough and hardworking and we have great hopes from them. I hope you will fulfil them [Applause]. How can you increase production when there is shortage of water for irrigation? Chaudhary Ranbir Singh mentioned that just now. What can I say? I do not have water in my pocket [Applause]. But we are trying to make arrangements gradually by building canals and dams. I hope that the Bhakra waters will irrigate the lands of Rajasthan and Haryana and make the desert blossom.

I congratulate you once again. On my way here, I had stopped for a few minutes at the house of Brigadier Hoshier Singh.<sup>58</sup> He was a brave man who has contributed to your district's fame. It is only the few brave and courageous spirits who earn a name for their province or country. Mere sheep like numbers do not count. Therefore, I congratulate you. All right, now you must go home and I must return to Delhi.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

## 22. In Raipur: Public Meeting<sup>59</sup>

PM: India Will Never Abandon Secularism

Raipur, March 15 – Prime Minister Nehru declared here that India would never become a nation purely of Hindus.

Those who talked of making her a Hindu nation were only imitating Pakistani leaders who sought to make Pakistan an Islamic state, he said.

58. See SWJN/SS/80/items 86 and 220.

59. Report of speech of 15 March 1963, reproduced from the *National Herald*, 16 March, 1963, p. 7.



Addressing a mammoth public meeting here last night, which ended his two-day tour of Madhya Pradesh, Pandit Nehru reiterated that India would remain a nation in which all communities would enjoy equal opportunities to pursue their faith.

No one who ruled India for the past one thousand years or more had ever professed for a Hindu nation. India has been and will be a country where everyone, irrespective of his religion, would be able to live peacefully and follow his religion, he said.

It would be a sad thing for anyone to think in terms of making India a Hindu nation Pandit Nehru declared.

### Healthy Sign

Pandit Nehru said he was happy to see the unity prevailing among the people when the country was facing threats from China. This was a good sign to see the people sinking their differences and uniting to fight a common enemy. This unity should be consolidated and all attempts made to pool the resources to make the motherland stronger to defeat the aggression.

Pandit Nehru said that India never favoured any military alliance because such an alliance would have brought the country under the influence of others.

India's policy of non-alignment, he said had paid dividends. Now she was receiving friendly assistance from the United Kingdom, the United States and some other countries without joining any power-blocs.

China had attacked India for the obvious reason that it did not like any other Asian country to grow and develop faster than she could. Hence, these attacks and continued threats, he said.

## 23. To H.V. Kamath: Cabinet Secretary's Impropriety<sup>60</sup>

16th March 1963

My dear Kamath,

Your letter of March 12th about the Cabinet Secretary reading out a passage from the President's Address to Parliament. I referred this to the Cabinet Secretary and he has shown me the transcript of the lecture he delivered to a group of persons in the Institute of Public Administration. This was a private meeting on the 13th February and not on the 11th as you have said.

60. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, PSP.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

In the course of his speech he referred to the Constitution and especially to the Directive Principles of State Policy. He read out those parts of the Constitution given in the Preamble. You will remember that the President had collected these parts from the Preamble of the Constitution in his speech. Having read that he stated that this part relating to the Directive Principles occurred in the Draft Address which the President was going to deliver to Members of Parliament. He was pointing out that this was not merely an academic aspect of the question, but was even applicable today.

He added that the President's Address was a secret document until the 18th, but he had read out the part from it because that was not particularly secret.

The whole point was of laying stress on the Directives of the Constitution and pointing out that they were live directives which governed us now as before.

You will see that he did not quote anything which was secret and he did not say that he was aware that he was committing a breach of the Official Secrets Act. In fact, he said that there was nothing secret about his quoting the Directive Principles to which the President had drawn attention. I do not think there was any impropriety about his doing so and there was certainly no bravado. Perhaps, it would have been better if he had not mentioned the President's Address and just dealt with the Constitution as it was.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **24. To Surendra Mohan Ghose: Rajendra Prasad's Portrait<sup>61</sup>**

March 19, 1963

My dear Surendra Mohan,

I have the letter dated March 18 signed by you and a number of other MPs about a portrait of Dr Rajendra Prasad for the Central Hall.

It was decided long ago, that is long before Rajendra Babu's death, that we should reserve a panel in the Central Hall for his portrait. Therefore, we must proceed to give effect to this decision.

It would be quite legitimate for Parliament to pay for this portrait. But it would be better, on the whole, if Members subscribed for it.

Your suggestion that four or five portraits should be made and then we can choose one of them might perhaps be adopted. We did this in the case of Maulana

61. Letter to Congress MP; address: 21 Janpath, New Delhi.



Azad. The first batch of portraits can be of a smaller size. After choosing one of them, the bigger size can be made. All that we do now is to select the artist who should be asked to prepare these small size portraits. You might find out from Satya Narayan Sinha who are the artists chosen for Maulana Azad's picture. A committee might be appointed, but this is hardly necessary. When the small portraits are made, many of us can see them and pick out one.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## **25. To Asoke Kumar Sen: Kameswara Rau wants to be on Language Commission<sup>62</sup>**

March 30, 1963

My dear Asoke,

P. Kameswara Rau<sup>63</sup> came to see me this afternoon. In the course of his talk, he reminded me of what he had said to me a year or more ago, when he had suggested his own appointment to the Official Language Commission. I have suggested to him to see you about it. Perhaps he might do so. I enclose two papers he gave me.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## **26. To Jayantilal C. Parikh: Dealing with Communist Slurs<sup>64</sup>**

April 3, 1963

Dear Shri Parikh,

I have your letter of April 1st, for which I thank you.

I know that many people, communists and others, do not approve of me and often say things which are not desirable. I do not know what you expect me to

62. Letter to the Law Minister.

63. Former Member of the Hindu Endowment Commission, headed by C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, 1962.

64. Letter; address: 9/12 Kurla Road, Bombay 59.

do about it. I deal with these matters generally, not attaching much importance to personal reference.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 27. To Jack H. Farmer: India's Strategy<sup>65</sup>

April 10, 1963,

Dear Mr Farmer,

Your letter of January 25th has only just reached me. I do not know why it took such a long time. Perhaps, it came by ocean mail.

I am sending brief answers to the questions you have put. I am sorry I cannot deal with them fully for lack of time.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### Answers to questions

1. Our long-term objectives for India are to put an end to poverty and unemployment of our people, to raise the standard of living adequately and to achieve a Welfare State after the socialist pattern, so that every person has equal opportunities of development, and there is no great gap between the rich and the poor. In our attempts to achieve this, we have to industrialise our country and use modern scientific techniques both in agriculture and industry. We want to adopt the method of cooperation wherever possible.

In modernising our country, we want India to retain her individuality and to cherish her old culture and the wisdom she has accumulated during the past thousands of years. We want our country to work for peace and to endeavour to have friendly relations with all other countries.

2. I think that a lasting peace is certainly possible though it is not certain. Ultimately some kind of a world order will have to be evolved. Progress towards it will probably be progressive. The world order will come when sufficient progress has been made in this direction.

65. Letter to the Editor of *The Henderson Times*, P.O. Box 472, Henderson, Texas.



3. An attempt to maintain peace by a balance of power will not bring in enduring peace, especially in this nuclear age. Therefore, I think that disarmament, which would ultimately be almost total disarmament, will have to be achieved even though by stages. If real disarmament takes place, this will be a strong incentive towards greater cooperation between different countries and might ultimately lead to a world order.

## 28. To Chief Ministers<sup>66</sup>

April 14, 1963

My dear Chief Minister,

[Defence]

There has been a good deal of uncertainty about the possible developments on our northern and north-eastern frontier. We are naturally concerned as to what might happen there and what the Chinese might do. A certain concentration of forces in Tibet by the Chinese and the further building of roads there would indicate that they were preparing for further aggression. On the other hand, certain political developments would indicate that there was not likely to be any further aggressive step by the Chinese in the near future. The Colombo proposals remain where they were. As you know, we have accepted them without any reservation, but the Chinese still raise two important objections and try to induce us to go to the conference table before this matter is cleared up. In effect, their two objections, both in regard to NEFA and to Ladakh, are vital matters and it would not be right for us to accept the position as suggested by the Chinese.

2. Meanwhile an argument goes on, chiefly between the Colombo powers and the Chinese Government, about these proposals. Mr Ali Sabry, President of the Executive Council of the United Arab Republic, is going to Peking soon to discuss this very matter. He will pay a brief visit to Delhi on his way back. President Liu Shao Chi of China is at present in Indonesia and he will no doubt press his viewpoint. By the beginning of next month, we shall know a little more definitely what the result of these visits is likely to be.

3. We have made it clear to the Chinese that there must be a full acceptance of the Colombo proposals without any reservations before any progress can be

66. Letter to the Chief Ministers of all States and the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. PMS, File No. 25(30)/63-71-PM, Sr. No. 4-A.

made. That would be the first step. This would be followed by implementation of these proposals both in NEFA and in Ladakh. It is true that to some extent these proposals have been implemented by the Chinese already. But an important part of them remains and this can only be done after full agreement in regard to it.

4. The third step would then be presumably a meeting of representatives of India and China to consider the question about disputes on the merits. It is rather doubtful that this will result in a satisfactory settlement. Hence, we have suggested to the Chinese Government that in the event of no satisfactory settlement being arrived at, we would be prepared to refer the matter to the Hague Court of International Justice or, in the alternative, to arbitrators appointed by agreement by the two countries.

5. You will thus notice that we have gone as far as we can. We will continue to search for a peaceful settlement, but this will have to be, in our opinion, a settlement preserving the honour, dignity and integrity of India. Unofficially it is said that they do not approve of the proposals for arbitration and it is doubtful how far they are prepared to agree to a reference to the Hague Court. That is the position at present. Meanwhile they are returning in batches the Indian prisoners of war that they have held. We, on our part, are going ahead with our programme for strengthening our defence forces, both of the land and the Air. Apart from the steps we are taking ourselves in India, in this respect, we are sending a delegation of experts to the United States of America in regard to the help they can give us in building up our defence strength. This deputation will be followed up early in May by our Minister of Economic and Defence Co-ordination, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari, paying a visit to the United States of America and to Canada. Even before this visit he is going to Australia and New Zealand this month.

6. The process of building up a solid defence force naturally takes some time. This means a considerable addition to our present army, increase in our own production of defence equipment which means not only modernising our existing ordnance factories, but building up new ones; increasing our Air Force by speeding up our arrangements for production of aircraft and obtaining aircraft from abroad with radar etc. Our Defence Ministry, under the able and energetic guidance of our Defence Minister, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, is devoting itself to this building up. Shri T.T. Krishnamachari is of great help in these processes.

7. As I have often said, whatever the developments might be in regard to our conflict with China in the near future, our programme for strengthening our defences must continue. That is the only sure guarantee of our preventing Chinese aggression and of combating it whenever necessity arises. We have lost faith in the bonafides of the Chinese Government. They have a strange way of



twisting everything and even getting round what they have said previously. We have thus to face a continuing menace and we cannot afford to take any risks about that based on the assurances of the Chinese. We shall have inevitably to shoulder this burden for a considerable time. This is the price we have to pay for our freedom.

### [Agriculture]

8. Most of us are anxious about the need of developing industry, but perhaps all of us do not yet fully realise that, whether it is defence or industrial background, this is based intimately on our agricultural production. Without a sound agricultural base, we shall not be in a position to make much progress in industry. For us to have to spend foreign exchange for agricultural imports means weakening tremendously our capacity for industrial growth. It is true that we have made considerable progress in agriculture and have laid foundations for greater progress in the future. Also it is perfectly true that agriculture depends much on climatic conditions and the weather. The steps we take to improve it take some time in bearing fruit. While all this is true, still there is a strong feeling in the country, which I believe is justified, that our progress ought to be faster. In small selected areas, our production has grown considerably. Why cannot we apply this growth to other areas also? Real progress consists in producing more per acre and not so much in cultivating additional land. Even a relatively small increase per acre all over India would make a great difference. We know that should be done. The question is of implementation. That implementation is largely the responsibility of the States. Today, therefore, the work of the Agriculture Ministries in the States is of vital importance requiring the services of the ablest persons they have.

10. At a recent meeting of the All India Congress Committee, there was good and frank discussion about agriculture. It was pointed out there that while Punjab and some of the Southern States, such as Madras, are showing good results, some other States, notably Bihar, UP, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, are still backward in this respect. According to the data supplied to us, in the case of rice, these four States are well below the national average. Orissa and UP, which between them have 23.6 per cent of the all India acreage, their yield per acre is less than 73 per cent of the national average and less than half of the yield per acre in Madras. In the case of wheat, Maharashtra and Gujarat with nearly 11 per cent of the national acreage, their yield is 35 per cent below the national average. In the case of jowar, Mysore and Rajasthan have yields well below the national average.

11. I could give many other figures to show how great the differences are between our States. This may partly be explained by irrigation facilities, soil differences, etc. But I do not think that the explanation is an adequate one. There is something that has thus far eluded us. That something can only be the human element and the capacity of that human element to take advantage of modern methods. It is broadly true to say that the part of India which was under the jagirdari or zamindari system previously, is still backward in agriculture. That is the burden we carry of that unfortunate system which not only did not make the best use of land, but reduced the capacity of the human element.

12. The problem before us is to increase the production per acre in the States where this is low. This will not only raise the national average, but will help in minimising inter-state differences and will raise the per capita income of the poorer parts of the country.

13. Stress is often laid on greater investment for agricultural progress. While the importance of this is obvious, especially in regard to irrigation and fertilisers, we have seen that even investment by itself does not produce adequate results. We spend vast sums of money on irrigation, and yet all the water that is available is not used properly for lack of water channels etc. There is much too great a lag in the use of the opportunities that are created. The tools we use such as ploughs, etc., are often primitive. Indeed one can say that higher agricultural production per acre is directly connected with the better tools used. The human factor continues to be the most vital in all the processes at work. It was to develop this human factor that Community Development programmes and Panchayati Raj were started. They have done good, but still a great deal remains to be done. How can we give a different outlook to the peasant? That can come partly by education, partly by using better tools, partly by cooperation.

[Community Development and Panchayati Raj]

14. I have been a strong advocate of Community Development and Panchayati Raj, and I still have great faith in these movements. But we must realise that there is considerable criticism of these which requires looking into. I have been surprised to hear the strong and bitter references to the BDO. It is stated by some people who know that the average BDO has developed the superior mentality of an officer and not the crusading spirit of the worker. If that is so, it requires looking into and correcting. What we have been trying to do is to make even our officer class take to manual work and to influence those whom they are seeking to train by personal example and not merely by advice. It would indeed be a tragedy if the BDO and the Village Level Worker even behaved like bureaucrats. They must be pulled up or replaced by more suitable persons.



15. Then there is the question of village channels and the proper utilisation of the water already available. Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, than whom we have no person with greater experience in these matters, has been repeating even so many times the necessity of village channels being constructed by the village people themselves. No Government or State can undertake this vast task of constructing thousands of miles of channels. But if this work is divided up in our hundreds of thousands of villages, it becomes easy to have them. It must, therefore, be made the responsibility of the village Panchayat to build and look after these village channels and, if it is necessary, legislation should be passed to this effect.

16. The question, therefore, is not merely of investment but much more so of developing the human factor and of vitalising and modernising the man who works in the field. It is this aspect which must be emphasised and our work should concentrate on this.

17. The Cooperative Movement, if properly run, is an essential part of this process. Unfortunately, even now in some States this movement is far too official. Whatever good it may do otherwise, it does not touch the improvement of the human factor which can only come if the responsibility for running the movement is cast on the peasantry itself.

### [Education]

18. Improving the human factor means basically education, and primary education is obviously the foundation for any other kind of education that we may give. I have been distressed at the fact that because of the Emergency, there has been a slowing down of the growth of primary education. Indeed in some cases there has even been a backward movement. I do think, both from the agricultural and industrial point of view, as well as others, that primary education is of the most vital importance and must be made to grow with a proper teacher-pupil ratio. We are laying stress on technical education, and that is completely justified. But there must be a base of primary education before one advances further. I should like you to look into the position of primary education in your State and see how far it is suffering on the excuse of the Emergency. That is not justifiable excuse, and whatever happens, I do not think it can ever be made an excuse if we are to progress. Primary education, of course, does not mean just enrolling young boys and girls, but having adequate teachers and also a proper teacher training programme. In spite of my strong desire for the growth of our industry, I am convinced that it is better to do without some industrial growth than to do without adequate education at the base.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

19. We have created a good deal of enthusiasm in our villages for school going. It would be a tragedy if we cannot satisfy this urge by providing good schools. We can do without buildings, and as a matter of fact, new building programmes have been largely curtailed. We can have the shift system wherever possible, provided additional teachers are appointed. But we should try to have some basic training in these schools. This basic training means education that is work-oriented, and some productive effort being joined to education, whatever that productive effort might be. That would be a proper response to the Emergency, and not to shrivel up and lessen this vital aspect of growth of the nation.

20. I understand that the target for admission of children fixed for the fifth year of the Third Plan has been so successful that it can be reached even at the end of the third year. But adequate number of teachers cannot be appointed for lack of funds. This is most unfortunate.

21. I think that if an enquiry is made, it will be found that agricultural production is higher in the States where the percentage of literacy is also higher. I would, therefore, invite your attention most particularly to this question of primary education being extended and organised on a proper basis with enough teachers.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **29. To Bishwanath Roy: Charges against PSP<sup>67</sup>**

April 16, 1963

Dear Bishwanath Roy,

I wrote to you a few days ago about certain statements you had made in regard to the PSP getting American help during the elections. I had requested you to give me some facts or information which you may have in your possession. I have not had your answer yet. Meanwhile, I have received a letter from Shri Asoka Mehta<sup>68</sup> on this very subject. He has taken strong exception to what you said against the PSP and apparently himself as he stood for election from your constituency.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

67. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 91 South Avenue, New Delhi.

68. Leader of the PSP.



### 30. To Surendranath Dwivedy: Discourtesy<sup>69</sup>

April 21, 1963

Dear Shri Dwivedy,

I have your letter of the 20th April.

It is natural and obvious that a letter that you write to me concerning one of my colleagues is forwarded by me to him. He is the right person to reply and give the necessary facts.

I regret very much the kind of correspondence that has taken place on this issue. May I point out to you that your letters and correspondence are not models of courtesy?

I do not understand the logic of some statements that you have made in your letter. However, I do not wish to enter into an argument about them.

As I have stated, all the papers in connection with these matters have been sent to the Attorney-General for his advice. I certainly hope that he will give his appraisal of these papers before the House adjourns, to enable me to make a statement before the Lok Sabha.<sup>70</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### (b) Biju Patnaik in USA

### 31. To B.K. Nehru: Patnaiks's US Visit<sup>71</sup>

March 8, 1963

My dear Bijju,

You have been informed already that Biju Patnaik<sup>72</sup> will be going to Washington soon. At the end of this month or possibly the beginning of April, T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>73</sup> will be going there also with probably a small team.

I am writing to you particularly about Patnaik. You know him, I think well enough. He is a man with great capacity, enterprise and even daring. He began life as a dare devil pilot. During the last war, he used to go to China from India over the hump. After the war, he was fairly intimately associated with

69. Letter to PSP MP; address: 21 Canning Lane, New Delhi.

70. See item 115.

71. Letter to the Ambassador to the US.

72. Chief Minister of Orissa.

73. Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

the Indonesian leaders. When the Dutch were having a blockade of Indonesia and were carrying on military operations there, he flew into Indonesia to meet the leaders there at great risk. I think one of his planes was shot down. Then he brought some of the Indonesian leaders to Delhi.

Later he started many industrial ventures. Also an airline,<sup>74</sup> which is still functioning and which has helped us considerably in carrying supplies to the NEFA area. He has proved to be a successful industrialist. At the same time, he has turned some of his successful industrial enterprises into trusts for public purposes.

He was interested in politics most of the time. Gradually he took a greater part in it and became the President of the Provincial Congress Committee of Orissa. This led later to his becoming Chief Minister which he still is. He has worked out big plans for the industrial development of Orissa, and I think he is likely to succeed to a large extent.

With all his virtues, he has some failings which perhaps are the counterparts of his virtues. He is apt to talk too much when silence would be better. I have just had a fairly long talk with him and M.J. Desai.<sup>75</sup> I have warned him not to have anything to do with the press or television interviews. In fact, I should like him to avoid publicity as much as possible. Even in his talks with selected persons, I have advised him not to be too expansive.

Because of his energy, capacity and experience, he was naturally much worked up at the Chinese invasion of NEFA. He wanted to do something worthwhile and was prepared even to give up his Chief Ministership of Orissa. I advised him to stick on to the Chief Ministership, but to come here from time to time for us to consult him in regard to some matters. We gave him a room in the External Affairs Ministry. He comes here for three or four days at a time, goes back to Orissa and after a few days returns to Delhi. There is an element of mystery surrounding him here which has led to questions in Parliament. All I have said in reply is that we are consulting him from time to time because of his experience in regard to supplies and other matters.<sup>76</sup> He has met some of the teams that have come here from America and other places. He is naturally in touch with our Defence People as well as the External Affairs Ministry.

He would probably reach America on the 11th evening or perhaps the 12th morning and will remain there for about ten days. He will return here and report to us and to T.T. Krishnamachari before T.T. goes to the US.

74. Kalinga Airlines.

75. The Foreign Secretary.

76. See item 440.



I might mention that Galbraith does not appear to be very happy at Patnaik going to America.<sup>77</sup> Why exactly I do not know. He suggested his going there after T.T. Krishnamachari. But we decided that it was better for him to go there as early as possible.

He would like to meet the President and the Defence Secretary McNamara. I suggest that you accompany him when he has these meetings. You might inform the President and McNamara that Patnaik is a close colleague of ours and is fully acquainted with the situation here.

Apparently, some decisions have been arrived at about military supplies being sent to us from the US, UK etc. The question of aircraft is still undecided. We do attach considerable importance to our obtaining aircraft. The previous request for aircraft has been much toned down, and I hope it will be possible for us to get those aircraft from the US.

I cannot say what action the Chinese may or may not take. But we certainly cannot rule out a possible attack even in the spring. If they do attack, they will certainly do it in force and with such preparations as they can make in order to make it successful. We have to prepare ourselves accordingly. It is probable that if fighting is resumed with China, the Air Force will come into play.

You will have noticed that in the recent fierce attacks made by China on the Soviet Union, one of the specific points mentioned is that as long ago as 1959, the Soviet Union sided with India in our controversies with China. The attitude of the Soviet Union in this matter has been and will continue to be of great importance. In November and December last, for two months, Russia stopped oil supplies to China. It is, we think, of utmost importance that the Soviet Union maintains this attitude in the Sino-Indian conflict. From the point of view of international affairs, this seems to me equally important. Even if there were no other valid reasons, our maintaining our policy of non-alignment is essential for this purpose.

Pakistan is proving another headache, and none of us can be certain as to what she might decide to do. We cannot even rule out an attack on India by Pakistan to synchronise with Chinese aggression. We have gone all out to come to some settlement with her, and Sardar Swaran Singh<sup>78</sup> and Gundevia<sup>79</sup> are going for their fourth meeting with Pakistan representatives in three or four days' time. Much pressure was brought on us to refuse to have this meeting because of the Sino-Pakistan Treaty having been signed. But we decided to carry on with these talks though the prospect of any success is very dim.

77. See appendix 21.

78. Minister of Railways, led the Indian delegation in talks with Pakistan.

79. Y.D. Gundevia, the Commonwealth Secretary in the MEA.

Our position, therefore, with two hostile countries facing us, is a difficult one. We would like more time to prepare ourselves. Because of this, we shall not take any kind of aggressive action. But at the same time, we have to be prepared for any development.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **32. To Ajit Prasad Jain: Biju Patnaik on Defence<sup>80</sup>**

March 22, 1963

My dear Ajit,

Your letter of the 22nd March.<sup>81</sup> I entirely agree with you that any suggestion about a change in the Defence portfolio is very undesirable. It is, in fact, quite without foundation. I doubt if Patnaik<sup>82</sup> said anything of the kind. It is probably the gloss that the newspaper correspondent put on it.

Patnaik is coming here probably day after tomorrow. I shall find out from him what exactly he said. Probably I shall make a statement in the Lok Sabha on Monday.<sup>83</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **33. To Mahavir Tyagi: Patnaik on Defence<sup>84</sup>**

March 23, 1963

My dear Mahavir,

I have two letters from you of March 23rd.<sup>85</sup>

The question of the defence of the hilly areas is very much before us and our Military Affairs Committee. I believe some special steps have been taken to that end.

80. Letter to MP and President of the UPCC; address: 5 Rafi Marg, New Delhi. NMML, A.P. Jain Papers, Sub. File No. 13.

81. See appendix 41.

82. Biju Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa.

83. See also item 33.

84. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 16 Dr Rajendra Prasad Road.

85. Appendices 42 and 43.



The reported interview of Patnaik,<sup>86</sup> which you have sent me, appears to me not to be correctly given. We have received the text of the interview, and this is different in many particulars from what has appeared in the press here. It appears that the newspaperman who interviewed him has mixed up his own views or impressions with what Patnaik said to him.

From our reports from Washington, Patnaik has done good work there. There is no question of his being taken into our Cabinet here.<sup>87</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **34. In the Lok Sabha: Patnaik's Statement in Washington<sup>88</sup>**

Hem Barua<sup>89</sup>: I call the attention of the Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:

“The reported statement made in Washington by Shri B. Patnaik regarding the strength of the Indian Army, radar equipment in border areas and plan to obtain obsolete or surplus types of aircraft from the USA.”

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, I am glad of this opportunity to clear up certain matters which have caused confusion in the public mind.<sup>90</sup> I confess that when I saw certain press reports about what purported to be an interview given by Shri B. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa, in Washington, I was surprised and somewhat distressed. I could not believe that what was reported to have been an interview could have been correct. I referred to reports of the alleged interview in different newspapers and I found that they differed somewhat. Also we received a report of what had appeared in the American Press. This was also different from the reports that had appeared in some Indian newspapers.

86. Biju Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa.

87. See also item 32.

88. Reply to Calling Attention Motion, 25 March 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XV, 18th-28th March 1963, pp. 5880-5887.

89. PSP.

90. See items 32 and 33.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I was particularly distressed at what seemed to be personal references to our Defence Minister.

Yesterday morning, Shri B. Patnaik returned to Delhi from the United States. I told him of what had appeared in the Indian Press about his interview and how this had surprised and distressed many of us here, in particular, the reference to our Defence Minister.<sup>91</sup>

Hari Vishnu Kamath<sup>92</sup>: Former<sup>93</sup> or present one?

Mahavir Tyagi<sup>94</sup>: Both.

Speaker: Order, order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: He replied that having seen some of these reports, he was considerably upset by them. Those reports were not at all correct and there was a certain mixing up of what he said and what the Delhi Correspondent of an American newspaper had reported.

Shri Patnaik gave an interview jointly to the correspondents of two leading American Newspapers, *The Washington Post* and *The Baltimore Sun*. In addition to these, the report appeared from the Delhi correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, that is the message from Delhi sent abroad. All these got rather mixed up, and Shri Patnaik appears to have said, in the report appearing in the Indian newspapers, something which he had never said but which had been stated by the correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*. Shri Patnaik, who happens to be a close friend of Shri Chavan, was deeply distressed at these references.

In his interview in Washington, he was asked how Shri Chavan was doing. His reply was, "Excellently." Another question was asked "Is the Prime Minister thinking of bringing in young people close to him?" He replied, "You can see that Chavan is Defence Minister. I am often going to Delhi, and the Prime Minister may be thinking of other youngish people also." Another question was asked as to when he, that is Shri Patnaik, would be going to Delhi. His answer was, "I am fully tied up with Orissa, and if and when the time comes it will be for me to decide," that is, whether he can afford to leave Orissa. This had nothing to do with the so-called Cabinet reshuffle or with Shri Chavan.

91. Y.B. Chavan.

92. PSP.

93. V.K. Krishna Menon.

94. Congress.



Shri Patnaik was asked about radar arrangements for India and whether it would be possible to extend this network along with the radar installations at Dacca, etc. His reply was that this would raise complications in view of these installations being in a SEATO area.

Shri Patnaik has been referred to as a special envoy of the Prime Minister. This is not quite correct. He went to Washington with my approval and indeed with the approval of the Emergency Committee of the Cabinet, and we authorised him to have exploratory talks on certain aspects of defence problems that we are facing. In these exploratory talks, Shri Patnaik discussed our Air Force requirements of radar, communication facilities, places and essential defensive equipment. He did not advocate any tie-up with SEATO or suggest that obsolete aircraft or equipment from the United States would be good enough for our needs.

Shri Patnaik's discussions were necessarily general and informal. He met people in the United States Administration as well as some Senators and Congressmen on programmes connected with the building up of our industrial and defence potential with a view to meeting effectively the short-term and the long-term threat posed by China to India's security and territorial integrity. He discussed broadly the strengthening of the Indian Air Force to meet this threat. He did not discuss any specific plans or projects for supply of defence material or equipment from the United States authorities. His visit has created a better understanding in the United States of America of the particular problems of national defence that we are facing. He did mention some particulars about our military preparations which are normally not disclosed by us to the public. But there was nothing in what he said that is not generally known here. He appears to have partly adopted the practice followed by the United States military authorities to give many details of their military preparations to the public.

Shri Patnaik has met the Defence Minister Shri Y.B. Chavan, and mentioned to him that all the references to the Cabinet reshuffle in Delhi had emanated from the correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* in Delhi and he had nothing to do with them. This was an unfortunate speculative attempt by the correspondent which had no basis in fact.

मनीराम बागड़ी<sup>95</sup>: अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह हिन्दुस्तानी में देश की राष्ट्रभाषा में भी पढ़ा जाना चाहिए.....

अध्यक्ष महोदय: आर्डर, आर्डर ।

बागड़ी: अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। मैंने भी कोलिंग एटेंशन नोटिस दिया है। अगर मैं दिये गये स्टेटमेंट को समझूंगा नहीं तो उस के बारे में मैं प्रश्न क्या करूंगा।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: माननीय सदस्य जानते हैं कि रोज कि रोज का हमारा प्रोसीज्योर है कि अगर पहले नाम जिसका है उसका सवाल अंग्रेजी में है तो उसका जवाब अंग्रेजी में आयेगा और अगर पहले नाम हिन्दी वाले का है तो हिन्दी में जवाब दिया जायेगा।

बागड़ी: अंग्रेजी में ट्रांस्लेट कर दिया जाता है, क्या उसी तरह अंग्रेजी के स्टेटमेंट का हिन्दी में अनुवाद नहीं किया जा सकता?

अध्यक्ष महोदय: आर्डर, आर्डर। माननीय सदस्य अब बैठ जायें। वे जानते हैं कि जिस तरीके से हिस्टोरिकल डेवलपमेंट हो रहा है, एक लैंग्वेज से दूसरी लैंग्वेज में चेंज ओवर हो रहा है। पिछली लैंग्वेज अंग्रेजी चूँकि चली आ रही है, कामकाज उसमें हो रहा है, हम चाह रहे हैं कि यह अंग्रेजी से हिन्दुस्तानी में चेंज ओवर आहिस्ता आहिस्ता हो और हिन्दुस्तानी उसकी जगह आगे चल कर ले, इस वास्ते हमको तर्जुमा करवाना पड़ता है। लेकिन अगर हम हर एक चीज का तर्जुमा करवायेंगे तो उसमें इतना अधिक समय लगेगा जो कि हम खर्च नहीं कर सकते हैं।

बागड़ी: यह खाली मेरी बात नहीं है सारे देश की बात है। अब इस तरह के महत्वपूर्ण मामले को अगर मैं समझूंगा नहीं तो उस पर प्रश्न क्या करूंगा?

अध्यक्ष महोदय: माननीय सदस्य अपने पास में बैठे हुए साथी से पूछने की कोशिश करें।

बागड़ी: क्या वे मुझसे ज्यादा पढ़े लिखे हैं?

अध्यक्ष महोदय: मुझे पता है कि आप अंग्रेजी समझ सकते हैं।

[Translation begins:

Maniram Bagri: Hon. Speaker, this statement should be read in Hindustani, which is the national language.

Speaker: Order, order.



Bagri: Hon. Speaker, this is a question about the system. I have also given notice on calling attention motion. If I do not understand the statement given, then how am I to ask questions about it?

Speaker: The Hon. Member knows that according to the House procedure, if a name comes first, and the question is asked in English, the answer is given in English; same with a person who asks in Hindi. If the question is asked in Hindi, the answer is given in Hindi.

Bagri: Hindi answers are translated into English. Similarly, can't we have the English translated into Hindi?

Speaker: The member may sit down. As he knows, a historical development is taking place; we are trying to change over from one language to another. Because English has been in vogue, the working of the House is being done in English. We want that the change from English to Hindustani is effected slowly, so that Hindustani gets its rightful place eventually. That is why we translate answers given in Hindustani. But if we start translating everything into Hindustani, it would take a long time which we cannot spare it.

Bagri: This is not just my voice. It is the country's voice. If I do not understand such important statements, how am I going to ask questions?

Speaker: The member may ask the colleague sitting next to him.

Bagri: Is he better educated than I am?

Speaker: I know that you understand English.

Translation ends]

Hem Barua<sup>96</sup>: The statement of the Prime Minister, as I listened to him partially corroborates the reports in *The Washington Post* and *The Baltimore Sun*. In the context of that, may I put him a question?

Speaker: That was what I called him for.

Hem Barua: Because of this interruption I was upset mentally ...

96. PSP.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Speaker: He should come to the question straight.

Hem Barua: In view of the fact that Shri B. Patnaik has made certain statements in Washington, partially corroborated by the Prime Minister's statement now, may I know whether Shri Patnaik before he left for Washington was properly educated about our policies, about our defence needs as also about his basic aspirations for the Defence Minister's portfolio, and whether he was asked to take an oath of secrecy because he was entrusted with defence matters.

Speaker: In spite of the fact that some parts of it have already been answered, then too the hon. Member is persisting in saying those things. The other portions that have not been answered might be answered.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member has again indulged in certain insinuations ...

Hem Barua: No insinuations. There was no reply to my question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member has said that his basic aspirations ...

Hem Barua: The Prime Minister has been in the habit of saying things like that—"insinuations", "innuendoes", and all sorts of things. I just want a plain reply from him.

Speaker: Order, order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member has said in the course of his supplementary questions that Shri Patnaik's basic I forget the word ...

Hem Barua: What is the insinuation or aspersion? I do not understand.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member has said in the course of his supplementary question that Shri Patnaik's basic desire ...

Hem Barua: I said "aspirations".

Jawaharlal Nehru: I say that it is an insinuation which is absolutely wrong.

Hem Barua: It is a plain statement.



Speaker: The hon. Member might resume seat. Let him listen to the answer. The two can differ also. He said it is not an insinuation. The Prime Minister thinks that it is an insinuation. There may be many others also who may think it is an insinuation.

Hem Barua: There may be others who may not think it is an insinuation.

Priya Gupta<sup>97</sup>: Is it because some members use the word ‘insinuation’ that the Prime Minister uses it?

Speaker: What has he got to do with this? The question was asked by Shri Hem Barua. He is strong enough to look after himself.

Priya Gupta: It is a question of propriety.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. If the hon. Member objects to the word “insinuation”, I will use the word “charge”, if he likes, a more definite word.

Hem Barua: You can do without using any such word. It is a plain statement.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Why cannot the hon. Member put a question without subsidiary ideas emerging which are insinuations, which have nothing to do with the question.

Hem Barua: Where is the reply?

Speaker: He should listen. Then it will come.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member has put two questions to me. One is whether he was sufficiently educated. I might tell him that he has been in intimate touch with our defence thinking in our Defence Ministry, with our Generals, with our Ministry, with our Committees, and also to some extent, with the teams that had come here from abroad, and he is probably in as good touch with it as any of us is.

As for the other question, whether he took an oath, certainly no oath was taken. No question of taking oath arose or arises in such a case. What I have stated is that he gave some information which is normally not given here because

97. PSP.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

we are rather security-minded in such matters. But in America, it is quite the usual practice for such things to be given ...

Hem Barua: May I submit that it is a breach of privilege of the House?

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... and deliberately given. As I have said in the statement, he adopted the American practice and gave some information about it. The real thing is ...

Hari Vishnu Kamath<sup>98</sup>: Was it proper?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a question to be decided, each case separately. None of these facts are such which have not been generally known in India.

Hem Barua: No, Sir.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It has not been officially stated.

### **35. To N. Sri Rama Reddi: Patnaik's Interview in Washington<sup>99</sup>**

March 30, 1963

My dear Sri Rama Reddi,

Your letter of the 27th March. As for what Shri Patnaik<sup>100</sup> said in Washington to a journalist, it would probably have been better if he had not said it, but there was no letting out of secrets in it, as this matter had been referred to in many newspapers and is fully well known. He did not know that a particular information about the size or expansion of our Army had been refused to the Parliament. Though, therefore, it was somewhat unfortunate, I do not think it was a very important matter.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

98. PSP.

99. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Congress; address: 122 South Avenue, New Delhi.

100. Biju Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa.



**36. To N.B. Khare: Biju Patnaik in USA<sup>101</sup>**

April 2, 1963

Dear Dr Khare,

I have your letter of the 31st March. I am afraid you are misinformed about Shri Patnaik's activities. He has been in close touch with us about various defence matters and naturally he knows about many matters concerning them. Whatever he said in the USA, is fairly well known and has been referred to in newspapers previously. It is true that in regard to the extension of the Army, no official statement was made in Parliament. Shri Patnaik did not know about this.

Shri Patnaik being Chief Minister of Orissa has already taken an oath of secrecy. No question, therefore, arose of his taking it again. Nor can any question arise about his infringing the Official Secrets Act.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**(c) Communists**

**37. To M.S. Kannamwar: Sick Communists in Prison<sup>102</sup>**

1st February 1963

My dear Kannamwar,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from S.A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India.<sup>103</sup> He refers in this to the case of B.N. Mukherjee who has apparently been arrested and is kept in prison. It appears that B.N. Mukherjee is suffering from cancer in an advanced stage and he is taken to hospital from the jail for treatment.

It seems to me that, apart from other reasons, it is undesirable to keep a cancer patient in prison because of the emergency. It is for you to consider this case specially.

Our general policy, as I have indicated previously, is to keep only such persons in prison as are definitely working against our present policy in regard

101. Letter to former President of the Hindu Mahasabha; address: Dhantoli, Nagpur 1.

102. Letter to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra.

103. Appendix 3.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

to China and are acting for China.<sup>104</sup> I can hardly imagine that a cancer patient can do much harm. This kind of thing may create a bad name for us.

I hope, therefore, that you will look into this matter yourself and take such action as may be necessary.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 38. To S. Nijalingappa: Detaining Communists<sup>105</sup>

1st February 1963

My dear Nijalingappa,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Mrs Pushpa Krishnan.<sup>106</sup> She complains about the detention of her husband, M.S. Krishnan, under the Defence of India Rules.

I do not know anything about this case, but our general rules are to avoid detaining anybody unless there are some special reasons. The mere fact of a person being communist is not enough. In fact, a number of communists are helping in good propaganda for us in India and even more so abroad ever since the emergency arose. We should, therefore, arrest people only when there are specific reasons since the emergency arose for us to believe that they are actively misbehaving. What they did previous to the emergency will not make much difference because since this new aggression by the Chinese, the Communist Party in India has undergone a change and a great majority has condemned China. This has had a good effect in the countries outside India.<sup>107</sup>

I hope you will please look into this case yourself.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

104. See SWJN/SS/80/items 295-304.

105. Letter to the Chief Minister of Mysore.

106. See appendix 2.

107. See SWJN/SS/80/ items 295-304.



### 39. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Arrests of Communists<sup>108</sup>

February 6, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I enclose a letter from Subhadra Joshi<sup>109</sup> about two Communist workers who were arrested long time ago in Jabalpur. I do not know whether they have been tried or not. Anyhow, I have an impression that they were arrested because of their activities in showing up the administration during the Jabalpur riots.<sup>110</sup> I think this matter requires attention.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 40. To B.P. Chaliha: Arrest of Kalyani Das<sup>111</sup>

February 14, 1963

My dear Chaliha,

Some Communist MPs have drawn my attention to the case of Dr Kalyani Das<sup>112</sup> of Silchar who apparently has been arrested by your Government and then transferred to Berhampur jail in Orissa. She being the only woman in jail is being kept in solitary confinement.

I do not know anything about the lady. I suppose she has been arrested because she is a Communist. Her husband has also been arrested. I am told that, in her absence, the hospital she had built there and which she was running has been burnt down by a mob.

I can say nothing about this case, but I am merely drawing your attention to it as it has been mentioned to me.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

108. Letter to the Home Minister.

109. President, Sampradayikta Virodhi Manch, an anti communal political front.

110. The riots took place in February 1961.

111. Letter to the Chief Minister of Assam.

112. (1907-1983); most probably a revolutionary from Bengal; educated in Orissa.

#### 41. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Detention of Tripura Communists<sup>113</sup>

February 15, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I enclose a letter from the Communist Members of Parliament.<sup>114</sup> They met me also and laid particular stress on the two Members from Tripura being unable to attend Parliament.<sup>115</sup> Because of this, Tripura would not be represented at all in the Lok Sabha.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

#### 42. To M.S. Kannamwar: Arrests during Emergency<sup>116</sup>

February 28, 1963

My dear Kannamwar,

I enclose a letter I have received from the *Times of India* Employees' Union. This is about S.Y. Kolhatkar, the General Secretary of that Union. I do not know him and can, therefore, form no opinion. That is for you to do. But in view of what is written in the enclosed letter, it seems to me that the question of his detention is worth your consideration. Unless we have some definite evidence that a man has and will in future harm our work during the Emergency, I think it is better not to keep him in detention.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### 43. To V.R. Krishna Iyer: Arbitrary Arrests<sup>117</sup>

March 22, 1963

My dear Krishna Iyer,

I have your letter of the 19th March. No directions were sent from the Central Government for the detention of any particular individual. This matter was

113. Letter to the Home Minister. MHA, File No. 59/7/63-Poll I. p.39/c

114. See appendix 17.

115. The two Communist Members were Dasarath Deb and Biren Chandra Dutta.

116. Letter to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra.

117. Letter to an advocate, M.G. Road, Ernakulam.



necessarily left to the State Governments. Subsequently, State Governments were told more than once that they should exercise their discretion in this matter with care and not detain anyone unless there was definite and positive reason for doing so.<sup>118</sup>

Since then, I believe State Governments have reviewed all such cases and will continue to review them from time to time. Many of those who were previously arrested or detained, have been discharged.

I am sending your letter to our Home Minister.<sup>119</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### **44. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Arrest of Satyanarayan Sinha's Wife<sup>120</sup>**

April 21, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I enclose a letter from Dr Satyanarayan Sinha.<sup>121</sup> In this he says that his wife has recently been arrested. This seems rather odd as he was released some time ago. I do not know if this is at the instance of the Home Ministry here or of the Bihar Government. I think you might look into this matter. It does not seem to me, *prima facie*, right to arrest the wife in this way under the Defence of India Rules.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

118. See items 37 and 38.

119. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

120. Letter to Home Minister.

121. Close aide of Subhash Bose.

**(d) Indian National Congress**

**45. To S.V. Inamdar: Seva Dal Camp<sup>122</sup>**

February 4, 1963

My dear Inamdar,

Your letter dated January 21st has only just reached me on the evening of the 4th February. You tell me that the All India Camp of Pradesh Officers of Seva Dal will meet from the 29th January to 7th February. This means that they have already met and nearly finished their course. Only two or three days remain.

I would like to come to your camp, but I have received your notice so late that it is difficult for me to manage a visit during the next two days when I am rather busy.

I send you my good wishes for the Seva Dal Camp.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**46. To Congress Seva Dal: Explaining Foreign Policy<sup>123</sup>**

Picture of Cold War is Changing

New Delhi, Feb. 7 – Prime Minister Nehru said here today that with growing differences among countries of the Communist bloc on the one hand and the Western bloc on the other, picture of Cold War was changing.

He said that the differences between China and Soviet Union were “quite deep”. Similarly, differences were arising among members of the western camp. Effort were being made over to bring about a settlement between the United States and the Soviet Union.

All this proved, he said, that the rigid manner in which the two major power blocs in the world faced each other, was undergoing a change.

The Prime Minister was addressing Pradesh officers of the Congress Seva Dal, who have come here to take part in a training camp.

122. Letter to the All India Organiser of the Congress Seva Dal. NMML, S.V. Inamdar Papers.

123. Report of speech of 7 February 1963. Reproduced from the *National Herald*, 8 February 1963 p. 1.



Pandit Nehru said that when China invaded India, the Soviet Union apparently did not like it. “Although China and Russia are allies, the Sino-Indian conflict has not diminished Russia’s friendship for us.”

The Prime Minister asked the Seva Dal trainees to try to understand the implications of the world politics which was fast changing. He said: “Time has proved that our policy of non-alignment is correct. Therefore, we must pursue it.”

The Prime Minister stated that India was grateful to the countries which had come to her aid in meeting the Chinese invasion. “We have taken help from our friends and we shall continue to take such help from them as long as it is necessary. But I wish to caution against depending too much on foreign assistance”, he said.

### No Dependence on Others

Pandit Nehru said it must be remembered that the primary responsibility of defending India rested on her own people. “Independence has its price and it is we who have to pay it. We cannot expect others to pay the price for our freedom.”

The Prime Minister said that there was nothing wrong in seeking the help from friends. Non-alignment did not come in the way of such assistance. “But to develop too much reliance on others and to expect them to act as the ‘chaukidars’ of our freedom would be extremely wrong.”

### Lessons from Invasion

The Prime Minister said: “The two main lessons, which we have learnt from the Chinese invasion, are that the Chinese are not dependable and that we should remain ever prepared to face any eventuality.”

Stressing the need for strengthening the defence set-up, Pandit Nehru said that the only sound way in which it could be done was by manufacturing in the country as many articles of need for the army as possible.

He said that steps were being taken to make the country self-reliant in weapons and other defence requirements. “This is essential because we have to look not only to our present but also to our future need.”

The Prime Minister said that military strength and economic prosperity were linked with each other. Unless the country was advanced in industry and agriculture, it would be difficult for it to be strong militarily.

He said that the United States and the Soviet Union were considered to be the mightiest nations of the world. But behind their physical strength lay the efforts of their people in farms and in factories.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Pandit Nehru said that those who shouted loudly against the Chinese without taking any steps to meet the Chinese challenge seemed to be suffering from a fear complex. “What is needed today is a strong will and hard work”, he added.

### Civil Defence Measures

Referring to the need for organising civil defence in the country Pandit Nehru said that it must be done on a planned and scientific basis.

He said: “When the Chinese invasion came, a lot of digging began in our big cities—I mean digging of trenches. At some of the places even black-out rehearsals were carried out. I did not approve of all this.”

The Prime Minister said that while it was necessary to take all civil defence measures, only the right things must be done.

He said that the reason why he did not like the idea of digging trenches was that he did not visualise any large-scale air invasion of India. A slight bombing here and there could have taken place. “But to save ourselves from a bomb or two we should not dig trenches all over the country. I do not like the idea of hiding ourselves in holes like rabbits.”

The Prime Minister said that what was necessary was that people should be trained in civil defence and they should be able to take all measures, including even digging of trenches, if necessary, at short notice. It was no use keeping a large number of trenches dug ready all the time.

Seventy-four Pradesh officers of the Seva Dal from various states attended the week-long camp. They received training in fire-fighting, air raid precautions and first aid. Besides they attended lectures on current affairs.

Those who addressed the trainees during the week, included the Defence Minister, Mr Y.B. Chavan, the Union Finance Minister, Mr Morarji Desai, and Mrs Indira Gandhi. – PTI.

### **47. To Raghunath Singh: Indiscipline by Seth Govind Das<sup>124</sup>**

February 13, 1963

My dear Raghunath Singh,

I read in the newspapers a few days ago that Seth Govind Das<sup>125</sup> had said that he would disobey the Congress Whip if this was issued asking Congress

124. Letter to CPP Secretary.

125. Lok Sabha MP, Congress.



Members of Parliament to vote for a proposal to have English as an Associate Language. No such whip has been issued and, in fact, the matter has not come up yet before Parliament. But, for any MP to say this in public seems to me highly improper. I should like you to write to Seth Govind Das and enquire from him if he has made such a statement.<sup>126</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **48. To Binodanand Jha: Bharat Sevak Samaj Programme<sup>127</sup>**

February 18, 1963

My dear Binodanandji,

Your letter of the 14th February has only just reached me. I am afraid, however, that 2nd March will not suit me. I am going to Rajasthan on the 1st and to Amritsar on the 3rd. A few days later will be better. I shall let you know the date soon.

The programme you have sent me would broadly suit me.

I do not think, however, that it is necessary for me to give one hour to the Bharat Sevak Samaj workers. About half an hour should be enough.

I would certainly like to call on Dr Rajendra Prasad.<sup>128</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **49. To M.C. Davar: Selecting Candidates for Lok Sabha<sup>129</sup>**

February 21, 1963

Dear Dr Davar,

Your letter of February 21.

As you perhaps know, I have little to do with the selection of candidates for election to the Lok Sabha. So far as I am concerned, you are welcome to stand

126. See also items 11 [Misbehaviour in Parliament], [Misconduct in Parliament], [Language]; 12, paragraphs 1-3, 8-11; 147 and 152.

127. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

128. The former President.

129. Letter to Congressman and peace activist. NMML, M.C. Davar Papers.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

on behalf of the Congress, but the choice will be made primarily by the UP Congress Committee or their Executive, and then by the Central Parliamentary Board. If you like, you can approach them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **50. To K.N. Katju: Attending RSS Camp Wrong<sup>130</sup>**

February 21, 1963

My dear Kailas Nath,  
Your letter of the 20th February.

Your name was not mentioned at the Working Committee meeting held recently. But the general principle of Congressmen associating themselves with communal organisations like the Jana Sangh and other organisations which differed completely from the Congress was discussed. It was decided that no Congressman should associate himself with any function organised by these organisations.

I have read the note sent by you. I think you were not right in attending the camp of the RSS.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **51. To R. Sankar: Attending MRA Meetings Wrong<sup>131</sup>**

February 21, 1963

My dear Sankar,  
I am informed that an MRA Conference was held at Alwaye recently and that you took part in the discussions there. At this conference, one MRA member named David S. Young, criticised our Government and our policy.

I am sorry you gave any support to the MRA people. They talk in terms of high principles, but are actually very reactionary. Some time ago, the Congress

130. Letter to the former Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh; address: 25 Edmonstone Road, Allahabad.

131. Letter to the Chief Minister of Kerala.



Committees were informed by the AICC Office that Congressmen should avoid MRA meetings etc.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**52. To R.R. Diwakar: Book on Khan  
Abdul Ghaffar Khan<sup>132</sup>**

February 22, 1963

My dear Diwakar,  
Your letter of 21st February.

I think your proposal to publish a book on Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is a good one, and you should proceed with it. We should try to make it as good and comprehensive as possible. I am afraid you will not get any help from the Government of Pakistan. Perhaps Afghanistan might help a little.<sup>133</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**53. To R.R. Diwakar: Khan Abdul Ghaffar  
Khan's Biography<sup>134</sup>**

February 25, 1963

My dear Diwakar,  
Thank you for your letter of the 25th February about the biography of Badshah Khan. I might suggest that Tendulkar<sup>135</sup> and others responsible for this work might keep in touch with Mohammed Yunus<sup>136</sup> of the External Affairs Ministry.

132. Letter to the Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. PMO, File No. 2(455)/63-67-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

133. See also item 53.

134. Letter to the Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. NMML, JN Papers – R.R. Diwakar.

135. D.G. Tendulkar, biographer of Mahatma Gandhi.

136. *Frontier Speaks* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1947), foreword by Nehru, preface by Badshah Khan.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Yunus knew Badshah Khan intimately and actually wrote a life of him many years ago.<sup>137</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 54. To L.M. Shrikant: Royalties on Mahatma Gandhi's Biography<sup>138</sup>

March 2, 1963

Dear Shrikant,

I have your letter of the 2nd March. I have read Pyarelal's<sup>139</sup> letter dated 26th February. He has, I see, made clear that fifty per cent of the royalties accruing from this book in English, Hindi and Gujarati will be paid directly to the Gandhi Nidhi. That, I suppose, settles the question which had been discussed by us.

He has asked the royalty to be payable on the actual number of printed copies less the number given away for presentation and review. I have no objection to this if the Navjivan people agree to it. As a rule, however, royalty is payable on the number of copies sold. It is not customary to ask for royalty on books that are not sold.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 55. In Patna: Congress Unity<sup>140</sup>

Gearing up of Industry  
Wise use of War-Time Economy

The Prime Minister told a meeting of Bihar Congress legislators that the linking of defence efforts and planned development had come to stay. He advised the people to remain prepared to bear its burden.

137. See also item 52.

138. Letter to the Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. PMO, File No. 2(265)/58-64-PMS, Sr. No. 22-A.

139. Mahatma Gandhi's secretary.

140. Report of meeting with Congress Legislators, 6 March 1963; *The Hindu*, 8 March 1963, p.1.



Mr. Nehru said it was wrong to think that the defence-oriented economy which India had been forced to adopt due to the Chinese aggression would destroy the foundation of socialist economy. A war-time economy, he said, also gave an opportunity to a nation to reorganise its industries at a pace which was not possible during peace time. He said the people should try to industrialise the country by taking advantage of the situation created by the Chinese aggression.

Mr. Nehru said the taxation proposals in the budget had been criticised and some Congressmen had also complained that this emphasis on taxation would be exploited by the Opposition during the elections. He reminded them that defence requirements were the prime object of the budget and not elections. He said if the Congress was not there, the country would have become a hot-bed of power politics of smaller parties. The Country in that case would have been ruined. Militarists and dictators would have raised their heads, as in some other countries, where there was no strong democratic party to provide a stable Government.

Mr. Nehru said that group rivalries which had been buried in the wake of Chinese aggression had started coming to the fore again in some of the State Congress organisations.

In Bihar, he said, group rivalry unfortunately was based on caste. It was deeply rooted in the body politic of the State. Raising his voice, Nehru said: "I would go one step farther and say that casteism in Bihar is in the very blood of the people. It has to go if Bihar with all her rich heritage of Rajendra Babu and others has to survive."

He advised congressmen to work unitedly for strengthening the organisation with a clear image of what the party stood for in their mind. He said the Congress had a glorious past and an equally glorious present. It was rich with the sacrifices of Mahatma Gandhi, who was still the guiding star of the Congress. But indiscipline and lack of unity had done much harm to the organisation. He wanted Congressmen to come forward and fight the external enemy and put an end to internal bickering and make the organisation stronger.

## 56. To R.R. Diwakar: Sevagram Huts<sup>141</sup>

March 17, 1963

My dear Diwakar

Your letter of March 4th about the Sevagram huts. I met Aryanayakam and he told me of Vinobaji's views in the matter. After talking to him, I felt that Vinobaji's views should prevail and no change should be made in the present arrangements for keeping up these Sevagram huts. I understand that they are not short of funds for this purpose as they get it from contributions from handspun yarn.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 57. In Bombay: To Congress Workers<sup>142</sup>

### Task of Congress Not Yet Over

Bombay, March 21 – The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, today called upon Congressmen to strengthen the Congress organisation which alone could bring about and economic emancipation of the country.

In an hour-long address to Congress workers in Bombay under the auspices of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, Pandit Nehru devoted most of his speech to tracing the historic development of the Congress.

He said he was tracing the historic role played by the Congress and the way it had stuck its root among the masses because he thought it would be useful to emphasise that the task of the Congress was not yet over. In fact, he said, it had much bigger tasks to achieve than achieving freedom. These were the social and economic upliftment of the country through peaceful and democratic means.

Pandit Nehru said that it had become necessary for Congressmen to re-state Congress ideals and dedicate themselves to their achievement because firstly, India was facing a threat to its freedom from China and secondly, a certain "wrong stream of thought" had started manifesting itself.

He referred in this connection to the role of the Swatantra Party and its policies and asserted that this "reactionary" party was completely out of tune with India's interests and could never take root in this country.

141. Letter to the Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. NMML, JN Papers – R.R. Diwakar.

142. Speech, 21 March 1963. Reproduced from the *National Herald*, 22 March 1963, p. 1.



Pandit Nehru said that if the Congress was to continue merely as an instrument for fighting elections, he would much better have it wound up. The mission of the Congress was to bring about three revolutions – political, economic and social. The Congress had achieved the first, and had progressed on the road to achieving some measure of success in the other two objectives.

**58. To P.C. Cherian: MRA Undesirable<sup>143</sup>**

March 27, 1963

Dear Shri Cherian,

I have your letter of the 14th March about Congressmen associating with the activities of the MRA.<sup>144</sup>

The MRA states some principles which are obviously good, but from such experience as I have had for many years of it, I have come to the conclusion that in spite of good principles, the way they work and the objective they have behind the principles are not desirable. In particular, they have attacked the Congress and its objectives. I have not personally been connected with the MRA, but I have met many of its leaders. I met Mr Buchman<sup>145</sup> for the first time in the twenties in India, Geneva, Paris and London. I have met him subsequently also, as well as other leaders of the movement. I came to the conclusion that the movement was not a desirable one.

Subsequently, when some Congressmen asked me about it, I told them my views. At the same time, I did not insist on their actively dissociating from it.

It appears from your letter that you did good work in Japan when you were there.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

143. Letter to Congress MLA, Trivandrum.

144. See item 51.

145. Frank Buchman (1878-1961).

## 59. To D. Sanjivayya: Choosing a Candidate<sup>146</sup>

March 29, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

I enclose a telegram I have received.

I have just had a telephone message from Takhtmal Jain<sup>147</sup> from Bhopal about this very matter. He told me that two names were being suggested for this seat. One of these was Dwarka Prasad Mishra,<sup>148</sup> and the other was Kanhayalal.<sup>149</sup> He further added that there was a good deal of consternation in Bhopal over the possibility of Dwarka Prasad Mishra being chosen to stand. He himself, that is, Takhtmal Jain, was entirely opposed to it.

Probably you have met Rameshwar Dayal Totla<sup>150</sup> about these matters.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 60. To A.M. Tariq: Lucknow Exhibition<sup>151</sup>

March 31, 1963

Dear Tariq,

Your letter of March 29 about the notice you sent to the Secretary of the Congress Party regarding the Exhibition at Lucknow. I do not see what can be discussed about this in the Executive Committee. Everyone has disapproved of this Exhibition, and the Congress Ministers have dissociated themselves from it.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

146. Letter to the Congress President.

147. Congress leader from Malwa region of Madhya Pradesh and former Chief Minister.

148. Congressman from Madhya Pradesh.

149. Former Congress member of Rajya Sabha, Madhya Pradesh.

150. Coordinator, Congress Ad hoc Committee, Madhya Pradesh.

151. Letter to Congress MP; address: 19 Gurudwara Rakabganj Road, New Delhi.



## 61. To Rajan Nehru: Choosing Candidates<sup>152</sup>

March 31, 1963

My dear Rajan,

I had your letter a day or two ago. I did not reply to you immediately as I did not know what to reply. The seats you mention are all very difficult ones, and it is very difficult for us to impose any candidate from here. Some decisions were made today, some others will be made a few days later.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 62. To Roop Narain: Critique and Bad Taste<sup>153</sup>

April 1, 1963

Dear Shri Roop Narain,

I have your letter of the 29th March.

The resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress to which you refer seems to me a correct resolution, and I associated myself with it. How it should be interpreted in a particular set of circumstances, would depend upon these circumstances. It is difficult for me to be the judge of them.

As you have pointed out, I do not think it is an offence to criticise the Government or the Prime Minister. I must say, however, that the statement you issued some time ago seemed to me in very bad taste, apart from the views contained in it.

We have recently come across many instances where apparently social gatherings were exploited for political ends. When vital issues are at stake, some steps have to be taken not to allow the mind of the public to be confused in regard to such important matters. The resolution of the Working Committee especially referred to Communist organisations as well as to communal organisations, as far as I remember. Normally, a “mushaira” should not come within its scope. But I cannot express myself definitely without knowing much more about circumstances.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

152. Letter; address: 1 Clive Road, New Delhi.

153. Letter to a Delhi Congressman; address: 3709 Charkhewalan, Delhi 6.

### 63. To Krishna Kripalani: Abul Kalam Azad's Works<sup>154</sup>

2nd April 1963

My dear Krishna,

I enclose a letter from Shri Sundarlal.<sup>155</sup> Do you know how the position stands about Maulana Azad's works? Has the Sahitya Akademi got the copyright of all these works? What then can be done to stop these unauthorised publications from coming in?<sup>156</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 64. To J. Chandramouli: Socialism in the Congress<sup>157</sup>

April 2, 1963

Dear Shri Chandramouli,

I have your letter of the 21st March, which I have read with interest.

Socialism is a structure of society where production is organised in a certain way and distribution also. Individuals can hardly become socialistic in their lives if the whole structure is based on different lines, except that they should try to lead simple lives and avoid waste.

We have a rule that Congress members should send their annual accounts to the AICC Office.

You referred to your having all weeklies of *Harijan* from 1946 to 1955. I suggest that these should be given to one of the Gandhi Sangrahalayas, where they will be well looked after.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

154. Letter to the Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi. Sahitya Akademi Records, File No. S.A. 267, Part IV, Collected Work of Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad (Main).

155. See appendix 50.

156. See also item 66.

157. Letter to a Congress Socialist from Andhra Pradesh; address: 13 South Park Street, Gobichettipalayam, South India.



**65. To Jagpat Dube: Get Well<sup>158</sup>**

April 3, 1963

Dear Jagpat,

I have your letter of the 30th March and your report. Thank you for them.

I am very glad to learn that you have got well again after your serious accident and long illness that followed it. I hope you will look after yourself now and not exert yourself too much.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**66. To Sundarlal: Abul Kalam Azad's Works<sup>159</sup>**

April 4, 1963

My dear Sundarlal,

Your letter of the 1st April about the copyright of Maulana Azad's works.<sup>160</sup> I understand that this depends upon the issue of succession to Maulana Sahib's rights. This matter is still under arbitration. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim is the arbitrator.<sup>161</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

158. Letter to constituency agent; address: Anand Bhawan, Allahabad, UP. NMML, JN Papers – Jagpat Dube.

159. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 40A Hanuman Road, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 2(230)/63-66-PMS, Sr. No. 4-A.

160. See appendix 50.

161. See also item 63.

## 67. In New Delhi: Congress Forum for Socialist Action Seminar<sup>162</sup>

Quicker Pace Towards Socialism Urged  
Nehru Inaugurates Forum's First Seminar

The Congress Forum for Socialist Action held its first seminar in New Delhi on April 4 and 5, 1963. The seminar was inaugurated by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, who said that “here in India we talk a lot about socialism but proceed rather slowly towards that goal.”

Shri Nehru warned Congressmen that if ever they allowed their socialist fervour to dampen, the Congress as an organisation would lose in vigour and its ties with the masses, weaken.

Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, founder of the Forum presided over the seminar. He said the seminar had been convened in response to the wishes of Congressmen who were keenly interested in the promotion of socialist thought and action within the party and in the country. He agreed that there was a need for continuous clarification of ideas on socialism. This seminar, he hoped, would help the participants get a clearer idea of the implications of socialism in terms of its impact on the life of the common people.

The two basic questions on which the seminar intended to focus attention were the lack of ideological training for Congress workers, and the widening gulf between the people and the administration. As many as fifty-five MPs and others took part in the seminar which was held at the North Avenue MPs' Club.

Though the seminar had before it two papers on the subject of ideological training for Congressmen, it concerned itself in the main with discussing the other subject, namely, “Administration in a Socialist Society”.

One of the papers on the ideological training of Congressmen expressed that, after Independence, winning of elections appeared to have become the be-all and end-all of Congress activity. It suggested that separate arrangements should be made for ideological training of Congress workers in the field and Congressmen who manned the local bodies, the State legislatures, and Parliament.

The other paper, presented by Shri Amarnath Vidyalkar (Punjab), deplored that the average Congressmen now kept himself busy in “intricate wrangling for capturing office”. It suggested that in order to stop the present aimless drift of Congressmen, all elective posts in the party be reserved for

162. Report of speech and seminar, 4 April 1963; *Congress Forum*, Seminar Number, Vol. I, No. 4, May-June, 1963, NMML, AICC Papers, Box 26, F. No. OD-54/1963.



“active” Congressmen in strict accordance with the quantum and quality of their work.

Accepting a suggestion of Shri Nanda, the seminar appointed two committees, one to formulate concrete recommendations on ways and means of ensuring a more efficient and responsive administration and the other to make suggestions regarding training of Congressmen.

The first committee has Shri Amarnath Vidyalkar as its convenor. The other members are Sarvshree Ahmed Mohinuddin, B.D. Deshmukh, P.R. Chakravarti, Bhagwat Jha, S.N. Chaturvedi, Smt. Sarjoni Mahishi and Dewan Chaman Lal.

The committee on training of Congress workers has Shri P.R. Chakravarti as convenor, the other members being Sarvshree T.D. Yadav, K.N. Tiwari, J.P. Jyotishi, Kisan Veer, Smt. Subhadra Joshi and Smt. Shanta Vashist.

The Prime Minister said in the course of his inaugural speech that though the Five Year Plans had taken the country forward economically and otherwise, the common man did not share in the new prosperity to the extent one would have desired. There did exist in the country pockets of abysmal poverty which had just not been touched by the new wind of change.

### Rich becoming Richer

The process of development through Five Year Plans, Shri Nehru observed, seemed primarily to benefit those who already had the resources to take advantage of the new opportunities. It thus resulted to some extent in making the rich richer while the poor continued to be poor as before.

Shri Nehru said that such disparate effects of the Five Year Plans was in a way inevitable. Physically stronger people would naturally be able to put in more hard work and thus get more returns than those who were weak. In like manner, the stronger elements in the society were in a better position to benefit from the development plans. It was no remedy for this disparity to pull down the strength of the strong to the level of general weakness. Equalisation in society was necessary but it did not mean placing everybody “at the dead low level of poverty.”

The Prime Minister observed that intense patriotism and a yearning for establishment of a socialist society were two of the most powerful urges of the Indian people. This patriotism was in evidence at its best in the wake of the Chinese aggression when a strong wave of anger and resentment swept through the country and people reckoned no price too high and no sacrifice too great to defend the honour of the motherland, “It was a fine sight.”

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The people, Shri Nehru said, might not know the word socialism or its intricacies in the academic sense. But deep down in their hearts, they earnestly desired a society in which there was equality of opportunities for all.

Shri Nehru asked Congressmen to take note of the criticism that though Congress talked a lot about socialism, no adequate steps were taken towards the attainment of that objective. It was true, of course, that the Congress organisation consisted of people with different views. “Let us admit that there are many gaps in our thinking and action.”

### A word of many meanings

The term “socialism” he said, had come to acquire many meanings. Some people had developed an emotional attachment to this idea while others reacted with anger at the very mention of the word. Congressmen must remember, however, that Congress derived its strength in the main from its allegiance to the ideal of socialism.

Shri Nehru emphasised that socialism today must be related to the actual needs and situation in the country. He hoped the participants in the seminar would keep this aspect in view. A too generalised discussion on theories about socialism was hardly likely to be of much practical value in quickening the pace towards the attainment of a socialist society.

Welcoming Shri Nehru to the function, Shri Amarnath Vidyalkar, MP, said the seminar intended to discuss with a practical bias such issues as grievances of the common man vis-à-vis administration, corruption in Government departments and remedial measures for the same.

## **68. In the Lok Sabha: Statement by T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>163</sup>**

Statement by the Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): I have been following carefully what the hon. Members opposite have said. I have failed to understand their argument.

These matters were referred to here because a number of papers contained long accounts, and they mentioned various parties, various names were

163. Reply to debate, 4 April 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Statement by Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination, Third series, Vol. XVI, March 29-April 11, 1963, 1963. pp. 7693-94.



mentioned.<sup>164</sup> At that time I was not aware of this, and I said I would enquire. Thereupon I enquired, that is, I found out from my colleague the Home Minister, and he told me of some newspaper articles and some books of accounts which have been seized by the police.<sup>165</sup> Therefore, I stated in this House, in answer to a question, I think, that I would consult the Attorney-General as to what steps I should take. It is not quite correct to state that I have asked the Attorney-General to carry out an enquiry ...

Surendranath Dwivedy<sup>166</sup>: No.

Hem Barua<sup>167</sup>: You cannot do that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... But to look through the papers such as they were, to advise me as to what I should do, because I wanted independent advice. That is what I have done. No particular individual has been referred to on enquiry or anything. It is a whole complex of things, the newspaper reports etc., and prima facie the newspaper reports, I think, are scandalous in the extreme, not only the articles, but the references and the headlines and everything; prima facie they are very defamatory, but it is not for me to go into action. But, as these matters were raised here, I stated I was going to consult the Attorney-General, both from the point of view of his eminent legal position and otherwise, as to what he would suggest, how I should deal with it. So, I have not asked him to carry out this kind of enquiry. The papers that have been given to him naturally deal with such papers as we have, with those extracts from certain accounts books and some other papers in connection therewith.

Now I may say one word about what Shri Malaviya<sup>168</sup> did. I do not quite understand these objections raised. Shri Malaviya wanted to make a statement to the Executive of our Party.<sup>169</sup> I did not even know what the statement he was going to make was, or the object of the statement. He asked me, and I said

164. See item 115.

165. Lal Bahadur Shastri had stated on 1st April 1963 that during a raid by Customs Police on the premises of Mohammed Serajuddin, a manganese baron, some personal letters from Union Ministers have been found and some names also occur in his company's account books. Nehru had sent these papers to T.T. Krishnamachari and had sought the Attorney General, C.K. Daphtary's advice in the matter. *Hindustan Times*, 2 April 1963, p.1.

166. PSP.

167. PSP.

168. K.D. Malaviya, Minister of Mines and Fuel.

169. The Executive of the CPP.

certainly he could make it, and he made a statement. He made certain things clear, in so far as he was concerned. I do not see what rule or anything else comes in the way of a Member doing that to his party or to me or to my other group anywhere. He can, if he had chosen, make a statement before the House. He chose to do that; it is quite open to him to do that to his colleagues. There is no disrespect meant to the House.

## **69. To Ajit Prasad Jain: No Resignation<sup>170</sup>**

April 5, 1963

My dear Ajit,

The question of your resignation from the Presidentship of the UP Pradesh Congress Committee came up at the last meeting of our Parliamentary Board. I think that after the statement made on behalf of the AICC, the stand you maintained, was rather rigid.

You were quite right in objecting to the procedure followed by the Working Committee in regard to the admission of some members of the UP Assembly to the Congress Party there. This was a clear error of procedure. Why this lapse occurred, was explained to you. The matter came up rather suddenly and our attention was concentrated on some persons whom obviously we could not take in. The result was that others somehow escaped our attention. Also, we were under the impression, wrongly as it appears, that normal procedure of reference to the PCC had been followed.

I am afraid that past practice has not been a good one. Previously there have been several cases when Pantji made proposals of this kind and they were accepted without further reference.

However, there can be no doubt that an error was committed, and the General Secretary of the AICC has expressed his regret about it. There is little more that can be done now. If any of the persons who have been accepted as Members of the Congress Party in the Assembly are now told that they cannot join, this would create a most embarrassing situation for all of us. I do not think it would be right for us to create such a situation. I would suggest to you, therefore, that you should accept the situation as it is and accept the apologies that have been offered by the AICC Office. Also, that you should withdraw your resignation from the PCC Presidentship. I realise that you have

170. Letter to the President of the UPCC. NMML, A.P. Jain Papers, Sub. File No: 13.



had difficulties in functioning. But we have often to put up with difficulties because of wider issues.<sup>171</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## **70. To Abdul Hameed Khan: A Congress Nomination<sup>172</sup>**

April 7, 1963

Dear Shri Abdul Hameed Khan,  
Your letter of the 3rd April has reached me. I am afraid I can do nothing further in this matter of the Congress ticket. This question was considered fully by the Congress Parliamentary Board and they came to this decision. You will appreciate that these decisions are made after considering all aspects of a case.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## **71. On Rajendra Prasad<sup>173</sup>**

Dr Rajendra Prasad was one of the giants of our struggle for freedom as he was a giant in the days after India became free. His life is a story of devoted service to the motherland carried on with simplicity and without pomp and circumstance, in spite of the high offices he had adorned. Coming from a relatively humble family, by his ability, service and sacrifice, he rose to the highest position in the State. Often in addressing simple audiences of peasants and especially of children, I have referred to him and pointed out that in our free India even the highest offices are open to everyone provided he has ability and devotes himself to high causes. Let us treasure his memory which will be an abiding inspiration not only to us but to those who follow us for generations to come.

171. For reply, see appendix 54.

172. Letter to an advocate; address: Ghar Mohin Khan, Rampur.

173. Message, 8 April 1963. PMO, File No. F 9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 40-B.

**72. To A.P. Jain: C.B. Gupta Aggrieved<sup>174</sup>**

April 10, 1963

My dear Ajit,

I have received a letter from Chandra Bhanu Gupta. I am enclosing it for your consideration.

He telephoned to me also yesterday and seemed to be much agitated over this matter.<sup>175</sup>

Yours faithfully,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**73. To M. Zahirud Din Siddiqi: Selection in Amroha<sup>176</sup>**

April 10, 1963

Dear Mr Siddiqi,

I have your latter of the 2nd April.

There was no question of groupism in the selection of Professor Ram Saran for the Amroha constituency. Every aspect was carefully considered, and we were anxious to choose a Muslim candidate. In the circumstances, however, it was thought by the Parliamentary Board that Professor Ram Saran would be the best candidate for this seat. It is always an important matter to consider the views of the local workers, who would have to work for the election. It was largely in accordance with their views that this choice was made.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**74. To R.S. Panjhazari: Misconduct Deplorable<sup>177</sup>**

April 12, 1963

Dear Panjhazari,

A few days ago, I received the enclosed copy of a letter which Shri Atulya Ghosh<sup>178</sup> had written to Shri Satya Narayan Sinha.<sup>179</sup> Perhaps, you have seen

174. Letter to the President of the UPCC. NMML, A.P. Jain Papers, Sub. File No: 13.

175. For earlier correspondence in this matter, see item 69; appendix 54 and 58.

176. Letter to the Secretary of the Muslim Convention, Pye Building, Haveli Hasamuddin, Ballimaran, Delhi.

177. Letter to Secretary of the CPP.

178. See appendix 56.

179. Congress Chief Whip.



it already. However, I think I ought to send it to you in case you had not seen it thus far.

I was surprised to read in this letter that you have gone about canvassing for yourself and that you became angry and used unseemly language. A Secretary of the party should, above all, avoid any unseemly behavior.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## **75. To M.C. Davar: Candidates for Farrukhabad and Amroha<sup>180</sup>**

April 13, 1963

Dear Dr Davar,

I have your letter of the 13th April. The disgraceful scenes in Parliament this morning, largely started by some Socialist Members, give enough evidence of how Socialists propose to behave in future.<sup>181</sup>

As for the choice of a candidate for Farrukhabad and for Amroha, these decisions were made after a great deal of thought and consultation with the local people. There was no personal matter in the choice. We have naturally to decide according to our judgments.

I do not think it will be right or possible at this stage to change our candidates. If you feel so strongly that these seats should be won by Congressmen, I would suggest to you to go and help the persons we have chosen as candidates, especially in Farrukhabad.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

180. Letter to Congressman and peace activist. NMML, M.C. Davar Papers.

181. Details referred to again in items 76 and 77.

## 76. To C.B. Gupta: Farrukhabad Election and Defence Fund Collection<sup>182</sup>

April 13, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

Dr Keskar<sup>183</sup> has written to me about his election from Farrukhabad. Naturally he wants all of us to help him fully in this election. According to him, the Congress organisation as such is practically non-existent there. It is obvious that we have to do everything we can in this election.

Keskar writes to me that one fact which has created a very hostile atmosphere in the towns of Farrukhabad District is the way National Defence Fund collections were made there. It is widely said that the City Magistrate<sup>184</sup> was responsible for coercive tactics including insults, beating of people, etc. I understand that an enquiry is being made against him. But the fact that the District Magistrate is in charge has led to lack of public faith in it. I hope that you will deal with this matter with thoroughness, and perhaps it might be advisable to transfer the City Magistrate. The enquiry will then be more fruitful.<sup>185</sup>

This morning we had some extraordinary and disgraceful scenes in the Lok Sabha, chiefly organised by the Socialist Party and the Jana Sangh.<sup>186</sup> This is the kind of thing we have got to face not only in the State Assemblies, but in Parliament if Socialists have any opportunity to do so.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 77. To D. Sanjivayya: Keskar's Election<sup>187</sup>

April 13, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

I enclose a letter I have received from Dr B.V. Keskar.<sup>188</sup>

There can be no doubt that we should do our utmost to help him in his election. This morning's scenes in the Lok Sabha, chiefly organised by the

182. Letter to Chief Minister of UP.

183. B.V. Keskar, former Minister of Information and Broadcasting. See also item 77.

184. Munnalal Agarwal.

185. See previous letters to C.B. Gupta on this subject: items 169, 173, 174, and 184.

186. Referred to in items 75 and 77.

187. Letter to the Congress President.

188. Former Minister of Information and Broadcasting, contesting from Farrukhabad.



Socialist Party, is evidence of what we might expect if the Socialists win this seat.<sup>189</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 78. To M.P. Sinha: Memorial to Rajendra Prasad<sup>190</sup>

14th April, 1963

My dear Mahamaya Prasadji,

I have your letter of the 4th April. I am sorry for the delay in answering it.

It is obvious that we should make every effort to have proper memorial for Rajendra Babu. In such matters, however, it is always better to proceed in a manner which will evoke the cooperation of all concerned. You may remember how after Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's death a large committee was formed, but somehow it never got going. I felt that deeply, because I was made the Chairman of that committee. Partly this happened because of other events.

In the case of Rajendra Babu, an all-India memorial was obviously indicated. I feel that making a local appeal at that time came in the way somewhat of a major all-India appeal. Normally, to form such a committee at a public meeting is not a good way of approach. Having, after due consultations, formed a committee, it can be announced at a public meeting.

I do not know what to advise you now. I would suggest that you should meet the Chief Minister<sup>191</sup> and others concerned and discuss the matter with them so that we do not have rival committees formed for the same purpose. After all, the object we have is to have a suitable memorial and not merely a committee.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

189. Other references to this event, see items 75 and 76.

190. Letter to a prominent Congressman from Bihar and a close aide of Rajendra Prasad; address: 8/16 R Block, Patna. PMO, File No. 2(456)/63-65-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 28-A.

191. Binodanand Jha.

## 79. To Ganesha Singh Pakhtoon: Memorial Meeting<sup>192</sup>

April 14, 1963

Dear Ganesha Singhji,  
Your letter of the 13th April.

It is not necessary for you to include all parties in your proposed memorial meeting. What I suggested to you was that you should approach the Delhi Congress Committee and get their full support.

As for the date, I am rather heavily occupied during the next two weeks or more. After that I go out of Delhi repeatedly to other parts of India. I suggest that you might ask the Congress people what dates will be suitable for such a meeting and let me know. I can then see which one of them will suit me.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 80. To K.K. Shah: Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim's Amroha Contest<sup>193</sup>

April 15, 1963

My dear Shah,

I am a little surprised to learn that Hafizji suddenly decided to file his nomination paper for the Amroha bye-election. Of course, all of us wanted him to contest this seat on behalf of the Congress. It was only when he refused to agree to do so, that we accepted his decision with regret. Now that he has changed his mind and filed his paper, we shall naturally accept this.

I think you should see Hafizji and find out exactly what induced him to change his mind at the last moment. Has Professor Ram Saran also filed his nomination paper?

We should formalise Hafizji's candidature. You can consult all the members of the Parliamentary Board here. I think you might telephone to C.B. Gupta, Chief Minister of UP, about it also.<sup>194</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

192. Letter to freedom fighter and aide of Badshah Khan; address: 2 Doctor's Lane, New Delhi.

193. Letter to a General Secretary of the AICC.

194. Nehru wrote a similar letter the same day to Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Home Minister.



## 81. To Madhavan Kutty: MRA and Congress<sup>195</sup>

April 16, 1963

Dear Shri Madhavan Kutty,  
I have your letter of the 13th April.

Some Kerala Congress MLAs saw me recently and referred to certain directions sent to them by the AICC recently. These directions were, not to associate in functions with Communists or communal organisations. The MRA was also mentioned in this connection. As a matter of fact, this was an error as the Working Committee had not referred to MRA in this respect. I told the MLAs this. I added that personally my information was that the MRA, in spite of many of their professions which sounded good, often dabbled in politics of a wrong kind and had spoken against the Congress policies and programme. But if the MLAs wanted to associate themselves in some of the good works of the MRA, I had no objection.<sup>196</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 82. To Vijay: Subhas Chandra Bose Myths<sup>197</sup>

April 18, 1963

Dear Shri Vijay,  
I have your letter of the 15th April.

I have repeatedly stated that from all the evidence which has been produced, it is a legitimate inference that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died many years ago. Apart from this evidence, the mere passage of time is a strong reason to believe that.

You state that from reliable sources, it is learnt that I and Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit met Netaji in Russia in the year 1948. I do not know what you consider reliable evidence. Certainly, I have not seen him in Russia or elsewhere. Indeed, I was not in Russia in 1948, nor has Mrs Pandit seen him.

195. Letter to the Representative of the *Mathrubhumi*, IENS Building, New Delhi.

196. See also items 51 and 58.

197. Letter to the Editor of *India Reformer*, Gauhati.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

As for the Shoulmari Sadhu, we have enquired into this matter and we are quite sure that the story about his being Netaji is completely without basis.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 83. In Allahabad: To Congress Workers<sup>198</sup>

#### Opposition Parties' Criticism Unhealthy Nehru Asks Congressmen to Strengthen Party

Allahabad, April 25 – Prime Minister Nehru vehemently criticised the role of the opposition parties, specially after Chinese aggression, and said that even while condemning the aggression, the opposition parties indulged in unhealthy criticism of the Congress policy and programme.

The Prime Minister, who was addressing the members of the executive committee of the District Congress Committee, said that they must strengthen the Congress organisation and should not be cowed down by the anti-Congress propaganda of the opposition parties, more particularly the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party.

He added that the first and foremost thing for an organisation was that it must be a strong one and all its members must work unitedly in a team spirit. The Congress workers, he said, must counteract the anti-Congress propaganda by the opposition parties. They had to face it and could not be mere spectators.

#### Lohia Party

Pandit Nehru made a passing reference to Dr Lohia's Socialist Party and said that he did not consider Dr Lohia's party as a party. It did nothing but "goondabazi."

The Jana Sangh, he pointed out, was a reactionary party and was against the basic policy of the Congress. They (Congressmen) should not be slack. They had to understand the implications of various problems facing the country and make people understand those problems.

Pandit Nehru said that Swatantra Party was a party of rajas and rich men. It was not a common man's party.

198. Report of speech, *National Herald*, 26 April 1963, p. 1.



Earlier, Mrs Bahuguna,<sup>199</sup> President of the Committee apprised the Prime Minister of the activities of the District Congress Committee and the work done by it after the Chinese aggression in mobilising opinion and raising funds for the national defence.

### Language Problem

Speaking on the language problem, Pandit Nehru said that there was no question of any controversy between Hindi and English. Hindi could be used in administrative work in the Hindi-speaking states. But at the Centre, where they had people from Bengal, Tamil Nadu and other parts of the country, they could not impose it.

He was of the view that all the fourteen languages of the country should be developed and enriched. He, however, said that no language could progress or develop through use in offices by clerks. Clerks, he added, could not enrich any language.

Whatever might be the case, but he felt that the people of Hindi-speaking areas had remained backward. It was so because mostly there was zamindari and taluqdari in these areas and though zamindari had been abolished, the mentality still persisted. It was a sad thing.

Appealing to the Hindi writers to use words of common use, Pandit Nehru said that Rabindranath Tagore's work could be understood even by a common man because Tagore had used words of common use, but in Hindi there was a gulf between the written Hindi [and] spoken Hindi.

He wished that circulation of Hindi newspapers should increase day by day, but the difficulty with Hindi newspapers was that they used such Hindi words which most of the people could not understand. Even at his own place, at times his servants came to him and asked: "What is the meaning of this particular word?"

## 84. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Fixing a Meeting<sup>200</sup>

April 29, 1963

My dear Krishna,

I have your note. I was waiting to hear from you before fixing a time for our meeting.

199. Kamala Bahuguna.

200. Letter to the former Defence Minister; address: 19 Teen Murti Marg, New Delhi. NMML, V.K. Krishna Menon Papers.

Both tomorrow and the day after, I am going out to dinner in connection with Dickie Mountbatten's visit. Indeed, the next few days are full of these engagements not only because of Mountbatten, but others who are coming here. You might come to see me on Thursday, the 2nd May, at 10 p.m. at my house. If we are unable to finish our talks then, a further date can be fixed.

Tomorrow, I am going to Palam to receive Mountbatten. I hope to come back by about 12.30 or 12.45. Perhaps, you could see me for a little while in my office in Parliament House at 12.45 tomorrow, 30th April.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

## **85. Support for Balvantray Mehta<sup>201</sup>**

I send my good wishes to Shri Balvantray Mehta<sup>202</sup> on the occasion of the bye-election from Shihore constituency in Gujarat. Shri Balvantray Mehta is one of our old stalwarts both in the States People's Conference and the Congress. I hope that the electors of this constituency will give him support and votes and elect him to represent them worthily in the Gujarat Assembly.

### **(e) Laws and Administration**

## **86. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Rome Meeting<sup>203</sup>**

1st February 1963

[Nan dear,]

I have received your letter of the 30th January together with the letters from Lord Boyd Orr<sup>204</sup> and B.R. Sen.<sup>205</sup> I mentioned them to the President also.

Important as the subject of dealing with the problem of hunger in the world and lack of food is, I do not myself understand what good it will do for

201. Message, 30 April 1963.

202. Mehta had replaced Jivraj Mehta as Chief Minister of Gujarat in February 1963 and was seeking election to the Assembly.

203. Letter to the Governor of Maharashtra.

204. John Boyd Orr (1880-1971); Nutritionist, Nobel laureate, and President, World Academy of Arts and Sciences; World Union of Peace organisation.

205. Binay Ranjan Sen (1898-1993); Director-General FAO, 1956-1967; Founder of "Freedom from Hunger" Campaign, 1960. See item 188.



a few eminent persons to meet in Rome for one day. This will, no doubt, attract attention and will thus have a certain psychological effect. Anyhow, I do not think it is worthwhile for you to go especially for this meeting leaving your present charge. The President agrees with me.

We have recommended your going to Stockholm for the Dag Hammarskjöld meeting towards the end of February.<sup>206</sup> It will hardly be proper for you to go again within two weeks or less after that for this meeting in Rome.

I am returning to you Lord Boyd Orr's and B.R. Sen's letters.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **87. To Shriyans Prasad Jain: Vivian Bose Report<sup>207</sup>**

February 4, 1963

Dear Shriyans Prasadji,

I have received your letter of February 2nd and have read it.<sup>208</sup> What you have written will no doubt be considered with care. The Vivian Bose Commission's report of their enquiry into the Dalmia-Jain group of companies is being fully examined now by Government. I am therefore, sending a copy of your letter to the Ministries concerned.<sup>209</sup>

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **88. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Attending Stockholm Meeting<sup>210</sup>**

February 5, 1963

[Nan dear,]

I have just received your letter of the 3rd February from Nagpur.

206. See SWJN/SS/80/items 52,55, 57, 58, and 59.

207. Letter to Sahu Shriyans Prasad Jain (1908-1992), industrialist; address: 15A Horniman Circle, Fort, Bombay 1.

208. Not reproduced; copy available in the NMML.

209. See also items 89 and 108.

210. Letter to the Governor of Maharashtra.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

As for going to Stockholm, I think you might write to Alva Myrdal<sup>211</sup> and tell her that, as U Thant<sup>212</sup> is not attending the Foundation<sup>213</sup> meeting and Lester Pearson<sup>214</sup> might also not come, it might not be worth while for you to go to the meeting on this occasion. If, nevertheless, she insists on your going there, you might perhaps go. Tell her that if you attend this meeting, you will not be able to attend a subsequent meeting. On receipt of her reply, you can decide whether to go there or to the FAO. I do not think it will be desirable for you to go to both the places within a fairly short time.<sup>215</sup>

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **89. To K.C. Reddy: Treat Vivian Bose Report Seriously<sup>216</sup>**

February 8, 1963

My dear Reddy,

I have been much intrigued and worried in connection with the Vivian Bose Report on the Dalmia-Jain concerns. The more I have enquired about this report, ever since it was received by the Ministry concerned, the more surprised I have been by the various actions taken or not taken in regard to it. Any person with a grain of intelligence could have seen that this was a most important and vital document in which the Parliament and the public would be greatly interested. Yet there was great delay in printing it.

The report proper was apparently received in the middle of last year. The last nineteen or twenty pages containing recommendations, etc., came many months later. There was no reason why the report itself should not have been printed straightaway when it was received. Anyhow, even when it was printed, only 100 copies were printed. Whose decision it was that only 100 copies should be printed deserves full enquiry. I received a copy of it only a few days ago and, presumably, the other Cabinet Ministers have also now received copies.

Charges have been made in some periodicals about attempts being made to prevent adequate publicity of this report and, as far as possible, to hush it up.

211. (1902-1986); Swedish sociologist, diplomat and politician; Nobel Laureate and prominent leader of Disarmament movement.

212. Secretary-General of the UN.

213. Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.

214. (1897-1972); Canadian Leader of Opposition; Nobel laureate and Peace activist.

215. See item 86 and SWJN/SS/80/item 58.

216. Letter to the Minister of Commerce and Industry.



I am quite sure that these charges will be repeated in Parliament. This matter is patently one which deserves the widest publicity and full consideration by Parliament and yet, thus far even the Cabinet has had no chance of considering it. I gather that some kind of a note has been prepared for the Cabinet but it has not seen the light of the day yet.

The whole matter has been treated in a casual and what appears to me, a very irresponsible way and it is necessary to have a full enquiry made to find out who is responsible for this kind of treatment. We shall have to answer on every step that we have taken or not taken to Parliament.

So much about the past. The second more important part is what we are going to do about it now. Cabinet must consider it first of all as early as possible. It may be that this consideration, to begin with, does not go deeply into all the questions that are raised in it, but a preliminary consideration is important to deal with the various matters connected with it and what steps we should take. A little later, a fuller consideration of the points involved will have to be made.

Meanwhile, immediately atleast 3000 more copies should be printed and adequately priced. Probably, nearly 1000 copies will be required for Parliament and a large number for the press.

The fact that the Delhi newspapers, except for the *Statesman*, have tried to bypass this report is significant. Inevitably, caustic comments are being made about the ownership of these newspapers which may be interested in suppressing this report.

You will appreciate that this is a matter of the highest importance and it is bound to come up before Parliament in various ways. I should like you, therefore, to go into this matter as early as possible, firstly, to find out why this report has been treated in the peculiar manner mentioned above and, secondly, what we are to do about it now. For us to be told that any action is legally time-barred and, therefore, nothing can be done about it is extraordinary quibbling. The matter will have to be taken up and everything necessary will have to be done.<sup>217</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

217. See also items 87 and 108.

## 90. Employing Zahir Ahmed<sup>218</sup>

I enclose a paper giving particulars about Zahir Ahmed. He served in Hyderabad for a number of years. After Independence, he was posted to our High Commission in London. He went back, I think, to Hyderabad and was later in the Government of India.

For many years now, he has been employed by the United Nations and I believe his work is well thought of. While in Hyderabad, he was particularly good at Community Development and it is more or less this kind of work that he has been doing on behalf of the United Nations in the countries of Western Asia. He is well paid for it.

He came here some months ago and told me that he would very much like to return to India and do some work here. He was quite prepared to leave his UN post although it was highly paid and probably, they will extend his tenure of it. But he would rather come back to India and even work in an honorary capacity.

I am writing to you about him so that you may keep him in mind. I think he is a good man and might do good work.

## 91. To Syed Jafer Imam: Medical Fitness for Office<sup>219</sup>

February 14, 1963

My dear Justice Imam,<sup>220</sup>

You were good enough to come to me the other day and to speak to me about certain personal matters. You will remember that I advised you to have yourself examined by a Medical Board, or to take leave for a period and then have yourself examined medically. I gave you this advice as I felt that you had not sufficiently recovered from your last serious illness and it was not fair to you or to the Supreme Court for you to continue functioning in the high office of Supreme Court Judge till you were sufficiently recovered. As I pointed out to you, a number of people had drawn my attention to your ill-health. Such an impression was not a good one. The best way to get rid of it was to undergo a medical examination.<sup>221</sup>

I understand that you saw the President afterwards and that he gave you the same advice as I had done.

218. Note, 9 February 1963, for S.S. Khera, Cabinet Secretary.

219. Letter to judge of the Supreme Court.

220. (1900-1965); Supreme Court judge from 1955 to 1964.

221. See SWJN, Vol. 83 for more correspondence on this subject.



I understand from the Chief Justice that you have written to him today enquiring from him under what authority he was asking you to produce a certificate of fitness or to take leave. The Chief Justice will no doubt write to you in answer, as he thinks fit. I am writing to you to express my deep regret at your apparently not abiding by the advice that was given to you by the President and by me.

There is no question of that advice being given by me or anyone else under any particular authority. But the question arises whether you are fit enough or not. If there is any doubt about this, the obvious way to settle it and to find a proper answer, is for competent doctors to examine you and give their opinion. I should have thought, therefore, that you would accept our advice.

You have a very distinguished record as a Judge of our highest court and it is in view of that specially that I was anxious that this matter should be decided in a way that was in keeping with that record and your dignity.<sup>222</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 92. To H.K. Mahtab: Complaints about National Cultural Organisation<sup>223</sup>

February 14, 1963

My dear Mahtab,

You will remember inviting me to a Tansen Festival organised by the National Cultural Organisation on the 22nd February. I wrote to you in reply that apart from my lack of qualifications for the function, I may not be able to find time to go there. Not only is that a Parliament day, but the Vice-President of Cyprus will be here then. I am afraid, therefore, that I shall not be able to come.

There is another matter to which I might draw your attention. I have received a number of complaints against the National Cultural Organisation. I cannot personally say anything about the correctness of these complaints but some people who know more about this than I do appear to attach some importance to these complaints.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

222. See also item 101.

223. Letter to the Chairman of the National Cultural Organisation, C-2/169 Lodi Colony, New Delhi.

**93. To Bajrang Bahadur Singh: Avoid Large Retinues<sup>224</sup>**

February 15, 1963

My dear Bhadri,

I have been informed by the President's office that you will be coming here on the 20th February and that your party will consist of eleven persons, including four servants. May I point out to you that it is not very desirable to visit Rashtrapati Bhavan with a large retinue? The President himself when he travels usually has three or four persons accompanying him, and no more. One must change the old practice. This was [not] desirable at any time, but now in the emergency it is still more important.

Bringing quite a number of servants in the party seems rather unnecessary when Rashtrapati Bhavan provides domestic service.

The President is rather concerned at the large parties that come up to his house to stay there.<sup>225</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**94. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Making use of M.S. Chopra<sup>226</sup>**

February 15, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I enclose a letter from Chavan. I had written to him about Major General Chopra<sup>227</sup> and this is his answer. Chopra was appointed by us as our Ambassador in the Phillipines. He did not distinguish himself particularly there and after the end of his tenure we had no desire to send him to another place. Since then he has been after me to get him some post. He lives in Delhi, I think, as often I see him in parties etc.

In the present emergency I think he might be used in some formation like the Home Guards etc. In the Army, he was supposed to be good at athletics.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

224. Letter to the Governor of Himachal Pradesh.

225. See also SWJN/SS/80/item 46.

226. Letter to the Home Minister.

227. See letter to Chavan, SWJN/SS/80/item 39.



## 95. To Vishnu Sahay: Enquiry into Tuskers<sup>228</sup>

February 16, 1963

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

Your letter of February 13, about the Border Roads Organisation and the road building in Nagaland in Mizo District.

There have been a large number of complaints about some officials of the Border Roads Organisation working specially in the Bomdila side—the "Tuskers" they are called. These are being enquired into.<sup>229</sup> I was not aware that this affects other parts of the Organisation. Anyhow, I am enquiring into this matter. I agree with you that in other places, specially in Mizo District, road building should continue as rapidly as possible.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 96. Holidays No Way to Mourn<sup>230</sup>

I attach a cutting of a message appearing in the London *Times*. I think there is truth in what is said there. It was wrong for us to declare a government holiday the other day when Shri B.N. Datar passed away.<sup>231</sup> Schools were closed, apart from government offices and possibly many other government institutions. It is not enough to say that it was laid down in some book. We are living in days of Emergency and everything should be considered in that context.

The *Times* message indicates what other people think.

I hope there will be no occasion for such a thing in future. But, anyway, this kind of action should not be repeated.

228. Letter to the Governor of Assam.

229. See SWJN/SS/80/items 41 and 56.

230. Note, 17 February 1963, for Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Home Minister. PMO, File No. 2(454)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 13-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

231. Minister of State in the Home Ministry; died on 13 February 1963.

## 97. To T. Viswanatha: Intemperate Language Unbecoming<sup>232</sup>

February 17, 1963

Dear Shri Viswanatha,

I have received your letter of February 9th. I enquired about your previous letters from my office. I was informed that some of these letters had been received and forwarded to the Health Ministry who had enquired from the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. I gather also that you had written to Dr Jivraj Mehta in his capacity as President of the Governing Council.

In your letters to me and to others, you use intemperate language which is not becoming for a research worker or for anyone else. In a large organisation like the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, it is necessary to possess a temperament which is helpful and which does not create difficulties.

It is obviously not possible for me to appoint people to these autonomous organisations. That is the task of their Governing Body which consists of eminent persons from all over India. It is possible that they might make a mistake in such appointments. But I am in no position to judge of this and to upset their decisions. It appears from the papers I have seen, that the reason why your application was not accepted was because you had had only five years teaching experience and not ten years which had been laid down.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 98. To H.D. Malaviya: Leipzig Fair Visit<sup>233</sup>

February 18, 1963

My dear Harsh Dev,

Your letter of February 18. I have no objection to your visiting the Leipzig Fair; but it must be clearly understood that Government will not be responsible for any expenditure, more especially any foreign exchange. We are very short of foreign exchange, and the rules regarding it are very strict now.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

232. Letter to an applicant for a job at the AIIMS from the Department of Chemistry, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, USA.

233. Letter to journalist and economist (1917-1989); address: 'Socialist Congressman', 79 Theatre Communication Building, Connaught Circus, New Delhi 1.



**99. To Y.B. Chavan: Army Seizing Pigs<sup>234</sup>**

February 18, 1963

My dear Chavan,

I enclose a Hindi letter that I have received from Patna. I would like to draw your attention to the last paragraph in the letter, side-lined.

I do not understand this. As far as I can make out, it says that the Army people have taken thousands of pigs from the Harijans somewhere near Bodh Gaya without any payment.

I imagine this is quite untrue. I would suggest that you might, after some enquiry, have a letter sent to Punya Dev Sharma.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**100. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Let Habib Hidayatullah Remain in India<sup>235</sup>**

February 19, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I enclose a letter from Danial Latifi<sup>236</sup> from Bombay. He writes about a young man Habib Hidayatullah.<sup>237</sup>

The matter came up before the Supreme Court. On technical grounds they decided against him, but two judges of that Court differed from the majority of three. It seems to me that in view of all this, we should take a generous view and allow Habib to stay on in this country or even to become a national of ours.

You may have his case, which is a reported one, examined.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

234. Letter to the Defence Minister.

235. Letter to the Home Minister.

236. Civil Rights lawyer; (1917-2000).

237. Habib Hidayatullah sailed for Basra from Bombay and went on to Karachi, where he lost his Indian travel papers. See AIR [All India Reporter] 1962 SC 1052: (1962) 3 SCC (Supp) [Supreme Court Cases, Supplementary] 217.

## 101. To Syed Jafer Imam: Get Fit<sup>238</sup>

February 19, 1963

My dear Justice Imam,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th February.<sup>239</sup> I appreciate what you have written, but, if I may say so, it is not an answer to what I wrote to you and what I suggested to you.<sup>240</sup>

The question having arisen whether you are physically fit enough to carry on adequately the work of the high post in which you are, how is that question to be decided? You have been recently very ill and have had to spend a considerable time in a Nursing Home. To a layman's eye, you are far from well now, even though I cannot judge of how well or unwell you are. The only proper course in these circumstances is for you to have yourself examined by a Medical Board to remove all doubts about your present physical state. As a matter of fact, as I told you, it is not the Chief Justice alone who has spoken about this to me, but some members of the Bar also.

I hope you will be perfectly well, even if you are not quite well enough now. Therefore, I have also suggested that you might take leave and rest and get well. Later, if you are well enough, you can come back to the Supreme Court. You know that whenever a Judge is appointed, a certificate of physical fitness is taken. If you are not well enough now, then you do not give yourself a chance of recovering fully.

This is not a matter for argument, but of clarifying a doubt that has arisen and which has considerable basis. You have had a very distinguished career on the Bench both in the High Court and in the Supreme Court, and people who know you, both at the Bar and otherwise, have a high opinion of your ability and integrity. I do not want this to be marred by arguments about your health. Those arguments are bound to continue. They will not only be undesirable, but will prevent you from having a peaceful mind which is necessary for full recovery.

Please therefore let me know what you decide in this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

238. Letter to Supreme Court judge.

239. See appendix 19.

240. See item 91.



## 102. To S. Radhakrishnan: Honorary Degrees for Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>241</sup>

February 22, 1963

My dear President,

I give below an extract from a letter from Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.<sup>242</sup>

“I had a personal letter from a friend in Oxford recently, saying that mine was one of the names the Court was considering for the conferment of an honorary degree. He said this was entirely confidential and not finalised, but most probably would come through, as this idea had first been suggested some years ago while I was still High Commissioner, and the University would like to honour me. Recently, when Panikkar<sup>243</sup> was in Bombay for the meeting of the Vice-Chancellors, he also mentioned this and said he too had heard from Oxford to this effect. However, so far, no invitation has come.

I merely mention this because I have today received a letter from Walter Monckton, who is to be installed as Chancellor of the new University of Sussex on the 10th and 11th of June. He invites me, as Chancellor, to accept the honorary Doctorate of Laws degree. Other people who have been invited and have accepted are, Prime Minister Macmillan, the Master of Balliol, Lord Radcliffe, George Woodcock and the Princess Royal. He writes most pressingly.

Ordinarily I would not dream of running about the world for the sake of an honorary degree but, should the Oxford invitation come through, I would approach the President for permission to go, as this would be a high honour, though, I realise, quite undeserved. If the Sussex University dates are about the same as those of the Oxford, it might be possible to do the two; but Oxford may not materialise at all. Would you, in that case, agree with me that I express my inability to accept the honour that the University of Sussex propose to confer upon me.”

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

241. Letter to the President.

242. Presumably from the letter of 10 February 1963 referred to in item 439.

243. K.M. Panikkar (1895-1963); Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University.

**103. To Morarji Desai: Troubles in Punjab National Bank<sup>244</sup>**

February 23, 1963

My dear Morarji,

I enclose a letter from one Ram Partap Chopra about the Punjab National Bank and my reply to him.

On October 16, 1962, I received a letter dated October 12 from Ram Partap Chopra complaining about the misdeeds of a Director and an officer of the Punjab National Bank. I sent this to you and you sent me a reply on the 24th October.

It may be desirable for someone in your Ministry to send for Ram Partap Chopra and find out what he has to say. If necessary, the matter might be enquired into further.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**104. To Mahavir Tyagi: Defective Military Equipment<sup>245</sup>**

February 24, 1963

My dear Mahavir,

You wrote to me some time ago about a rumour that some shells used by us in Ladakh recently were “dead”. We have had enquiries made into this matter. A further enquiry is proceeding. But meanwhile the result of the enquiry has been that a few defective shells, which were produced on the 27th November 1962, were found. These could not have been used in the operations in Ladakh, but it is possible that some other bombs or shells which were used may have also been defective. A comprehensive enquiry is being made.

As a result of investigations carried out by the Police, the blame for defective primary cartridges was laid on a worker in the ammunition factory where these were manufactured. It was established that the motive for his crime was internal rivalry among the workers and personal enmity. No actual sabotage due to any other reason was discovered.

A close watch on the factory has been instituted, and this will continue.

244. Letter to the Finance Minister.

245. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress. NMML, Mahavir Tyagi Papers.



The worker who has been found guilty of mischief was arrested in the middle of January and is under detention now.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**105. To R. M. Hajarnavis: Mercy Petition from Belgaum<sup>246</sup>**

February 25, 1963

My dear Hajarnavis,

This morning a group from Belgaum came to see me about a mercy petition of Basangouda Bhimnaik Patil. His mother, wife and others came and they gave me the attached petition. I hope you will consider this carefully. I can express no opinion about the merits of the case. The convict is a young man and his wife is a very young girl.

The letter from a Member of Parliament is also attached.<sup>247</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**106. To Satya Narayan Sinha: Bribery of Ministers<sup>248</sup>**

February 25, 1963

My dear Satya Narayan,

I enclose a letter from Raghunath Singh.<sup>249</sup> I suggest that you might ask S.N. Dwivedy of the PSP for further information on the subject of his speech as we

246. Letter to the Minister of State in the MHA. PMO, File No. 2(434)/62-64-PMS, Sr. No. 12-A.

247. Response, 1 March 1963, from R.M. Hajarnavis: "I am in receipt of your letter dated the 25th instant enclosing a copy of the mercy petition of Basangouda Bhimnaik Patil of Belgaum. As I ventured to say to the President and to you when I was sworn in, I am opposed to the imposition of capital punishment, though I must admit, on grounds which are as yet vague. I am, however, studying the various aspects of the question including views expressed earlier by us and by the State Governments. I shall go through the papers of this case carefully and shall write to you about the advice to be tendered to the President." PMO, File No. 2(434)/62-64-PMS, Sr. No. 13-A.

248. Letter to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

249. Secretary, AICC.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

should like to enquire into the matter. It is a little difficult for us to have any special enquiry without more information. Neither the firm is mentioned nor the names of Union Ministers and Ministers of State.<sup>250</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **107. To P.C. Sen: S.N. Maitra to return to West Bengal<sup>251</sup>**

February 27, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

I am in receipt of your D.O. No. 10-CM dated the 12th January regarding Shri S.N. Maitra.

It is true that Shri Maitra has been with the Ministry of External Affairs for some time but in the normal course he should revert to his parent cadre under the West Bengal Government. Shri Maitra has completed two or three assignments with us, and his services are now available to his State Government. I am sure that the experience which he has acquired will be of value to your Government. Whether Shri Maitra can be appointed to a post under the Government of India is a matter for the Ministry of Home Affairs to decide. I am passing on a copy of your letter and my reply to the Home Minister.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **108. To Manubhai Shah: Vivian Bose Report and Ram Ratan Gupta<sup>252</sup>**

March 2, 1963

My dear Manubhai,

I enclose two papers I have received about some financial concerns of Shri Ram Ratan Gupta.<sup>253</sup> I should like your comments on what is written there. Some of the allegations made appear to be serious.

250. The subject noted on the file reads: "Alleged payment of money to Union Ministers by firm of mineral exporters."

251. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

252. Letter to the Minister of International Trade in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

253. Lok Sabha MP, Congress.



## I. POLITICS

You know that the Vivian Bose Commission's report on the Dalmia-Jain concerns has created a big stir and it will come up before Parliament for discussion fairly soon. I understand that S.P. Jain<sup>254</sup> is a member of various committees appointed by the Commerce & Industry Ministry. Is it desirable in these circumstances for him to continue there?<sup>255</sup>

Please return the enclosed papers to me.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **109. To Morarji Desai: Allegations against Birlas<sup>256</sup>**

March 2, 1963

My dear Morarji,

I have received some papers containing some allegations against some companies controlled by the Birlas. I am enclosing two of these papers. I should like you to give me advice as to what we should do in this matter.<sup>257</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **110. To C.B. Gupta: Dubious Transactions by Ram Ratan Gupta<sup>258</sup>**

March 3, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

I have received a number of complaints about the activities of Ram Ratan Gupta.<sup>259</sup> These relate to various companies with which he has been associated and to his tax evasion, blackmarketing, etc. It appears that in March 1960, the Bombay High Court passed a decree against him for Rs 17,56,277, pointing out

254. Owner of Times of India Group.

255. See also items 87, 89, 110 and 111.

256. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 2(377)/60-63-PMS, Sr. No. 10-A.

257. For reply see appendix 27.

258. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

259. Lok Sabha MP, Congress. Ram Ratan Gupta was a close friend and aide of C.B. Gupta. See Paul.R. Brass, *Factional Politics in an Indian State: Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965) pp. 174-177.

that he had misused his control of a certain Insurance Company and the Discount Bank. In spite of this decree, the amount was not paid by Ram Ratan Gupta.

These are other matters which apparently do not concern the UP Government. But what does concern the UP Government was a loan of Rs 50 lakhs on easy terms which was given to Ram Ratan Gupta for the purpose of industrialising the Uttar Pradesh. The loan was given to Lakshmi Ratan Engineering Works, Bombay, and was intended for setting up a factory in Kanpur for making of textile machinery parts. The paid-up capital of the Lakshmi Ratan Engineering Works, to whom Rs 50 lakhs was loaned by the UP Government, was only Rs 25,67,500 and its reserves stood at a small sum of Rs 1,20,036. This loan was repayable in ten equal annual instalments commencing from 1953 and carrying an interest of five percent annually. A penal interest of six percent was to be charged in the event of default. It is alleged that the assets of the factory to be built in Kanpur were pledged against the loan and their book value was arbitrarily inflated. The sum payable on interest charges to the UP Government was added to the cost of the land, building and plant. It is also alleged that the plant was mostly brought from Ram Ratan Gupta's Works in Bombay at an inflated price. Ram Ratan has not paid any of the instalments due on this loan to the UP Government. The arrears run into many lakhs and even the interest charges have not been paid.

The Lakshmi Ratan Engineering Works have not fulfilled the promise of industrialisation in UP and has contributed very little to the industrial production in the State.

I am sending you this brief account of one of his transactions. There is much else that is said against him which apparently does not concern the UP Government. There are many charges about his elections and how large sums were paid for these elections from his concerns. It is also stated that he owes considerable sums of money on sales tax to Government.

These charges made against Ram Ratan Gupta deserve to be investigated. You must have seen the Dalmia-Jain Commission Enquiry Report which discloses highly objectionable practices.<sup>260</sup> This matter will come up before Parliament soon. In view of all this, we have to investigate serious charges against others also. I would, therefore, like you to let me know what the facts are about Ram Ratan Gupta, so far as you know them, and especially in regard to the Lakshmi Ratan Engineering Works and the sum advanced by the UP

260. The Vivian Bose Report. See item 108.



Government to him. Has he paid any of the instalments and, if any, what action has been taken against him?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **111. To Morarji Desai: Inquire into Ram Ratan Gupta<sup>261</sup>**

March 3, 1963

My dear Morarji,

I have received two notes about various activities of Ram Ratan Gupta, MP.<sup>262</sup> The two notes overlap. I sent these notes to Manubhai Shah. He has sent them back to me and written a letter which is enclosed.

I have written to Chandra Bhanu Gupta about the loan advanced to Ram Ratan by the U.P. Government, copy also enclosed.<sup>263</sup>

I think that some enquiry should be made about the various charges against Ram Ratan. He has an unsavoury reputation and, as you perhaps know, there is an election petition pending against him.<sup>264</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **112. To Morarji Desai: Allegations against Kotak<sup>265</sup>**

March 4, 1963

My dear Morarji,

I understand that there was a question today in the Rajya Sabha on the subject of breach of foreign exchange regulations by Messrs Kotak & Co. I do not know what answer was given. I have received a paper, however, which probably refers to a statement that was placed on the table of the Rajya Sabha in answer to this question.

261. Letter to the Finance Minister.

262. Lok Sabha MP, Congress.

263. See items 108 and 110.

264. The election petition alleged ballot tampering by Gupta during Gonda parliamentary elections. See the *Statesman*, 19 March 1963. The allegation was established by an election tribunal in August 1964, and Ram Ratan Gupta had to forfeit his seat.

265. Letter to the Finance Minister.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

According to this, a penalty amounting to Rs 3,50,000 had to be paid by this firm.

I suppose the reason for asking this question was because Shri Kotak<sup>266</sup> has been appointed as Chairman of the Gold Control Board. It is rather unfortunate that these facts have been stated in regard to a person who has been appointed to a responsible position by Government.

I sent you some papers relating to some transactions of the House of Birla. I understand that the account books of the firm were deposited with the accountants appointed by some authority. In view of the allegations made, it would be desirable to ask the accountants to keep these books and not to release them.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 113. To Shriman Narayan: Vivian Bose Report at FICCI<sup>267</sup>

March 11, 1963

My dear Shriman,

I had promised some time ago to attend the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Subsequently I gave thought to this matter again. I felt that I need not break my promise but that it would be better if I went there and spoke frankly about the Vivian Bose Commission's Report and the frauds practised on public funds. I think that I should stick to that decision.<sup>268</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

266. G.B. Kotak.

267. Letter to Member of the Planning Commission.

268. Extract from Shriman Narayan's letter of 11 March 1963: "Shri Sriyans Prasad Jain, who has been condemned by Vivian Bose Commission for practising 'fraud' on public funds, is going to preside over the forthcoming Annual Session of the Federation ... There is strong feeling among the public that the Prime Minister should not consent to inaugurate a function over which a person, who has been found guilty by a high power commission, presides." Shriman Narayan, *Letters from Gandhi, Nehru, Vinoba*; (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1968), p. 123.



**114. To Manubhai Bhimani: Vivian Bose Report and FICCI<sup>269</sup>**

March 11, 1963

My dear Manubhai,  
I have your letter of the 5th March.

I quite realise that purely legal action in regard to the Vivian Bose report is not adequate. Other steps have to be taken. We are considering it from this point of view. I hope that steps we take will be firm and effective.

As for my addressing the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, I had promised to do so long ago. I gave thought to this matter as to whether to hold to my promise or not under the new circumstances. I decided that I should not go back on my word, but that I should speak frankly about the Vivian Bose report at that meeting.<sup>270</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**115. To T.T. Krishnamachari: Mohammed Serajuddin and S.C. Bose<sup>271</sup>**

March 11, 1963

My dear TT,  
I spoke to you today about the entries in Serajuddin's private books. I am now sending you a copy of these entries as well as of statements made by S. Annaswamy and Dr S.C. Bose. Annaswamy was the stenographer and later Private Secretary to Mohammed Serajuddin from January 1955 to November 1959. Thereafter he ceased working as, according to his own statement, his pay was not adequate enough for the work done by him and Serajuddin refused to increase it.

Dr S.C. Bose is said to be a mine owner of Orissa and is reported to have been a personal and close friend of Serajuddin for many years. It is said that in June 1962 there was some differences between him and Serajuddin and the

269. Letter to freedom fighter and political activist; address: 9 Wallace Street, Fort, Bombay 1.

270. See item 113.

271. Letter to the Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

two fell out since then. S.C. Bose claims to be related in some way to Subhas Chandra Bose.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 116. To A.K. Sen: Judges' Retirement Age<sup>272</sup>

March 19, 1963

My dear Asoke,

Tek Chand, Judge of the Punjab High Court, who is I believe retiring on the 9th April, came to see me a day or two ago. He said that he would be retiring probably just a few weeks before our Constitutional Bill fixing the retirement age at 62 is passed. Like him, about a dozen judges would be affected by it.

He was reluctant to return to practice. He would, therefore, like the possibility of his being able to take advantage of the new Bill, meanwhile being on leave without pay for the intervening period.

I think that the suggestion is worth consideration. Our Bill was introduced in November 1962. It is rather unfortunate that it should be delayed so much.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 117. To T.T. Krishnamachari: Vivian Bose Report<sup>273</sup>

March 19, 1963

My dear T.T.,

You might be interested to read the enclosed note by Professor Gadgil of Poona on the Vivian Bose Report.<sup>274</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

272. Letter to the Law Minister.

273. Letter to the Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination. NMML, T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, File 1963, Auto.

274. See appendix 39.



**118. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Misconduct by Secretary<sup>275</sup>**

April 1, 1963

My dear Ananthasayanam,

Thank you for your letter of March 28th.<sup>276</sup> I am grateful to you for having written to me at length about this matter. I did not really want you to take all this trouble. But it is my usual practice to send letters of complaint and criticism to the person concerned.

I am greatly surprised to read what you have written about your Secretary. I cannot believe that he could have written the letter of complaint to me. Only a very foolish man would have done so.

Besides, how could it profit him to write that letter and make complaints about you?

It is really very surprising to me to learn from your letter that he told you to your face that he would curse you if you did not give him an extension. Any secretary who told me this to my face would be given short shrift. I think he should be told by you that his behaviour is highly reprehensible and because of this, you cannot give him any further extension.

Your secretary has been functioning as Governor's Secretary for nearly eight years now. That is much too long a period for a person to be in such an office. Your predecessors, I remember, spoke highly of him; in fact, one of them recommended him for one of our awards. We did not agree with this recommendation because we normally do not give awards to Government servants except under very special circumstances.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

275. Letter to the Governor of Bihar.

276. See appendix 47.

**119. To B.P. Sinha: Visiting Nigeria and the Philippines<sup>277</sup>**

April 3, 1963

My dear Chief Justice,

Thank you for your letter of April 3rd.

As for the invitation from the Chief Justice of Nigeria, I think you might reply to him, thanking him for the invitation and saying that you would greatly like to go there but it is difficult for you to go in the near future.

As regards the invitation from the Chief Justice of the Philippines, it might be desirable for you to attend this meeting. I would suggest that, for the present, you might say in reply that you will try to attend it. You may decide finally somewhat later.

I shall be glad to see you, but during the next few days I have a large number of engagements and the meetings of the All India Congress Committee. I suggest, if it suits you, to see me at my house at 7 p.m. on the 8th April.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**120. To M.L. Sukhadia: Police Excess<sup>278</sup>**

April 3, 1963

My dear Sukhadia,

Shri U.M. Trivedi, Leader of the Jana Sangh Group in the Lok Sabha, came to see me and spoke to me about the case of one Nanak Ram Israni of Ajmer who has apparently been arrested and imprisoned under the Defence of India Rules. According to Trivedi, this is a case of sheer Police vindictiveness. I believe he has written to you also on the subject and you are looking into this matter. I hope, after examining it, you will write to Trivedi and tell him what the facts are.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

277. Letter to Chief Justice of India.

278. Letter to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan.



## 121. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Relief for Peasants on Evacuee Property<sup>279</sup>

April 3, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

Several hundred peasants, including some women and children, from village Mukandpur etc. near Delhi came to see me this morning. They gave me a representation which I enclose.

The matter is in the civil courts or in appeal to the High Court, and so I do not quite know what we can do about it. But after listening to them, I came away with the impression that they were being harshly and unfairly treated. This land was declared evacuee property because the zamindars went to Pakistan. These cultivators, however, were the actual tenants apparently for a long time. I do not understand why they should be pushed out of their land.

Also whatever the ultimate result should be in the courts, it seems improper for their demand not being looked into properly. In theory, the land will be in the hands of the Receiver but, meanwhile, these people will starve.

Whatever the law may be, all this seems to me to be grossly unfair and opposed to our basic policies. Please look into this matter and give these poor people such relief as you can.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 122. To K.S. Ramanujam: Avoiding Corruption<sup>280</sup>

April 9, 1963

Dear Shri Ramanujam,

I have your letter of the 8th April. I have no doubt that we should function in such a way that even an appearance of corrupt practices is avoided. Sometimes a Minister's presence even is exploited on certain occasions without his knowledge.

You refer to Shri K.D. Malaviya. It is not true that Shri Malaviya asked someone to give 10,000 rupees to a candidate in the Assembly election. What he did was to give a few lines by way of an introductory letter to the candidate. It is true that this was meant as a help to the candidate to get some financial

279. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing, and Rehabilitation.

280. Letter to the Representative, *Shankar's Weekly*, 193 Mount Road, Madras 2.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

assistance. No sum was mentioned, and Shri Malaviya did not even know till long afterwards whether the candidate in question received any money.

Personally, I have avoided asking any individual for money for elections or other purposes. But it is difficult to hold a person guilty of doing so unless specific rules to that effect are framed. The point to be observed is that any such suggestion is not connected in any way with any kind of benefit, direct or indirect, that is derived from it.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **123. To S. Radhakrishnan: Slander must be contained<sup>281</sup>**

April 12, 1963

My dear President,

Thank you for your two letters of April 12th. As for Keshava Deva Malaviya,<sup>282</sup> as you know, I have referred all the papers that were with us or with the police, to the Attorney-General, for him to advise me what he thinks should be done now in the matter. I shall await his report. There has been too much of character assassination, sometimes in Parliament and in some newspapers. It is obvious that the good name of the Government and integrity of the Administration must be maintained.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **124. To Prabhudas T. Kibliwala: Addressing Grievances<sup>283</sup>**

April 16, 1963

Dear Shri Kibliwala,

I have your letter of April 13th. From this it appears that you have certain grievances against the administration of the Western Railway Suburban Line, that you had informed your Member of Parliament, Shri Krishna Menon, of

281. Letter to the President.

282. Minister of Mines and Fuel. See item 68.

283. Letter; address: 38/4 Maha Prabhu, Marve Road, Malad, Bombay 64.



them, and that he had told you that the matter had been referred to the Railway Ministry. Apparently, your grievances have not been removed. Therefore, you feel that the Member of Parliament has failed in his duties and should resign.

I am unable to understand the logic of what you have said. I do not know the nature of your grievances. If I had known them, all I could do would be to draw the attention of the Railway Ministry to them and request them to deal with the matter. Apparently, that is what your representative in Parliament did. It is for the Railway Ministry to take steps which they consider feasible and proper. Not knowing what your troubles are in this respect, I can say nothing about them. But you will appreciate that the Ministry concerned has to make various enquiries before they can take any step.

As for a Member of Parliament trying to get the redress of grievance in his constituency, he should certainly do that, but every Member of Parliament is not merely there for this purpose; he also represents the interests of the whole of India.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 125. To M.C. Chagla: Sheorey's Service Extension<sup>284</sup>

April 16, 1963

My dear Chagla

I have your letter of April 9th with which you have sent a copy of a letter addressed by you to Dr Sushila Nayar, our Minister of Health. She will no doubt deal with it keeping in view what you have said.

But I might inform you that when the question of an extension for Colonel Sheorey<sup>285</sup> arose previously, it was pointed out to me that it was difficult and undesirable to bring in personal considerations in deciding such matters. In the case of everyone serving abroad, whether it is in the Foreign Service or some allied Service, these considerations come up before us. We cannot and should not ignore them. But if we pay too much importance to them, the whole Service structure would be affected and a great deal of dissatisfaction might well result.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

284. Letter to the High Commissioner in London.

285. Lt. Col B.K. Sheorey.

**126. To H.C. Mathur: Judges Retiring<sup>286</sup>**

April 20, 1963

My dear Mathur,

I have your letter of the 15th April. I do not quite understand the figures you give me. It does not much matter what the number of retiring judges is this year. The fact is that some good judges are retiring, and we have great difficulty in finding competent people to take their place.

I might tell you that the Chief Justice himself mentioned to us that it would be desirable to give retrospective effect to the provision. I do not see any objection to doing this.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**127. To A.K. Sen: Table Reports on Insurance Companies<sup>287</sup>**

April 24, 1963

My dear Asoke,

I spoke to you the other day about the desirability of putting the Solicitor-General's note on the Auditors' report about the New Asiatic Insurance Co. Ltd and the Ruby General Insurance Co. Ltd on the table of the House. I have now received a question for the Rajya Sabha on this very subject. I think you might consider this matter afresh and consult Morarjibhai about it. I find some difficulty in understanding why we should avoid putting the Solicitor-General's opinion on the table of the House.<sup>288</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

286. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 24 State Entry Road, New Delhi.

287. Letter to the Law Minister. PMO, File No. 2(377)/60-63-PMS, Sr. No. 23-A.

288. See also item 128.



**128. To A.K. Sen: Reports in Insurance Companies<sup>289</sup>**

April 27, 1963

My dear Asoke,

I have seen some of the papers in the file you sent me relating to the New Asiatic and Ruby General Insurance Companies. The Auditor's reports are very damaging indeed. These have already been placed apparently on the table of the House. It seems to me that the report of the Government Directors and the opinion of the Solicitor-General give some explanation of the charges of misuse of funds that have been made by the Chartered Accountants. I should imagine that both in the interests of the public as well as of the firms concerned, it would be desirable to place these papers on the table of the House. Not to do so is to leave the Auditors' report unchallenged and unexplained.

I would suggest, therefore, that such relevant papers as explain these transactions more fully should be placed on the table of the House. You might consult Morarjibhai<sup>290</sup> about them.

I find that there is a question addressed to me which will be put down on the 30th April. I should like to answer it. The question is: (a) whether I have received any representations from some Advocates of the Supreme Court stressing the need for placing before Parliament the opinions of the Solicitor-General in regard to the Auditors' reports about the New Asiatic Insurance Company and the Ruby General Insurance Company, and (b) if so, what reply, if any, I have given to this request. I have not sent a draft answer to this. I should like to do so soon, that is, at the latest, on the 29th. The answer will be a simple one if you decide to place the Solicitor-General's opinion on the table of the House.<sup>291</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

289. Letter to the Law Minister. PMO, File No. 2(377)/60-63-PMS, Sr. No. 28-A.

290. Morarji Desai, Finance Minister.

291. See also item 127.

**(f) Media**

**129. To B. Gopala Reddi: Radio Broadcasts Inaudible<sup>292</sup>**

February 2, 1963

My dear Gopala Reddi,

I enclose a letter from Dr Keskar.<sup>293</sup> I think there is force in what he says.

Complaints have come to me that our Delhi broadcasts are not properly audible even in places like Chandigarh much less further away. Can't something be done to improve this position. Chinese and Ceylon broadcasts are heard everywhere and much better than the Delhi broadcasts.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**130. To B. Gopala Reddi: AIR Broadcasts Inaudible in Qatar<sup>294</sup>**

February 5, 1963

My dear Gopala Reddi,

In a letter which I have received from an Indian at Qatar in the Arabian Gulf, the following paragraph occurs:

“AIR broadcasts seem to be very weak, especially the news broadcasts are inaudible and not clear, while Radio Pakistan and Peking Radio blasts off news and commentaries unfavourable to us. Since I am a regular listener, I can surely say and suggest that we install a powerful broadcasting station at Delhi.”

Something surely should be done to make the reception of our broadcasts clearly audible in these distant places.<sup>295</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

292. Letter to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

293. B.V. Keskar, former Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

294. Letter to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

295. See also item 129.



### 131. Taya Zinkin<sup>296</sup>

I have already seen Taya Zinkin's book and read some parts of it, especially those referring to me. When I first saw it, I wrote a note immediately to the External Affairs Ministry and copies of it were sent to our Ambassador in Cairo and our High Commissioner in Karachi.<sup>297</sup>

2. You should consult the Foreign Secretary as to what further we should say in denying any of the stories that have been put across there.

3. I do not think any special attention should be drawn to the maps. I suppose the map referred to is in the book by Welles Hangen.<sup>298</sup>

4. I am returning Taya Zinkin's book but am keeping the other one for the present.

### 132. In New Delhi: At the Press Institute<sup>299</sup>

Shri Sarkar<sup>300</sup> and friends,

I was not conscious, at any rate, not fully conscious, of the fact that I am supposed to address this meeting of this Press Institute. When I was invited to a seminar and I thought there would be a discussion I would hear, and others would participate in the discussion. Now here I find that the programme for today is addressed by the Prime Minister as if it is the main function of this morning's meeting. I have no great disinclination to address people, but a certain modesty prevents me sometimes from speaking about subjects I don't know very much about.

Of course, so far as the press is concerned nobody can be wholly ignorant of its existence, even though one might try to be sometimes. It is a thing which one has to live with and it is obvious that whether one likes it or not, to some extent it is a vital feature of today's world and a growing feature to some extent affected by other means of mass communication. But the press I think

296. Note, 15 February 1963. MEA, File No. XPP/302(2)/4/63, p. 7/note.

297. See rebuttal by PRO, Indian High Commission, Karachi, the *Dawn*, 13 February 1963; see also SWJN/SS/80/items 65, 67 and appendix 28.

298. Welles Hangen [an accredited correspondent of NBC at that time], *After Nehru Who?* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963).

299. Speech and Interview, 17 February 1963, at Seminar on "The Prospects for the Indian Press:1963-1973," at the India International Centre. PMO, File No. 43(197)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A. Compared with AIR Tapes, T.S.No.9319, 9320. NM.1762,1763.

300. Chanchal Sarkar (1926-2005); founder director of the Press Institute of India from 1963 to 1981.

will remain for a very considerable time to come, although even now, in India taken as a whole, I suppose verbal communication is still more important than the press. I am thinking of the masses of India, especially the villages, but that is gradually changing and the press is going down to the villages.

In your deliberations, you have said that it is likely to increase to ten million circulation or twelve million or twenty million. I am sure it will increase. I have often wondered why circulations of newspapers in India were so relatively small. This has nothing to do with literacy and the number of literates in India is vast. They may be small in comparison with the population of four hundred million. They run to tens and twenties of millions. Why is it so? I have often wondered.

I am, of course, not for the moment talking of the English educated persons, the English knowing persons but others. The literate public in India is vast today, far greater than the newspaper reading public. Why is it that even so circulations are relatively limited compared to, what shall I say, Cairo? The newspapers in Cairo have about ten times circulation, more than ten times the biggest in India. I am now not referring to English newspapers but Indian language newspapers.

So far as Hindi is concerned, I am convinced the fault lies with the people who run the papers, the people who write in them. That is, they do not use a language which is easily comprehensible to the average Hindi speaking person. They tend to write, well, for specially academics to show off that they are very learned people, they know longer words than others with the result that they have twisted it often. In a village, in my own house, Hindi language papers come; there, most of the people employed by me, domestic servants, read them. They come to me. "What is this? What is that? We don't understand it. Why can't they write what we can understand?" Whenever one speaks, I don't know, I don't think that is so in Bengali or Marathi or Tamil, I do not know, certainly I don't, but Hindi is peculiarly susceptible to this kind of difference between what is written in it and what is capable of being read easily. I don't pretend to be a test of that, but I have found other people who only know Hindi and read Hindi newspapers, common folk, complaining to me repeatedly that they do not understand what is written, fully.

You have to deal here—and as the newspaper reading public grows—with people, who especially require whatever the language used, a simple language. Suppose these neo-literates come into the field and they are bound to come in, and they are coming, you can't use difficult language for them. You have to use simple words, possibly even printed in a particular way, in type, and display etc., which is agreeable to the neo literate. And you are going to face that problem in a very big way in India. Today, I think, there are about 51 million boys and girls in schools in India. Anyhow some months ago, it was 50½ and I add half



a million—must have increased by that. This number is growing fast and no doubt those people if they grow will acquire the habit of reading newspapers.

There can be no doubt, it is not a matter for any argument that the newspaper reading public in India will grow fast. It is true, it will grow much faster in the Indian languages, naturally. I think the English newspaper reading public will also grow though not so fast as the others. Gradually the emphasis will shift to the Indian language newspapers and that is to be expected as the right thing. If you think now of the problem which this growth will bring to the newspapers, it is right that you should discuss them and think about them so that to some extent at any rate, we might be prepared to face them.

I saw in the notes that were sent to me, some discussion that had taken place about, I think, monopoly in journalism and among newspapers and like subjects. I don't quite know what your discussion was, but it is obviously a very important subject. And while it is completely right, I think I fully agree with it for newspapers, for what is called the freedom of the press to subsist and to be encouraged, but the freedom of the press has certain other aspects too. Freedom of the press usually means non-interference by government. There is such a thing as interference by private interests, by limited private interests, by the individual or the group, that owns the press.

I am unable to understand how a small group represents the freedom of the press although he may not be interfered with by government or anything. But surely the power of money itself is a very important element which interferes with freedom and so many other things. Certainly, have freedom and teach, as Dr Deshmukh<sup>301</sup> said, the responsibilities that come from freedom. I believe in Japan, I don't know, perhaps you know better, there are certain qualifications which must be reached by any budding journalist. Otherwise, he cannot be a journalist. I don't think there is a law or convention to this effect, but they have to do that. Here, any person, whose intellectual or any qualification may be slightly over zero, becomes a journalist, sometimes. It is extra ordinary. There are very able journalists, of course. There has to be by convention or by rule, I don't know, some effort to raise the standards of those who come in, because they pull down the good people. That is essential.

But apart from this, there is the question of monopoly in journalism. That is not an Indian question merely. In England, gradually, the so-called independent newspapers are disappearing. A few great national dailies are eating up everything else. One or two major proprietors are themselves buying up all the journalists. Whether that is good or bad, it is for you to judge, but naturally the real freedom of thinking and expression of thought is limited by

301. C.D. Deshmukh, President of the India International Centre.

it. It is not government only that limits it, but other facts. If one person owns all the major newspapers, well, naturally, he will see to it that his views are expressed and contrary views are not expressed in a way that he dislikes. The man may be a good man—since there is no question of an individual—but it is obvious that freedom of the press can't easily subsist where there is monopoly. Where there are chain newspapers, the same thing appears everywhere and gives the impression that large numbers of people, intelligent people, hold a certain opinion, while it may be the opinion of just the individual who writes, who does not represent anybody but himself. He may influence others, certainly, but it is a misleading phenomenon brought out by a concentration of money.

Now, another thing. A newspaper is a big thing, big concern, big industry by itself. But in India, we have the interesting fact that the newspaper is not an industry by itself, but it is owned by industry, which is a different thing. *The New York Times* is a mighty newspaper, a great newspaper. By itself it is a great newspaper, and because it is a great newspaper, it is a great industry too. But it is by itself. It is not owned by some other industry except so far as you might say that advertisers influence some newspapers. That is a different matter. Here the system has grown up of big industries owning newspapers. They may or may not interfere with it. They may be good people. That is not the point. But it is a fact, the fact of a big industry by itself owning a newspaper and owning a chain of newspapers, cannot be said to give them the kind of freedom which an independent editor has or the public should expect of it.

A question, which I think was considered by our Press Commission some years ago, was how to encourage independent newspapers.<sup>302</sup> I forget what they exactly suggested. They made various suggestions but the problem remains today and in fact it becomes more and more acute. I have no solutions to suggest for the problems that are before us. I am merely throwing out some ideas for your consideration. It is obvious that we must deal with the press or consider the press as a vital element in the modern structure of society. And if it is a vital element, it should be conducted as well as possible.

Among the attributes that it should have is freedom, but freedom must go together with responsibility, knowledge etc. It is not reasonable to assume that a man who has a large sum of money is either intelligent or responsible. Yet, unfortunately, the large sum of money often controls a newspaper, as it may control other things. So, these difficulties arise. If a newspaper becomes just a way of expressing the views of a group, then it ceases to be an independent newspaper in the real sense of the word. Not that I have any objection to group views being accepted. But what I mean is that the mass circulation newspapers,

302. By the first Press Commission (1952-54) under J. S. Rajadhyakhsa.



they represent the views of a limited number, but create the impression, because they are mass circulations, of representing large numbers of people. I remember, soon after the last general election, an eminent proprietor of one of the biggest newspaper chains in India, said to me: “We have come to realise that our newspapers have less influence than we thought”, because they have been supporting some candidates very vigorously who lost all along the line. [Laughter]. A newspaper today is seldom taken in for its views, for the news it represents, and others. It mistakes this for the fact that its views are being accepted by the public because it sees a large number of copies being sold.

I do not know how the public forms its opinion although I have had a good deal to do with masses of human beings. I suppose, however that may be, the newspaper has a certain effect, apart from the views it has, it has a greater effect on the presentation of news. And if the presentation of news is not quite fair, well, the views formed by others will also be slightly distorted. It can always be done—the suppression of news, not publishing something. You can’t publish everything you have, you have to make a choice. How you make a choice is very important and it is pretty obvious sometimes the choice is not fairly made or objectively, impartially made. It is meant to encourage one set opinions and discourage another. All these problems arise and I do not know how you can deal with them, because they really mean that people who control newspapers, partly and chiefly editors, have to be of the highest quality. And highest quality people are lacking in every department of life. So, it is all very well what I suggested, for you to have diplomas of journalism which every budding journalist should get before he can join it. That is a good start but whether he grows up to be an exceptional person or not, no diploma will ensure that. But it is becoming a very highly responsible job—editorship of a great newspaper requiring a great deal of intellectual, not only the knowledge of how to run a newspaper, but a great deal of intellectual understanding as the world becomes a little more and more complicated. And on the one hand, to have an editor who has no firm views of his own, he may have certain inclinations—that is very unsatisfactory. On the other hand, an editor whose views are so firm, he does not see anything else, is equally unsatisfactory. I don’t quite know how you draw the line between the two.

Nowadays, of course, there is a tendency for the editor rather to fade out from the picture. He is an unknown individual, nobody quite knows who he is, what he is like. In the olden days he was very much known as an individual, as a person. He had a certain individuality in every sentence of his writing. Now this anonymity is creeping in. Perhaps it is as well. So many of these problems arise from the development of mass media of communications whatever they may be, whether it is radio or anything else. Take radio broadcasting. Personally,

I react strongly if an advertisement comes to the radio. My reaction is never to encourage that advertiser. What does he mean when interfering with my peace of mind? It angers me when it suddenly comes in, it upsets me. But that is not the normal reaction of most others, I suppose. Otherwise why should advertisers advertise. They don't advertise to create bad reaction in individuals. Surely, they will stop peacefully. It is a difficult thing.

Modern, well stories, fiction, etc., dealing with the future, these are curious problems of mass media of communication. How they can distort and mould people's minds and sometimes mould them in a completely wrong direction because it is too much to expect that a means like the press or radio will always be controlled and used by good people moved by the highest motives. Obviously, that does not happen in this world. A weapon, or power can be used for good or for evil. It depends on the person using it. A pocket knife is a very useful thing to have. It can also cut a throat. You don't discard a pocket knife because of that. You will use it for right purposes but the difficulty is when the pocket knife becomes an atom bomb which has vast potentialities of destruction and ultimately, you come back to the human being who controls the atom bomb. How would you train a person who can easily control the atom bomb, not to be swept away by passion or prejudice? It is a frightfully difficult thing. You have to take the risk as best you can. So, with the press too. It is a power today, it will become a greater power and you may make rules and regulations so that you check malpractices and encourage good practices in it; you may see to it that good people run it; you may lay down some standards of training and all that. But ultimately, especially in the higher ranks of the paper you can't very well produce the ideal editor or the ideal man—you have to take the risk. Perhaps in a sense, it is a good thing to take risks, you have to take risks because otherwise life will be too dull.

Well, I have absolutely no idea if I have said anything to you which is interesting or worthwhile. But having been taken rather unawares anyhow, asked to speak on a subject about which I do not know too much. The only thing I know, I sometimes react very well to it, sometimes I react in an irritated way to it. But that is not a qualification to enable me to speak about it. Anyhow I am quite sure that a seminar which the Press Institute has held is a good thing. The subjects are important and the more we think about them, the better it is to fashion ourselves to some extent through this process of mutual consultation, decision etc. and therefore, although I don't know very much of what your seminar has done, in spite of the fact that I have read a brief typed note about it, I congratulate the Press Institute for having this Seminar and hope you and others will profit by it [Applause].



Question: On the question of monopoly, in the seminar we had two contrary views expressed. One was that the growth of chains and multiple units and groups is already threatening the freedom of the Indian Press and should be curbed, because according to the Press Registrar these groups control a fairly large proportion of the circulation of daily newspapers today. The contrary view was that the Indian Press has only scratched the surface of the reading public and if any restrictive measures are applied now to hobble the Press, then the Press will not be able to grow. So, at the present time things should be left clear and free and any thought of restrictions or anything of that kind or control or guidance should come much later. What you have to say to that now, Sir?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am rather surprised at the question because to a slight extent I have hinted my views about it as I have spoken. The argument that these monopolies and chains etc. should be continued, should grow because that is to the interest of the Press and in the interest of the people, hardly seems to me to have the slightest justification. The real argument is: if it is a good thing, then it should grow. If it is a bad thing, it should not grow. That is the real thing. Does it do good to the larger public or other points of view, then it should be encouraged. If it does harm, then it should not be encouraged. You do not allow a thing to grow merely because the growth is good. Growth is not good by itself. Growth in the right direction is good. Growth of the right thing is good. I do not know how one can stop this. I believe in freedom of the Press, an atmosphere which encourages that freedom. I do not think the chain newspapers atmosphere encourages freedom of the Press or freedom of the individual who writes in the Press.

Question: In view of the Law Minister's<sup>303</sup> tribute to the conduct of the press during the Emergency and also due to the fact that the Emergency is no longer in evidence as before, has there been a case for consideration of the manner in which Defence of India Rules are being administered so far as the Press is concerned?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This subject can really only be discussed if you have specific instances. The mere philosophy of it may be discussed this way or that way. It does not take you very far because the Defence of India Rules have been framed—I have not got them in my mind now—not for the Press but for a certain situation. Some people say that the Emergency should not be kept

303. Asoke Sen.

up. Those very persons say that people are forgetting that we are faced with a menace. I don't understand that. If suppose Government puts an end to this state of Emergency, that will be an indication to all concerned in India and outside that we have become complacent, there is no trouble to face – a most dangerous situation to create of our own volition because it is not safe, the situation. Anything may happen at any time. Actually, fighting may not take place on our borders or elsewhere.

So, it is very difficult thing for those rules affecting the emergency to be set aside. If that is so, are we to make a special niche for the Press and say everybody else must behave, Press can do what it likes. It is rather difficult. It is one thing – I am talking about the rules affecting them—it is another thing to apply them very little or not to apply them at all. It is a different matter, the question of application comes in. But actually, to say that all these rules made for the ordinary citizen do not apply to the Press seems odd to me, as if they are not ordinary citizens but some superior, unusual type of citizens because why, because of the freedom of the press, and why, because an editor or a proprietor does not like it. I don't have such a high regard for a proprietor of a newspaper to make him symbolic of the freedom of the press, or the editor even. I think we get rather lost in certain phrases which have no meaning when applied to particular circumstances. So, I do not know what the Law Minister said here. I am prepared to agree with Mr Shiva Rao<sup>304</sup> when he paid tribute to the press. That tribute I think is well deserved. But there are exceptions which are horrible exceptions, disgraceful exceptions and there is no reason why we should deal leniently with those exceptions. Remember both sides of the picture and in a state like this when something may create a bad reaction, bad effect, it may lead to a riot, to all kinds of things. It has even more far reaching consequences than, if I may say so, a peacetime riot. Not that a riot is good at any time. One has to balance all these things, not go by some rule of thumb or maxim. We cannot afford to do that when serious issues are at stake.

Question: The view from the journalists present, was that without the codification of the privileges of Legislatures, and more particularly State Legislatures, it was very difficult for the press to function. The legal view was a little different. They thought the present uncertain situation should continue.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult for me to deal with this inquiry. I suppose from the point of view of the Press, it would be better for them to know exactly what

304. Journalist, labour leader and former MP.



they can do and what they cannot do. On the other hand, my own inclination is to prefer convention, strict rules of law. A convention is as good if it is well established. The difficulty only comes in where the convention itself is not well established and there is doubt in the mind of the editor and others. As far as I know, no great trouble has arisen because of this slight vagueness though there were one or two cases recently. But once you start codifying it, it becomes very difficult to do so. You become rather rigid and then judge, interpret it, in that rigid way. So, I really am unable to answer the question except to say that my inclination is to let conventions grow.

Question: A seller's market has been created by Government's failure to make available sufficient supply of newsprint and printing machinery. That prevents growth of the press and the incidental effect of the monopoly of those who have. Will the Government consider the question of helping the growth of the Press by adequate supply of newsprint and import of printing machinery?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Vaguely, we feel, well, friendly to the press, want it to grow. I am not aware of any precise plans made to that end.

Question: What would be your reaction to some kind of Anti-Trust Laws to separate the big industry from newspaper ownership?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not exactly know what the Anti-Trust Laws are in so far as newspapers are concerned. So, I cannot give an answer to that question, but it is deserving of consideration, enquiry, what should be done about it.

### 133. In the Rajya Sabha: Press Advisory Committee<sup>305</sup>

A.D. Mani<sup>306</sup>: Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether it is a fact that a Central Press Advisory Committee was recently constituted with the help of the AINEC<sup>307</sup>;
- (b) If so, what is the basis on which this committee was constituted; and

305. Oral Answns, 19 February 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Volume XLII, Nos. I-II, 18th February to 4th March 1963, pp.70-75.

306. Independent.

307. All India Newspaper Editors' Conference

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

(c) Whether it is still in existence?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr B. Gopala Reddi):

(a) and (b) Government have constituted no such Committee. A Central Press Advisory Committee was however, set up by the President of the All India Newspapers Editors' Conference.

(c) No, Sir.

A.D. Mani: Is it the procedure for Government to submit all cases of offences on the part of newspapers to such Committees for advisory opinion? On what basis were the four cases referred to this Committee last time?

Sham Nath<sup>308</sup>: Some of the objectionable writings were submitted to this Committee for their opinion. Because we thought that they were objectionable, were not in good taste and were not conducive to the maintenance of morale; therefore, they were referred to this Committee.

A.D. Mani: Am I to take it that this Committee was constituted by the AINEC in collaboration with Government?

Sham Nath: No, Sir, they constituted that Committee by a resolution, and later on informed us that the Committee had been constituted consisting of such and such persons.

A.D. Mani: Did Government consult the Federation of Working Journalists regarding their assistance in the matter of exercising their influence about offensive writings?

Sham Nath: No, Sir.

M.H. Samuel<sup>309</sup>: Was this Committee set up on the advice or at the instance of the Government?

Sham Nath: Yes, Sir. This Committee was set up on the advice of the Government.

308. Deputy Minister, I&B.

309. Congress.



M.H. Samuel: Then in what circumstances did the AINEC cancel this Committee?

Sham Nath: An allegation was made that this Committee was not constituted in a regular manner.

M.H. Samuel: Is Government satisfied with the statement that it was not constituted under regular procedure?

B. Gopala Reddi<sup>310</sup>: We have nothing to do with it. It is an internal matter. Some people did not like the composition of the Committee and then they withdrew their support to the constitution of the Committee.

A.D. Mani: The hon. Deputy Minister said earlier that this Committee was constituted by the AINEC and that the Government has nothing to do with it in the form of collaboration. Now he has amended his answer saying that this Committee was constituted on the advice of the Government. So, I want to know the truth of the matter. When did the advice emanate, who asked for advice and on what basis this Committee was constituted?

B. Gopala Reddi: We wanted to consult this Advisory Committee. Then we threw a suggestion to them that they might be willing to constitute it. We were anxious to take them into confidence and they were willing to do it. They got a resolution passed and they constituted a Committee. We are not responsible for the composition of the Committee.

Faridul Haq Ansari: May I know whether there is any representative of the Working Journalists on this Committee?

B. Gopala Reddi: I think there are.

Bhupesh Gupta<sup>311</sup>: The hon. Minister said that certain objectionable matters are referred to or are sent to this particular Committee. May I know in the first place who makes the selection of such matters that should be sent to the Advisory Committee and whether in this connection certain writings appeared in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* in which even Vinobaji was attacked very scurrilously – our Prime Minister is always attacked – I leave that out

310. Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

311. CPI.

for reasons of embarrassment, but Vinobaji was attacked very scurrilously in the writings of *Anand Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta—and certain other writings appeared provoking people to take the law in their own hands. May I know whether such things are also sent to the Advisory Committee? If so, what is the opinion they have given with regard to such writings which are done right and left, apart from the Prime Minister, about Vinobaji and others?

B. Gopala Reddi: It is only with regard to the Defence of India Rules that scrutiny is made in all the newspapers. If it prima facie constitutes an offence under the Defence of India Rules, then the matter is taken up before the Advisory Committee.

Bhupesh Gupta: Is it not a fact that such writings as I have mentioned—provoking people to commit violence, rousing people against Vinobaji, calling him names, asking people to fight against whatever good policies are pursued by Government like the policy of non-alignment—do these constitute something which comes within the mischief of the Defence of India Rules? If so, why are the authorities responsible for referring this matter to the Advisory Committee not seized of such writings, and why are they not referring the same to the Advisory Committee?

B. Gopala Reddi: I am not personally quite aware of the writings inciting people to violence and things like that in any *Patrika* in Calcutta.

Bhupesh Gupta: Is it not a fact that the whole matter had been brought to the notice, I think, also of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and was also referred to in the other House by members of the Opposition belonging to our party? If so, why are these things not being placed before the Press Advisory Committee to get the matters examined, if necessary, by calling witnesses to explain these things?

B. Gopala Reddi: I am not aware what representations were made to the Prime Minister or to the Home Minister. But when it constitutes an offence under the Defence of India Rules, when it impedes the war effort, these matters are taken up.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The matter was referred to in the other House in the course of the debate and some articles were pointed out as appearing in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* which I thought were highly improper and highly undesirable. I said so publicly and drew the attention of the West Bengal Government to



them.<sup>312</sup> I do not know what the Committee has done or not done. Those articles are there, and I agree with the hon. Member that they are exceedingly improper.

Bhupesh Gupta: I am not complaining against the Prime Minister. I noted that he had made a statement. But when these matters have been brought to the notice of the Government when directly and indirectly the Prime Minister has commented upon them, may I know why such things are not being sent to the Press Advisory Committee, and how is it that the Minister of Information and Broadcasting does not have this simple information about such scurrilous and provocative writings?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Prime Minister referring to something in public, in the Lok Sabha is quite enough notice to the Committee and I know the Committee got notice because we discussed with them.

Bhupesh Gupta: What the Prime Minister has said is clear. According to him—it seems at least he is satisfied that the Committee has got notice of it. How is it that when the hon. Minister was replying to it, he pleaded that he did not have any such knowledge of the subject? Then Sir, who is responsible at the ministerial level for dealing with such a matter, the Prime Minister or the Minister in charge?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The matter was dealt with by the West Bengal Government to whom a reference was made by me. The Minister in charge could not answer by himself. I do not see what more is necessary.

A.B. Vajpayee<sup>313</sup>: Are we to understand that any criticism of Acharya Vinoba Bhave or even the hon. Prime Minister is actionable under the Defence of India Rules?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That depends on the nature of the criticism, on the nature whether it is merely personal or whether it affects any larger issue or many other things. Some criticisms are made...

Bhupesh Gupta: Sir...

312. See item 460.

313. Jana Sangh.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am speaking, Sir. There is no doubt that advantage has been taken by some newspapers in the guise of some personal criticism to attack basic things which affect the Defence of India or other matters. And these articles to which reference is made were—I cannot precisely say how far they affected the Defence of India or anything—highly improper, indecent and objectionable.

A.B. Vajpayee: Why should the Defence of India Rules be invoked to muffle the freedom of the press?

Chairman: The Question Hour is over.

### 134 To R.K. Sharma: Welcome to *Prayag Patrika Daily*<sup>314</sup>

February 21, 1963

Dear Shri Sharma,

I have your letter of February 15 from which I learn that a Hindi daily called *Prayag Patrika* is being issued by a cooperative society and this has been coming out for the last three years. I am surprised to learn of this as I had not heard of it previously during these three years.

As I have not seen this paper at all, I can hardly express any opinion about it. But I like the idea of a cooperative society organising this Hindi daily, and as such, you have my good wishes.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 135. To K.P. Kesava Menon: Play on Partition<sup>315</sup>

February 25, 1963

My dear Kesava Menon,

I have your letter of February 19th.

The subject of your play is a most interesting one. It is difficult for me to express any opinion about the play or about the scenes in which I am supposed to appear.

314. Letter to the General Manager of the *Prayag Patrika*, 6-B Master Zaharul Hasan Road, Allahabad.

315. Letter to the Chief Editor of the *Mathrubhumi*, Calicut 1.



I have no particular recollection of a discussion about the partition of India in Delhi in 1947, in which, apart from Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad and I participated.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 136. In the Rajya Sabha: *Ananda Bazar Patrika*<sup>316</sup>

Bhupesh Gupta:<sup>317</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the answers to supplementary questions put on Starred Question No. 20 in the Rajya Sabha on February 19, 1963 and state:

- (a) Whether he has been informed of any steps being taken by the State Government of West Bengal against the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, for publishing certain objectionable writings in that paper; and
- (b) If so, the nature of the steps taken?

The Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). The Prime Minister had drawn the attention of the Chief Minister of West Bengal to certain articles in the press which he considered objectionable. It appears that the Chief Minister sent for the editors of some newspapers and told them that these articles were considered objectionable.<sup>318</sup> Thereupon, the editors concerned expressed their regret and gave an indication that they will avoid the publication of such articles.

Bhupesh Gupta: I was in Calcutta last week. I went to the Assembly and found out that no step had been taken. I do not say that the Chief Minister told me—I met him—but some other people told me. May I know why this particular case was treated in this manner especially when this was mentioned by the Prime Minister in his letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal? We find that even under the Central Government, in Tripura, while when a paper called *The Tripura Katha* published a letter to the editor in which the Tripura Congress President was criticised for making a speech,

316. Oral Answers, 5 March 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Volume. XLII, Nos. 12-22, 5th to 20th March, 1963, pp. 1761-1765.

317. CPI.

318. See item 460.

immediately the paper was asked to make a deposit of Rs 3,000 within two days. In this particular case, when so many objectionable writings were appearing from time to time, the State Government could do no more than call him and ask him to express his regret or some such thing. Why is this favourable discriminatory treatment being meted out in this matter?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In these matters, we are guided by the State Government as to what action should be taken. I do not know about the Tripura matter. Tripura is a Union territory. Therefore, the Union Government took action.

Bhupesh Gupta: That is why I put this question because, as far as the Union Government is concerned, the Prime Minister came into the picture when he wrote that letter. Nothing objectionable was written by *The Tripura Katha*, the paper of our party. It can be proved. It published nothing objectionable; I can prove it. It only published a letter to the editor in which the President of the Tripura Congress Committee was criticised for inciting some people against the tribals. Within two days, a sum of Rs 3000 was asked by the Central Government to be deposited under the Defence of India Rules. You did not invite the editor and ask him to explain. When such is the policy with regard to the parties of Opposition like our party, why should the Chief Minister not have acted under the Defence of India Rules in this particular case and why did he leave the matter at that?

Chairman: The Prime Minister has already replied.

Bhupesh Gupta: No.

Chairman: He has replied.

Bhupesh Gupta: The Prime Minister's goodness should not always be exploited by everybody in the country.

An Hon. Member: Including the Communists.

Bhupesh Gupta: Blame us if we are to blame. As you know, Sir, the articles were most scurrilous. A cartoon appeared displaying the Prime Minister. Mrs. Bandaranaike was attacked, Acharya Vinoba Bhave was attacked, the Prime Minister was attacked. The Prime Minister was called garrulous and various other things. I would like to know whether these things come under the Defence of India Rules according to the standard set by the Government



in the case of Tripura. If they come under the Defence of India Rules, why was not action taken in the matter when 117 Communists in West Bengal were detained without trial under those Rules and another 500 people are also detained? Why do you have this thing? It is a serious matter.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member is somewhat worked up. But I have already given the answer. Attention was drawn of the State Government and the State Government took such action as they thought proper.

Bhupesh Gupta: Has the Prime Minister's attention been drawn to a photograph published in *The Hindustan Standard* of 17th February, 1963 owned by the same owner of *The Ananda Bazar Patrika* in which the Minister of Information and Broadcasting is shown as being feted by the owner of *The Ananda Bazar Patrika* and the editor of that paper. Sir, these are the standards. I say this thing.

Chairman: What is wrong in it that you wish to bring out?

Dahyabhai V. Patel:<sup>319</sup> On a point of order. This goes far beyond the scope of the question which relates to *The Ananda Bazar Patrika*.

Bhupesh Gupta: This *Ananda Bazar Patrika* is owned by the owner of *The Hindustan Standard*.

Chairman: I know.

Bhupesh Gupta: You know very well. In view of this kind of thing, why should they not come under "obscene literature?" I ask why was not action taken for the cartoon that was published of the Prime Minister.

Chairman: I think you have finished. You have got a reply.

Bhupesh Gupta: I have got another question. The Defence of India Rules are meant for the Communists only.

Chairman: No, no.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Bhupesh Gupta: It seems so. Nine hundred of our people are detained. In West Bengal, there are 700. Sir, it is meant for us. Why was not action taken against the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* for publishing a vulgar, insulting cartoon about the Prime Minister? I say, I have uttered these words; I could have said very many things. I am a very modest man in such matters.

A.B. Vajpayee:<sup>320</sup> May I know whether the articles objected to by the hon. Prime Minister include four articles published in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* in which Acharya Vinoba Bhave was criticised for describing the Chinese as being generous when they withdrew their forces from NEFA and if so, is it a crime to criticise Acharya Vinoba Bhave when he indulges in politics?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, it is not the time for me to discuss Acharya Vinoba Bhave's views or how he expressed them. I do not particularly remember any such article about him or what he said, but the criticism of Acharya Vinoba Bhave went beyond all reasonable limits or decency.

### 137. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Advertisements for *Nagpur Times*<sup>321</sup>

March 18, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I enclose a letter from Dr M.B. Niyogi who is the Chairman of the *Nagpur Times* Trust. In view of what he has written, I do not think advertisements should be stopped from being sent to the *Nagpur Times*.

As for the second matter he writes about, you might perhaps refer this to Gopala Reddi.<sup>322</sup> I think what Niyogi writes is worth consideration.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

320. Jana Sangh.

321. Letter to the Home Minister. PMO, File No. 43(216)/64-70-PMS, Sr. No. 1-A.

322. Minister of Information and Broadcasting.



**138. To M.B. Niyogi: Advertisements for *Nagpur Times*<sup>323</sup>**

March 18, 1963

Dear Dr Niyogi,

I have your letter of the 16th March. I do not know anything about advertisements having been stopped from being sent to the *Nagpur Times*. I am, therefore, sending your letter to the Home Minister who will, no doubt, look into this matter. I am going to Bombay soon for two or three days.

I would be glad to see Shri A.G. Sheorey,<sup>324</sup> but for the next two weeks or so I am heavily occupied and may not find the time.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**139. To B. Gopala Reddi: No Disinformation<sup>325</sup>**

March 19, 1963

My dear Gopala Reddi,

I enclose a letter in which it is said that you have been stating that the Emergency is over, also that you are in favour of commercialising our broadcasting system. I am much surprised to read this as the Emergency is certainly not over and will not be over for a considerable time. We are living continually under the menace of Chinese attacks. As for broadcasting being made commercial, it is our definite policy not to do so.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

323. Letter to the Chairman of the *Nagpur Times* Trust. PMO, File No. 43(216)/64-70-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

324. Manager, *Nagpur Times*.

325. Letter to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting. PMO, File No. 43(192)/62-65-PMS, Sr. No. 36-A.

**140. To E. Narayanan: Message for *Patriot*<sup>326</sup>**

March 28, 1963

Dear Narayanan,

Your letter of March 26, I am sending a message for *Patriot*.<sup>327</sup>

If any of you wish to come to my house on Saturday, March 30, I suggest that you might come at about 9 o'clock in the morning.

Yours sincerely,  
J. Nehru

**141. Welcoming the *Patriot*<sup>328</sup>**

The appearance of a new daily newspaper in English in Delhi is an event of some significance. To start a daily newspaper nowadays requires a great deal of resources, much courage and hard work. The tendency for newspapers to become big industries is evident everywhere. Also, the tendency for big combines and chains to develop.

It is desirable, as the Press Commission pointed out, that every encouragement should be given to a variety of newspapers which can represent a variety of views. Freedom of the press is certainly desirable, and I believe in it. But if the press represents one kind of views and develops some kind of a monopoly, then that freedom itself is affected.

I, therefore, welcome the appearance of a new daily which promises to be somewhat different from the others and is not affiliated to any particular interest. It is not necessary for one to agree with all that it says, but it is necessary, I think, for these different views to find full expression so that the public generally have the opportunity of judge for themselves.

I welcome, therefore, the appearance of *Patriot* as an addition to the daily newspapers of Delhi.<sup>329</sup>

326. Letter to the Editor of *Patriot*. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 13-A.

327. See item 141.

328. Message, 28 March 1963. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. Nil.

329. See also item 140.



**142. To K.C. Reddy: Nagpur Times Trust<sup>330</sup>**

March 30, 1963

My dear Reddy,

A.G. Sheorey who, I believe is the Manager of the *Nagpur Times*, came to see me and gave me a long story about a trust having been created by the *Nagpur Times*. This was more or less in accordance with the recommendation of the Press Commission, and was done by the Commerce and Industry Ministry. Recently, or last year, the Commerce and Industry Ministry apparently decided that they should not have this trust.

I do not know anything about this matter except what he told me. Prima facie, a trust appears to be a good idea. Will you perhaps consider this matter?<sup>331</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**143. To N.M.R. Subbaraman: Stopping Programmes Abroad<sup>332</sup>**

April 2, 1963

My dear Subbaraman,

Your letter of March 29. I do not know anything about the matter you have referred to. I am enquiring from Shri Jagjivan Ram and Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

330. Letter to the Minister of Commerce and Industry. PMO, File No. 43/216/64-70-PMS, Sr. No. 5-A.

331. K.C. Reddy's reply of 5 April: "I am writing this with reference to your letter dated the 30th March, 1963 regarding the representation made to you by Shri A.G. Sheoray of *Nagpur Times*. I enclose a note which explains the position. I would particularly draw your attention to paras 3 and 4 of the note which will show that although the managing agency of the newspaper company had been transferred to a 'Trust' some years ago, the real beneficiaries of the Trust continued to be Shri Sheorey and others connected with the old managing agents. Indeed, the Ministry of Law had examined the Trust deed some time ago at our instance and found that the three Trustees, eminent individuals as they were, hardly exercised any effective supervision over the management of the company. In any case, Shri Sheorey has taken the matter to the Court and the case is expected to come up for hearing shortly. We have, therefore, to await the decision of the Court." PMO, File No. 43/216/64-70-PMS, Sr. No. 7-A.

332. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 33 South Avenue, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 43(202)/63-PMS, Sr. No. 1-A.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I do not see how we can stop any programme from being exhibited abroad.<sup>333</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **144. To Jagjivan Ram: American TV Programme on India<sup>334</sup>**

April 2, 1963

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

One of our MPs<sup>335</sup> sent notice to the Speaker under Rule 197 and asked for a statement by me. He has said:

“An American TV Corporation broadcast in America a programme in which our country has been maligned. It seems that the Union Minister Shri Jagjivan Ram and Shri Ananthasayanam Iyyangar, Governor of Bihar have appeared and two MPs have taken important parts in the programme.

What are the measures taken by Government to prevent further exhibiting the programme.”

333. The subject listing on the file reads: “Television programme maligning India, broadcast by an American TV Corporation.” See item 144.

334. Letter to the Minister of Transport and Communications. PMO, File No. 43(202)/63-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

335. See item 143.



The Speaker is apparently not admitting this Calling Attention Notice. Nevertheless, I should like to know what all this is about.<sup>336</sup> I know nothing of it. Do you know anything about this matter? I suppose you took part in it.<sup>337</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 145. To N.J. Nanporia: Press Freedom<sup>338</sup>

April 16, 1963

Dear Shri Nanporia,

I have your letter of April 15 and the long article that you have sent. I have read the article and tried to appreciate your viewpoint. With much in the article I would be inclined to agree. But you seem to forget that when I occasionally refer to the press, I may not be referring to all the bigger organs of the press, but rather to the considerable number of weeklies and others, not only in English but in the Indian languages. When recently I spoke in the AICC, I had particularly some of these latter periodicals in view.

I do believe in the freedom of the press. But the question arises as to whose freedom we seek to protect. You will remember a long discussion on this subject in the Press Commission's Report. Also, the argument that frequently goes on in England and America and possibly some other countries also. I think that modern technology has made the press into a huge industry. Those who control this industry often have an effect on its policy. In India especially the

336. For reply, see appendix 51.

337. Nehru addressed an almost identical letter the same day to Anantasayanam Ayyangar, the Governor of Bihar, about his having spoken on American television; the reply of 5 April 1963 contained the following:

“Sometime ago, an American journalist came and asked me for my views on the origin of the caste system and its working. I remember to have told him that the caste system was intended to be a functional division of the society, that the system afforded opportunities for specialisation in the necessary social services and that it was calculated to provide employment by avoiding competition and struggle for existence which are the laws of the jungle life.

I do not pose for any television programme. I did not know that Shri Jagjivan Ram or any others had been approached by the journalist.” PMO, File No. 43(202)/63-PMS, Sr. No. 6-A.

338. Letter to the Editor of the *Times of India*. PMO, File No. 43(177)/61-64-PMS, Sr. No. 27-A.

major papers are not only industries in themselves, but are controlled by big industries. This is not a healthy development.

I am sorry I have no time to write to you at length about the many matters that you have referred to in your letter. But I appreciate your writing to me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**(g) Official Language**

**146. To Ram Sewak Yadav: President's Address<sup>339</sup>**

16 फरवरी, 1963  
27 माघ, 1884 शक

प्रिय राम सेवक जी,

आपका 16 फरवरी का पत्र मुझे मिला।

जहां तक मुझे मालूम है, राष्ट्रपति जी का भाषण संसद के अधिवेशन में अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी दोनों में होगा। अंग्रेजी का भाषण वे खुद पढ़ेंगे और हिन्दी का भाषण उपराष्ट्रपति जी पढ़ कर सुनायेंगे।

जहां यह मुमकिन हो वहां अच्छा है कि पहले हिन्दी में भाषण हो और अंग्रेजी में। मेरा ख्याल है कि प्रारम्भ में पहले अंग्रेजी में भाषण पढ़ा जाता था फिर हिन्दी में। बाद में हिन्दी को पहले पढ़ा गया। यह बात राष्ट्रपति जी खुद ही निश्चय कर सकते हैं।

आपका  
[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:

16 February 1963

Dear Ram Sewak Ji,

Received your letter of 16 February.

As far as I know, the President's address to the joint session would be delivered in both English and Hindi. The English speech would be read by him and the Hindi one by the Vice President.

Wherever it is possible, it is better to have the Hindi speech first and then the English one. I think in the beginning the English speech was read first and

339. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Socialist; 16 February 1963.



then the Hindi one. Later, the Hindi speech was read first. This thing could be decided by the President himself.

Yours,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends]

### **147. To S. Radhakrishnan: Demand for President's Address in Hindi<sup>340</sup>**

16 February 1963

My dear President,

I have received a copy of a letter which Shri Ram Sewak Yadav, MP, has written to you. This refers to the reading of the President's address at the joint meeting of Members of Parliament. He wants the Hindi address to be read first.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav is a member of the Socialist Party and, as you perhaps know, he has given a lot of trouble to Parliament and to the Speaker by his constant interruptions.<sup>341</sup>

I have replied to him to say that the address will be read before the joint session both in English and Hindi. As far as I remember, during the earlier years, it was first read in English and then in Hindi. Later, the Hindi one was first read. This is a matter of convenience and for the President to decide. I have further said that the President would read it in English and the Vice-President in Hindi.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

340. Letter to the President. President's Secretariat, File No. 5(5)/63, p.1

341. See also items 12 [paragraphs 1-3, 8-11], 11, sections [Misbehaviour in Parliament], [Misconduct in Parliament], [Language], 47, 148 and 152.

## 148. To Kanji Dwarkadas: Socialist Insult to President<sup>342</sup>

February 23, 1963

My dear Kanji,

I have your letter of the 21st February.

A Parliamentary Committee is considering what steps should be taken about the Socialist Members who insulted the President. After their report, we shall see what we can do. The question of social boycott hardly arises here. There are few social functions anyhow. So far as I am concerned, I do not think I have ever invited them to my house.<sup>343</sup>

As for the Vivian Bose report, we are giving a good deal of earnest thought to what can be done, even apart from legal cases.<sup>344</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 149. In the Rajya Sabha: On President's Address<sup>345</sup>

The Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr Chairman, the debate on the Address has, as is usual, covered a wide range of topics. It is a little difficult for me to deal with every suggestion made or criticism put forward. I welcome many of these suggestions, more particularly those in regard to our development schemes and Plans. The President, in the Address he has been pleased to deliver, has laid stress on the problems facing us, the Chinese aggression and the invasion of India and our economic development. The two indeed are basically connected. There can be no military strength today in a nation without economic and industrial development. In the course of the speeches delivered, many points have been raised and a vast number of amendments have been moved to the Motion of Thanks. There are, I believe, 143 amendments. Of these, Sir, Shri Bhupesh Gupta<sup>346</sup> is responsible for 66. In looking at these amendments and listening to

342. Letter to author, labour reformer and politician; close associate of Annie Besant; address: 34 Altamont Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay 26.

343. See also items 12 [paragraphs 1-3, 8-11], 11, sections [Misbehaviour in Parliament], [Misconduct in Parliament], [Language], 47, 147, and 152.

344. See also item 87.

345. Motion of Thanks to the President's Address, 25 February 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol- XLII, Nos. I-II, 18th February to 4th March, 1963, pp. 915-942.

346. CPI.



some of the speeches made by some of the Members, I have been inclined to wonder how far there is a feeling of emergency among them. Much has been talked about emergency here and we have been sometimes informed that we are not keeping up the tempo of emergency. Yet, listening to the many speeches here, good no doubt as they were, apart from the few strong speeches and strong statements the sense of urgency and emergency was strangely lacking. I do not deny that many of the points that were mentioned were not deserving of consideration but, surely, when one has to deal with a critical situation, one concentrates on the main points and not wanders about a forest of amendments or puts them forward. The fact remains that we are facing a critical situation and we have to concentrate on the vital matters. I shall, therefore, venture to say something about these important matters and perhaps also refer to some of the other matters, subsidiary matters, later on.

Now, very soon after the Chinese aggression on October 20, last year I said, in the course of a radio broadcast that we had been living in an unreal world from which we were waking up.<sup>347</sup> This statement of mine was interpreted in various ways. I had not only referred to myself living in an unreal world but rather that our outlook in this country as a whole was to some extent unrealistic and we were giving a great deal of our thinking to relatively secondary issues and not to the primary issues before the country. When we achieved independence after a long struggle, we had a feeling by and large of having reached a safe harbour and being safely anchored. Not that we did not have very big problems; we had enormous problems, we all knew that, economic and social, but on the whole our outlook was that we had done with national struggles in that sense or that any country was going or was likely to attack us. It is true that soon after we had troubles with Pakistan which rather shook us in that belief. Nevertheless, our trouble with Pakistan, difficult as it was, was very irritating to us, irritating not only because of the practical consequences of it but the fact that we had to indulge in war with Pakistan over Kashmir, etc. was annoying to us. It seemed to upset our thinking which we had followed for long years before, prior to independence and after, but there it was and it shook us. Even so, it was not realised by most of us that in this world wars still play a very important part. I will not say that it was not realised because at the back of our mind it was always there and our very quest for peace means that we were afraid of war. Hence, we wanted peace. We thought then also of war and peace in world terms because the coming of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction had made war such a tremendously tragic and dangerous thing that it was no longer a question of ethics and morality but of practical good sense that the world

347. On 22 October 1962. See SWJN/SS/79/item 259.

should avoid this. If there was a war on a big scale, one of the results, major for us but minor from the point of view of the world, was that all our efforts at economic and social progress would be hit hard and the rest of the world would suffer also. I am putting this before the House; this was the background which we had. We realised the importance of development in India, social and economic, and we realised that peace was essential for that development. There was an essential conflict between war and development whether it was war in India or world war and we tried to concentrate on this peaceful progress our Five Year Plans and the rest of it. But even from the point of view of preparing for war we realised that real strength came only from economic development, industrial development, and therefore, that too led us to the conclusion that we must concentrate on this, on the economic side and the social side and we were convinced that we should aim at social justice, at a socialist structure of society and democratic methods. We hoped to adhere to peaceful methods too. Now, much has happened since then, but nothing that has happened, may I say, has shaken our belief in the fundamental principles for which we have laboured during these years since independence, those fundamental principles in which the belief in peaceful methods being better than war, in not aligning ourselves to military blocs of nations and in our earnest desire to achieve a broad socialism appears to me to be even more important in the crisis today than at any other previous time. But keeping these ideals in view a change has taken place by force of circumstances in our approach to our problems as well as to our view of other countries. That change, important as it is, does not involve a change in our basic approach to life's problems or to our country's problems, but it is important nevertheless.

One or more Members referred in their speeches here to a conference that was held some months back, eight or nine months ago, the anti-nuclear weapons conference. I believe he referred to it in a somewhat disdainful or contemptuous way. I believe still that the purpose of that conference was a right one, was an important one and still remains important but we must see every purpose in the right context even if that conference contained some eminent people who were pleased to say that India should disarm herself in pursuance of the policy of ahimsa and non-violence, should disarm herself completely. The odd thing is that some of those eminent people today complain that we were not adequately armed and further talk about not only our defending ourselves but of liberating Tibet and the like. Now, there is an essential difference between those two points of view—it is obvious—in disarming ourselves and allowing only non-violent resistance to flourish even in case of possible invasion and the second view in which we have not only to arm ourselves to the teeth but to carry forward our armed warfare in order, as it is called, to liberate, logical



principle governing our thoughts when the same persons say one thing at one time and six months later say something entirely, hundred per cent opposed to it. I do not think that we, that is, the Government, and I think this House also, have been so illogical about these matters. We may be criticised, we may be accused of not laying stress on something, not arming the country adequately or more than it was. That may or may not be justified because none of these things can be taken in the air. It has to be seen in the context of things but we cannot be criticised at one time for not arming adequately and at the same time told that we should not have armed at all. The two are absolutely contradictory.

Now, Sir, in regard to non-violence – I do not know whether it is necessary for me to say so – I should like to make the situation quite clear. I am clear on my own part and clear even on the part, if I may say so, of the great organisation to which I belong, the National Congress, to which not only we on this side but many hon. Members on the other side have also belonged at sometime or other. We were greatly attracted to Mahatma Gandhi, greatly influenced by him, sometimes carried away by him, by the force of his personality and by the great teaching he put forward before us. We accepted wholly and fully his doctrine of peaceful methods in our struggle but at no time that I am aware of did we accept non-violence as a doctrine to govern a nation's activities completely, more especially when that nation was attacked and an invasion took place. In fact when an argument took place about this in the early years of the last great war we were presumptuous enough, if I may say so, not to agree with Gandhiji to the extent that he actually resigned from the Congress Working Committee or from the Congress at that time because he felt that he must. We were talking about non-violence after Independence, not keeping armies, navies, etc., and we could not in good conscience accept something which we thought we would be unable to live up to. Not that I am speaking personally; not that I did not believe in non-violence. I do believe that non-violence is in theory, in principle, the right thing and an ideal thing provided—and it is a big proviso—the people generally can live up to it, are trained to it mentally, physically and in every sense, and can indeed face any danger unhesitatingly even unto death without submitting to evil or aggression or anything. There was that big proviso; it was a tremendous proviso for a whole nation to function like that. We all recognise the mighty change that Gandhiji brought about in the people of India and made even weak persons like many of us behave rather heroically on many occasions. It is one thing. That was a tremendous achievement. But to say that 400 million people of India can function in that way under great stress and trial is a very difficult matter and the alternative was this. If they do not live up as they should under a non-violence method, the alternative is a terrible alternative. They become cowards and they run away from danger or they compromise with evil

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

and all that. And Gandhiji had told us repeatedly that nothing is worse than cowardice. It is better to have violence than cowardice. He said it any number of times. Therefore, applying even his own ultimate test and looking at the context of things and the context of the people, not only in India but also in the world, we came to the conclusion then that it would be inevitable for us to have an Army, Navy and an Air Force, etc. even in an independent India. And if we are to have an Army and Navy, naturally we should have a competent Army and Navy. We do not have an Army with bows and arrows and such like weapons of an ancient age. That was our outlook. But it is true that that basic outlook in favour of peace and non-violence coloured our thinking to some extent. It coloured it even more so because we felt that real strength came from economic and industrial development, from our capacity to manufacture many things, more especially the weapons of war which we wanted. If we relied on importing them to a large extent, the result, would be—it might perhaps have benefited us for the time being or saved us from some immediate trouble—that it would leave us weak both economically and militarily all the time. That was the broad policy. So, while we wanted to develop the military also, we wanted to develop, as far as possible with our own efforts, by producing goods ourselves. That fitted in with our broad policy too and fitted in with our planned approach to economic problems.

Now, today, more so even than in Mahatmaji's time, the question of war and violence on a major scale has become, what shall I say, wholly out of the range of reasonable men—unless when they are excited, they can do anything, they can go mad—when war leads to no victory, no success. I am talking about this major war, nuclear war, etc. when it is likely to destroy a large part of mankind. Well, then, war does not become a weapon to achieve something unless it is pure hatred and destruction that we wish to achieve. Therefore, from the most practical point of view war and warlike methods have to be avoided, again I repeat, on a world scale, and we have to work, as we have worked, for peace in the world. That does not mean naturally that in an invasion, in an aggression, we have to submit to it. Obviously, we cannot, no self-respecting country can, and certainly it is an impossible thing for any decent country to do that. What I am venturing to submit is this. We talk about non-violence and, as I said, I accept the basic theory and principle of non-violence, as I may accept the basic theory and principle of truth. But the fact is that this world is not always truthful. The fact is that even though many of us may presume to be non-violent indeed, we are full of violence in our thoughts and I think the first thing that one should do in non-violence is to control, to prevent one's thoughts running away with hatred and all the progeny of hatred. That is the basic thing. It is better to hit the man with a sword than harbour always hatred against him. That is more



non-violent, even though you may hit that man with a sword. However, these are rather metaphysical discussions and I am not going into them. What I was venturing to say is that because of this it may be said that we laid a little less stress on the military aspect of our situation than we might have done with hindsight, foresight, or call it what you like. Really the pressure upon us was always for economic development, which we considered important and vital and which could only be given up, and which had to be given up or partly curtailed, if we spent very much more on purely military items. It was always a difficult choice and repeatedly we had to spend large sums of money on aircraft and other things at the cost of important developments in India. We had to balance these things. It may be perfectly right now, for hon. Members or for anyone else to point out this mistake or that mistake. But I can say that the criticism made—it is made often enough by people who ought to know better—that our Army was badly equipped, badly armed, badly fed, badly clothed is incorrect, is wrong. It is a slander on our Army to say all these things. If you want to say it was badly armed, you may say so. It did not have as many automatic weapons as a modern army should have. That is correct. It had automatic weapons. It has had them for years. It was fully armed as our army has been armed all this time. It was fully equipped. It was said that they did not have boots. I really do not understand it. They were well shod, well clothed. But there are certain things. It could not be compared from that point of view that is, arming from the point of view of modern armies. It was a little out of date. It is true. And the reason for this is, apart from the various reasons that I have pointed out, essentially the cost of it and always the question of spending such large sums of money when we could ill-afford them. We could not. We did not ask other countries to aid us in regard to arms, etc., as some other countries have done, notably our neighbouring country Pakistan. The aid they gave was applied to civil developments. So that all we had to spend on our Army, Navy and Air Force had to come out of our normal revenues and it was a painful thing to think that we allowed those things to suffer and thereby allowed ourselves to be ultimately weaker even in the military sense. Therefore, one had to think in terms of timing. Should we expect some kind of attack, a major attack, which involved fighting on us within one year, two years or ten years, whatever it may be? Always when one prepares for war or for anything, one has to take that into consideration, the timing of it, because timing means you get more time to prepare, to get it, or you do not get any time. Would you like it at an enormous expense? And it may be said that we had timed it wrongly and that would be true. We did not think that a major invasion like this would take place so soon. What could we have done otherwise? What methods could we have adopted? Would hon. Member, any Member present here, have liked us to accept the

Chinese methods of preparing our country? I imagine not. Certainly, I would not like to do that because that would be a greater surrender to what we think wrong than anything else. That was the difficult choice that we always had. So, we decided, we hoped that such a challenge might not come to us within a few years and by that time we should push ahead in our economic development even in our military development, by producing the goods required for the defence in India. That was our whole objective. We were not, I should like to add, at any time complacent about China. It seems to amuse some hon. Members to talk about “bhai bhai” and all that. Of course, it is completely right saying “bhai bhai” with everybody in the world. Do we go about cursing them? Are we such ignorant and backward people as to be governed always by hatred of anybody? I justify that and I would say that again when the Chinese come. We want to make friends with every people in the world. Because a person denies us friendship or betrays us or attacks us and therefore our trying to make friends with him or acting correctly at a time is wrong? That is a philosophy I am unable to understand wholly. You need not go very far in your researches in history, but go back only ten, twenty, thirty or forty years in our lifetime. We have seen countries very friendly become bitter enemies and we have seen bitter enemies become very friendly. Today see them, see Germany and France, countries with a thousand years of quarrels and bitterness and enmity, becoming close friends today. See Japan. Do you remember what was said about Japan at the time of the War? “Oh, Japan is a great country”, and people are very friendly to it, those who attacked it. These things come and go, but it is always right, I submit, to try to gain the friendship of other countries regardless of their policies, whatever they may do. That is the right thing. It does not mean you changing your policy, it is always right, and that does not mean submitting to them, that does not mean surrendering to them in any way.

So, from the very first day that the Chinese came to Tibet twelve years ago or thirteen years ago or thereabouts, the question came before us that this brought a new danger to our country, danger on the Tibetan frontier. Not that we expected them to attack us immediately or in the near future, but it was obvious that this brought a new danger and this tremendous frontier of 2,500 miles had become a live and dangerous frontier. We thought about it, what steps to take. Some hon. Members still go on harping on the old tune that we were wrong to recognise the Chinese suzerainty or sovereignty in Tibet. It passes my comprehension what they expect now, with hindsight, that we should have done at the time. I cannot understand it. It was a physical impossibility for us to do anything. Then some people tell us; “oh may be, but morally we would have been superior if we had said, ‘No, we do not recognise it’.” The persons who talk so much about morality forget it completely, the course of



discussion and other phases and all things. The nation does not act as perhaps an individual might. In regard to Tibet, we inherited something, inherited the Government of India from the British, we inherited our present frontiers, we inherited our relationships with other countries which it was open for us to change and we have changed them. We inherited the Tibetan position from the British Government, and our own examination of it told us that we could not challenge it in law, in constitutional law or anything, apart from the practical difficulties of challenging it. We adhered to that position. But what else could we have done except in a helpless inane way to shout in anger and do nothing which is a bad thing for a nation to do? Can anyone imagine our having marched armies then, ten or twelve years ago into Tibet? It is a fantastic proposition. We could not have done it and expressed ourselves in a way which would have led immediately to a conflict with China on our borders which we have to face today. I should leave it to hon. Members to think how far that could be considered in the slightest degree justifiable for us.

G. Murahari<sup>348</sup>: Are you prepared to say...

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not prepared to say anything to you. I am just pointing out that some hon. Members seem to live in a fool's paradise.

G. Murahari: As for the last fifteen years we have been...

Jawaharlal Nehru: They do not seem to realise that any country, much less India, newly independent, faced with this problem of China at that stage or this stage would not have been able to face it immediately with success. It was tremendous. We have to face a country which we all know. Do not forget what has happened in China, what is China. That does not mean that we are not strong enough or may not be strong enough to deal with it adequately. But we must not imagine that the resolutions or strong speeches that we make are enough to win a military struggle of a major kind. We have seen China functioning in a warlike way in other countries too, very big countries, and functioning not without success. Whether it was right or wrong is another matter. What surprises me, Sir, is—I say so with all deference—the unreality in many of the speeches that are made here, the unreality in the sense of not realising the facts that we have to face facts in the world today. There are only two ways of thinking here by some hon. Members. One is that we should have devoted all our energies to strengthening ourselves in a military way, presumably at the cost of all our

348. Socialist.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

development. The second is that, because perhaps we could not do that then or now, we should ask somebody else to do it on our behalf, enter into military alliances and the like. Now both these ways of thinking are wrong, practically wrong. I forget the ideologies behind it. The first one that we should devote all our energies towards that does not bring strength. I venture to say that it does not build strength whatever you would have done. You have to build up an industrial base in this country. The Chinese have built up an industrial base and largely succeeded. How have they succeeded? By authoritarian, autocratic methods, by enormous suffering in their country. Are hon. Members prepared for that? Obviously not, because we do not like that method. We dislike it, and it is partly because we dislike it apart from other reasons, that we react so strongly against the Chinese coming to India. About the other thing, about basing our defence on the strength of others, I venture to say that others can help. They are helping us, considerably and we are grateful to them, and we hope to get more help from them, in this business. But to expect that others will do this job—we can see other countries faced with this problem. The only time when others help, have helped really, is where the country itself has borne the burden, and it has been helped by others. The moment you give up this idea of a country bearing the burden, the heat of the fray, etc.—other help is good for the moment, may be for an incident, not for a major war. When I said several months ago soon after the October invasion that we were in for years of trouble—five years I mentioned casually—always we have had this concept that we are in for a long struggle. Do you expect any country, however good it may be, to undertake, to underwrite five years or ten years struggle and everything? The whole concept is not a practical one. To help is one thing, to underwrite, to undertake it on your behalf is another. No country is going to do it.

M. Ruthnaswamy<sup>349</sup>: What is NATO then?

Jawaharlal Nehru: “What is NATO then” the hon. Member asks. What is SEATO then? I should like to ask. What is CENTO then? They have all failed. NATO has not failed completely, I will admit; NATO has not. At a particular moment in the history of the world, after the war a situation arose where a number of countries feared dangers, etc. and they joined in the NATO alliance. It is not for me to say whether it is right or wrong. But I do say that these two alliances, the SEATO and the CENTO, have failed, failed completely and miserably, and instead of strengthening the parties that held on to them have weakened them or strengthened the opposition to them. But all these are

349. Swatantra Party.



the many factors, geographical factors. They were alliances, by and large, of countries geographically near each other and which affected, whatever might happen, the other countries. You cannot, and I say that apart from other things, it is a fundamentally wrong thing to do for us in India in the context in which we are. The moment we do it, we lose our own self-respect for ourselves. I certainly feel that way. It is quite another thing to take all the help we can, and we will. Unfortunately, what the Hon. Member seems to think is quite possible is not thought to be so by the person whom he wants to help us. It is an extraordinary position. And I can only imagine that this can be due to the fact of having permanent cold feet and being frightened as to what might happen and that we cannot hold ourselves. I do not believe in the weakness of India, I do not believe in India submitting to evil whatever the forces against us. I am all very well, I believe. I do not wish to talk in a way which is removed from actuality. Naturally, if we have to fight in a military sense, we have to have weapons, the latest weapons, we have to have arms, aircraft and all that. That is perfectly true. But all the aircraft in the world do not take the place of a stout people determined to resist. That is the essential thing and the moment you sell your right of defence to somebody else or give it to him, you lose that sense of stoutness, of standing on your own feet. That is the essential thing, and if you lose it, you lose everything. It does not matter what the other country might do or might not do. Therefore, we have to maintain that essential thing at all costs, and undertake great burdens for it and at the same time get as much help as we can, and we are getting it. As I ventured to point out, the other countries which help us realise this. They do not want to underwrite India in this way, they do not want to take the defence of India completely in their hands and it is not for us to merely look on. It is not a practical proposition. It is a definitely harmful proposition so far as we are concerned.

So, in effect, the question does not arise. It is not our decision. But it is nobody's case that it should be done. Except some hon. Members, ladies and gentlemen of the hon. Member's party, nobody suggested it. Nobody suggested it in the wide world. The other countries do not suggest it, do not want it, do not encourage us into thinking in that way. I really do not understand in what world some hon. Members live. That is why I say that we have not got rid of our lack of realism, in considering the problems we are facing. What has happened in China, not now but during the last ten years, is one of the major happenings in the world—let us realise it—which is going to affect, is affecting and will affect, the whole world. Not only India but the world realises it. It is not merely because of the largeness of China. That is an important factor, its vast population. We have a vast population also. But rather it is due to the narrow-minded bigotry of China, to the brand of communism that they have

developed. I say, it is the brand of Communism that they have developed to their old ideals of expansiveness, added to this narrow-minded bigotry, that has made them dangerous to India, to Asia and to the world. Their hostility was concentrated on America, the United States of America to begin with. Now, it is concentrated on us. Of course, it is on America also, but chiefly on us. But observe it. That hostility is today directed quite adequately, why considerably, towards the Soviet Union. And you see how it is directed in effect towards everybody, to any country which is not prepared to fall in line with them and carry out their wishes. It is a menace not only to us but to many other countries of Asia, Africa, and the world. And yet they pose, they take up the position in Africa especially, may be in Asia too as liberators. And some people are sometime taken in, not for long, I think. And because of that, it decries India; it dislikes the whole concept of non-alignment for which we have stood. It is very interesting to know that at the present moment those hon. Members who do not like our policy of non-alignment are supporting fully the theory and policy and actually the desire of the Chinese Government. It is extraordinary these extremes meeting in this way. China, as it is at present, is a manifest danger to peace and to the world at large. This fact is increasingly recognised even by these countries which, through fear or otherwise dare not say so. Now, destiny has made India at the present moment the main target of Chinese attack. It is a challenge which we cannot ignore – which we will not ignore. We have a duty to ourselves but we have a duty to the world even, to Asia and to the world, in this matter. But in trying to meet that challenge, if we give up the principles for which we have stood, that is a greater surrender to China than anything else we can do or we can suffer. When we are to meet China to defend the very principle for which we stand, if we give up those principles in meeting the challenge, what do we defend? Just a physical patch of territory? That is important enough, no doubt. But a territory, a country, stands for some principles. If you are prepared to give up those principles precious little is left in theory to defend from China. Of course, you have given in to it. We have therefore to meet this challenge fully and adequately and at the same time adhere to those principles which have guided us, whether in our domestic policy or foreign policy. In our domestic policy these principles are to labour with all our strength, to go towards the socialistic structure and thus to release the vast strength of the nation for productive effort. The very magnificent response of our people to this crisis has made it incumbent on us that we should play fair to them and we should try for social justice. Indeed, from the point of view of a military effort, that is essential. We cannot fight any country, fight a great war, with just some trained armies, without the people behind us. We want a nation, not an army alone, mentally at arms, mentally supporting us completely. I would



beg of the House to forgive me for reminding it that the very first and the basic thing that we have to do is to have that mentality in the country to resist to the death, if necessary, and not to submit. If that is missing if we weaken that resolve, whatever we do, whatever armies we may get we are undermined. Now in our foreign policy we shall therefore adhere to friendship with all countries without alignment to any military bloc. Obviously, no question of alignment or non-alignment arises when we had conflict with a particular country. There is no question of being aligned or non-aligned to China with whom we had conflict. We are talking about military blocs. We shall take every help from all countries that are willing to help us. In a basic struggle for life and freedom it would be absurd for us not to take that help, but in taking that help we must keep that very freedom, to preserve which we take that help, intact, and our principles intact. Now, when this invasion took place on the 20th of October, immediately after we approached many countries for their sympathy and help, and as the House knows a number of countries helped us immediately and the quickest in doing so were the United States and the United Kingdom. They did so and they have done so subsequently without any hint even of strings attached to their help, or any other conditions. There is no question of our being inhibited from asking them for any help or their refusing it or hinting that they will refuse it. If they find some difficulty sometimes in giving that help, it is entirely for different reasons, their own, their own commitments, their own difficulties and all that, none of our creation. And as I have said, they themselves realise that it is advantageous not only to us but in a different way to them for us not to be aligned with them in that way, in a military alliance. They do not want it. We do not want it; neither do they. I am not going into the reason why they do not want it. Some hon. Members may think it is a natural thing but they do not want it because it is not to their interest. It is too much of a burden for them to carry; they do not want to. They would much rather help us without that commitment. Now what is the world today? Whatever we may say, we seldom manage to catch up to conditions as they are. We are backward of course in our scientific and technological progress, but such progress is the essence of the world today, because that gives the strength, not a gun that we may buy from France or Germany or some other place or some other country, lots of it. If we have to be, in a military sense, strong we have to be, industrially developed; there is no other way and any other course would ultimately reduce us. In fact, if we are not militarily strong, there would be some justification even for the non-violent struggle, because that has some strength behind it, the strength of a people at least, not the second-rate arms produced by some other country.

Now, during the last generation or more, enormous improvements have taken place in technology and science. They have changed the shape of the

world. We have to do that ourselves, to change our shape. We are doing it – we have succeeded in a large measure in science. We are doing well, pretty well in technology and we will do better. It takes a little time. No country can skip over every stage of development and arrive at the goal but apart from that, for the last dozen years or so, there has been a cold war of which we have heard so much in Europe and the world. We have reacted against it. Now what is happening? The whole context of the cold war is changing today. It is still continuing, the cold war, I do not deny that, but even then, these blocs of nations, the so-called Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc have their internal troubles and difficulties. We all know very well of the conflict, the internal conflict between the Soviet Union and China, and I beg of the House to remember that this need not be considered a mere ideological argument, a *shastrarth* going on between two sets of pundits of communism. It is something deeper, much deeper than that. Fundamentally the differences between nations are seldom governed by pure ideology. It does not matter what they may say. They are governed by their material interests, national interests. Where nations come into conflict, it is because behind that there is a national conflict and as between the Soviet Union and China two land masses of enormous magnitude are confronting each other. There are a large number of conflicting elements coming and I think this difference is likely to endure. Anyhow what I am pointing out is this. In this cold war business on one side, which is the Soviet Union, China and the East European communist countries, that is cracking up, the unity of that bloc. Obviously, it is. On the other side, in the Western Bloc of nations one also sees this process of cracking up. It is very obvious between France and England, France and America and Germany. The whole process is one of cracking up. How far it will go I cannot say. I cannot be a prophet, but what I am venturing to say is this that the whole cold war – the force marshalled on either side – is cracking up. And apart from that there are new approaches to end this cold war. I do not know if hon. Members have noticed that. In spite of occasional slanging at each other there is a very definite improvement in the relations of the United States and the Soviet Union, and constantly they are probing how to find a way out, first of all, of this test ban business, then possibly disarmament. The whole picture is changing. Yet we remain still stuck in thinking of a picture which is long past, which is not there now. We saw only recently the dreadful prospect of a nuclear war over Cuba. That was some months ago, in October last, but both the United States and the Soviet Union exercised restraint and moderation and were successful in avoiding it. It was a remarkable thing because when passions are roused, as they were roused, and people think of their prestige, these countries' prestige, then they do not think of the consequences. They rush in. But they did not allow either country to



rush in and the matter was settled peacefully. Ever since then other approaches have been made. Only recently Cuba has again come up in this talk of strong language on either side, “if this happens we will do this and that”, in America, in Russia in both, but the fact of the matter is that the leaders of both these great countries, the President of the United States of America, Mr Kennedy, and the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr Khrushchev, are both, the House will observe, trying to tone down these passions, trying to settle this by some friendly agreement. There are others, both in the United States and in the Soviet Union too, although there is no such freedom of expression in the Soviet Union as there is in the United States, but in both countries there are people who want trouble, who want war, and yet it so happens, it is a good fortune for the world that the leaders of these two countries, President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev who have great power, great influence in their countries, are set on peace. They are both devoted to peace. Now, therefore, what I am suggesting is, gradually the old shape of things is changing and new alignments are taking place and we should welcome this, not that that helps us much in our present trouble, but in considering our present troubles, we have to keep this in view and not think of things as they were in the bygone ages. That is my difficulty. Most of our Members on the side of the Opposition or on this side even, sometimes live in an age that has gone by, an age of thought that has nothing to do with the present. Not only do they not realise the present problems before us. That hon. Member sitting at the back of the House who interrupted me is a typical example of living in a world of his own which has nothing to do with either reality or decency. That reminds me—it is an extraordinary thing—I believe the hon. Member belongs to the Party which calls itself socialist.

G. Murahari: Sir, I would like to say ...(Interruption).

B.K.P. Sinha<sup>350</sup>: Please be silent.

Chairman: The Prime Minister is addressing the House.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not propose to give in.

Chairman: He is continuing.

G. Murahari: He cannot go on making indecent remarks.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru: What I was venturing to say was, a thing which is a matter of continuous surprise to me is the Socialist Party. Where is socialism coming in it? Why do you call them a Socialist Party? To some extent, I would venture with all respect to ask, even about the other party that calls itself Socialist, how far they believe in socialism, because in other matters they are shoulder to shoulder and close bedfellows of the most antisocial and reactionary people in the country. Where does socialism come in?

(Interruptions)

It is well known that domestic policy and foreign policy are closely allied but some hon. Members here of other parties come to think that we can be very brave and gallant in one thing and completely different and follow a different path in something else. Surely socialism is an integrated creed, not something in which you can separate or act differently. Your family life is different, in your family life you can have a caste-system with all its limitations...

G. Murahari: All this applies to you particularly (Interruptions).

Diwan Chaman Lall: Order, order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But so far as the Socialist Party is concerned, I will only say one thing more and that is, a Party which deliberately functions in the way it functioned when the President delivered his Address, certainly cannot be called Socialist nor can it be called civilised or decent.<sup>351</sup>

(Interruptions)

G. Murahari: Mr Chairman, I seriously object to this terminology “not civilised or decent.”

Chairman: You have objected. Please sit down.

G. Murahari: This is not the way.

(Interruptions)

Hon. Members: Obey the Chair.

351. See item 148.



Chairman: The Prime Minister is addressing the House. He has not finished.

G. Murahari: He cannot bandy about remarks like this, because the Government has been breaking the Constitution.

(Interruptions)

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not giving in and the hon. Member must give in and must sit down. I was merely saying that the behaviour of the Socialist Party on the occasion of the President's address was uncivilised and indecent and I repeat that and it has nothing to do with socialism.

Therefore, I would beg the House to consider the problems, and the context of things logically and reasonably, what they are. Let us not live in an age which has passed but consider the problems as they are. For instance, many of the hon. Members go on talking of the Colombo Conference proposals. We discussed them for two or three days here fully and we came to certain conclusions and we acted upon them. Yet they go on repeating the same arguments as if nothing has happened to the world, nothing has happened to the Colombo Conference proposals. It is extraordinary. It seems to me extraordinary how people simply live in a mental cell of their own regardless of what is happening in the outside world. Our position is, to quote again from the President's speech:

“Our country, committed as it is to peaceful methods, will always endeavour to solve dispute peacefully, provided this is in consonance with our honour and freedom. But whatever may happen, we cannot and will not submit to dictation backed by military force.”

We shall always keep the peaceful end in view. We shall always remember that this approach which is perhaps a natural approach, that anger and hatred should be avoided as far as possible. I believe in non-violence to that extent and I should try – I do not succeed – to condition my mind to it, but it is obvious that we have to meet this peril on our frontiers with armed might and for armed might we have to be a nation in arms. We have to produce things. We shall have to take such help as we can from other but essentially, we have to rely on ourselves. Now so far as the Colombo proposals are concerned, we have accepted them with their clarifications in their entirety. The Government of China continue to quibble about them and apparently are not prepared to accept them. There the matter stands. If the Chinese Government accepts them ultimately. We are prepared to act accordingly. If not, then those proposals fall to the ground. Some people have thought that these proposals come in our way.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

They do not come in our way at all because we are not bound by them or by anything. We are only bound by what we think as proper, by our own limitations, not by the Chinese decisions or lack of decisions. Also I would like to make it clear that those proposals themselves brought about a transitional stage of our discussing matters. There was no question of any ceasefire line being accepted by us as a permanent line.

### [Sikkim and Bhutan]

Now in regard to Sikkim and Bhutan—they have been referred to—we have treaty relations with Sikkim, under which the defence of Sikkim is the responsibility of the Government of India. We recognise fully that responsibility and we shall endeavour to discharge it fully. We have made arrangements to that end. We have a Treaty of Friendship with Bhutan. So far as we know, there has been no threat to the territorial integrity of Bhutan. Should, however, any such threat arise, the Government of India will, on a request by the Bhutan Government, be prepared to give them all necessary assistance for the defence of the territorial integrity of Bhutan. Meanwhile, we propose to go on taking steps to strengthen our defences with the help, to the extent possible, of friendly countries and obviously with the help of our own people, which is most important. I would say, in all honesty to this House, that while fully realising the strength of the menace before us, the strength of China, I have no sense at all of fear in me from China or from any other country. I am convinced that we shall succeed in our endeavour. It may take time, it may take years, I do not know, but we have to persevere whatever forces are ranged against us or whatever may happen in between.

### [Defence Fund Collections]

Now there are one or two other matters with which I will briefly deal. I am sorry, I have taken so much time. Much has been said about Defence Fund collections that there has been coercion. Obviously, I cannot say. If cases are sent to me, I can enquire but one thing I should like to make clear that I consider any pressure applied for collections very wrong, very harmful and highly objectionable. There is no doubt about it. I have made that and others have made it very clear to all our State Governments and I go on making it clear. The State Governments have also made it clear. Unfortunately, petty officials sometimes go beyond their brief to show their competence, I suppose.<sup>352</sup>

352. See section (h) Popular Mobilisation below.



## [Moshi Conference]

Then again something has been said about the Moshi Conference. I do not want to say much about it, but I want to make this clear first of all that it was a non-official body. Those who went to it were non-officials. We did not, the Government did not, nominate them or pay them their expenses, their foreign exchange or anything. We did not. We could have prevented them from going but then we did not stop them. Whether it was worthwhile for them to go or not, that is a matter for each person's judgment. I think, in the balance, it was worthwhile for them to go. Everything did not happen rightly there. But with the conditions as they were, it might have been much worse if they had not gone.<sup>353</sup>

## [Defence of India Rules]

There has been some talk about arrests of people under the Defence of India Act or its Rules. Now, it is painful to me to have these people arrested. The matter is, of course, in the hands of the State Governments and we have repeatedly requested them to look into every case of arrest and they have, in fact, reviewed them and they go on continually reviewing them. They have released, I believe, about 200 persons, more or less, recently.

## [Prices]

Then I have to say a few words about prices. The trend in prices can be mainly judged from wholesale price indices. The general trend of wholesale prices continued to decline up to the end of December 1962 due to seasonal and other factors. Such increase in prices as has taken place during the last three or four weeks is of a marginal character. As for retail prices it is difficult to collect data for a vast range of commodities in a large number of markets scattered all over the country. Steps are being taken to secure information of a systematic and reliable character. The National Sample Survey and other agencies are collecting data on retail prices prevailing in rural and urban areas. The available information on retail prices relating to cereals and subsidiary food articles shows that there has been some decline in the retail prices of these articles in some centres. The prices of cloth and other items of essential use are at a satisfactory level due to easy supply position. Nevertheless, the Government is fully seized of this problem and arrangements for the supply of essential goods are being made through the agency of consumer cooperative stores, fair price shops and licensed retail dealers. For instance, under one scheme 200

353. See also items 456 to 459.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

wholesale cooperative stores and 4,000 primary co-operative stores are being set up in the cities and towns with population of over 50,000 during the next two years. There were no signs of strain in the economy and the general trend of prices was, on the whole, downward.

So far as manufactured articles are concerned during the last many years there has been no wide fluctuation in prices of manufactured articles.

I need not say much about our desire for increased production. It has been expressed by many hon. Members. In fact, it is the fundamental thing, and we are trying our best for that end. We had some bad time in the last year or two with regard to agricultural production because of bad climate conditions. It is expected that the production of food grains in the current year will be around 81 million tons. Support prices for rice and wheat have already been fixed and the question of fixing similar prices for other food grains is under consideration. Minimum prices for sugar and cotton are already effective. The great part of industries recorded increase in production. The improvement was particularly marked with regard to general engineering and electrical engineering items, steel ingots, chemicals and chemical products, I should like the House to remember that the index fails to reflect the truly vast expansion that has taken place in numerous industries which did not exist in 1951 or whose output was negligible at that time and hence were not included in the index.

I am sorry I have taken so much time. Thank you, Sir.

A.M. Tariq<sup>354</sup> : Sir, with your permission, I would like to submit that the hon. Prime Minister has referred to almost everything that is in the Address except one thing which the President had mentioned, namely the question of Kashmir. I would like to know from the Prime Minister something on that. Something is happening between China and Pakistan on this issue and before Mr Bhutto left for Peking, our High Commissioner<sup>355</sup> called on him in Pakistan. I would like the Prime Minister to tell us something on this Kashmir problem.

Chairman: Would you like to say something?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry I did not refer to the Kashmir question. There is not much to refer to. Our general position is well known to this House and I did not wish to discuss it. I did not think it advisable to discuss it when we are having those conversations. Now about the decision for Pakistan and China to

354. Congress.

355. G. Parthasarathy.



sign an agreement or treaty about their border,<sup>356</sup> the House will remember that we took exception to this repeatedly. When this matter first came up, we took exception and last summer even in the UN Security Council and later here. Now it has gone a step further and they are actually going to sign the treaty. It is obvious that this is not only objectionable in itself but the timing of it is quite extraordinary and one would almost think it was deliberately timed to upset our talks. Indeed, the announcement of it when the talks were going to take place at Rawalpindi was itself amazingly timed. So, we have given our reactions to this in adequate language to the Pakistan Government. That is all I can say, Sir.

### **150. In the Lok Sabha: On the President's Address<sup>357</sup>**

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr Speaker, Sir, during this fairly long debate on the President's Address many matters have been mentioned and a great deal of ground has been covered. Just prior to my getting up, the hon. Member who was speaking said something about community development schemes, something very derogatory to their working—that is, money being wasted upon them. May I take that up, to begin with, and say a few words about it?

#### [War and the Economy]

I was surprised to hear him say that and to quote from somebody whom I do not know. Anyhow, the community development scheme has developed into something different and much bigger—that is, Panchayati raj—and I would venture to say that one of the most hopeful things in India today is Panchayati raj and, connected with it, the community development. I do not mean to imply that all its working all over India is perfect or even good. We will have to remember the extent of it, the vastness of the domain covered by it, and there could be little doubt that in many places it has not come up to expectations. It may be that it was the hon. Member's misfortune to visit some of these places where it has not done well. But this Panchayati raj or community development scheme touches the very basic problem in India; that is, I should say, to rouse up the hundreds of millions of our people who live in rural areas, to make their minds work differently. It is a terribly difficult thing to change people's minds. Even here, if I may with great respect say so, I find it very difficult,

356. The border treaty between Pakistan and China was signed on 22 February 1963.

357. Motion of Thanks on President's Address, 27 February 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XIII, 18th February to 2nd March 1963, pp. 1307-1342.

even in obvious matters, to change the minds of some hon. Members of the Opposition. People have a way of sticking in old ruts. A thing may be past and gone, and yet they do not realise the changes that have taken place. Now, we having lived for—I do not know—thousands of years as people and attached to various habits—the farmer in the way he ploughs and the way he lives and all that, and others too—it is a very difficult task. And yet, that is the basic task in India. Not all the factories we put in India can solve the problem; they will help to the extent the factories will help the farmer to change his mind.

That is the basic task set before community development and Panchayati raj, to develop in the people the spirit of self-reliance and a new thinking of the new ways and understanding of the new world. After considering the whole problem as hundred per cent in India, if we succeed 25 or 30 per cent in India, it is an amazing success, because it covers hundreds of millions of people, and it has the seeds in it of greater success to come. Therefore, let us by all means try to find out how to improve these things, but to run them down means running down something that holds the greatest promise in India.

[Chinese Invasion]

Now, Sir, in this debate many things have been touched upon and referred to, but the major things inevitably have been Chinese aggression and economic development—the two are connected; I think everyone begins to realise more and more.

The hon. Members opposite have harped back to the Colombo Proposals. They have not got over their distaste of them—I put it mildly, they have used stronger language. We had a long debate a little over a month ago in this House, and after that debate we took some action. But hon. Members still cannot get out of the rut of thought in which they have got themselves into, and still discuss it as if we were discussing it a month ago. Much has happened in the month. After this debate we accepted them formally and informed the Colombo powers accordingly. Yet, hon. Members go on saying that it was something dishonourable that we did, by which I presume they imply a great majority of this House belonging not only to one party but several parties acted dishonourably or were foolish enough not to distinguish between honour and dishonour or were afraid. I do think, this way of thinking and talking shows the extremely limited outlook of the hon. Members who spoke these. And, that is my difficulty. We stick to something not seeing the consequences that flow from it, not seeing that things have happened and we remain stuck to certain opinions that we formed probably wrongly to begin with and so we confirm ourselves in wrongness. It is unfortunate, because we live at a time when



great speed of thought is necessary, great speed of action is necessary, great appreciation of changes made in the world. I do not pretend to say—how can I—that my Government or I do not make mistakes. We make any number of mistakes, but I do venture to say that, partly, not because of any special virtue in us but because we are responsible, we are in positions of responsibility we have to react to events, we have to watch them carefully and try to do the best that lies in our power.

I have often repeated and I repeat again to this House, that we have to realise that we live in an extraordinary age, an extraordinary age in the sense of changes. Well, the world has always been changing and no particular generation has been able to stop the process of change. But, at times the changes are much swifter, much faster, a process started not today but some two hundred years ago, which is called the industrial revolution.

That too was a successor of other changes in the mind, but that brought about great changes, and that has continued at an ever faster pace. And we, after our independence, came to the conclusion that it was quite essential for us to catch up with these changes—not every change, some changes may be bad in the world, but the basic change I am saying—and industrialise our country. There was no other way to meet the problems that confronted us—economic problems, social problems and if you like, military problems. Well, there is no strength in the nation unless it is industrialised, unless it takes advantage of modern science and technology.

That was the basic thing. We have to get out of our ruts. And, of all people—I do not say of all people, I do not know of all people, but broadly speaking, almost of all people—we in India who have many virtues have also one drawback or failing, and that is we stick to certain ruts of ideas.

N.G. Ranga:<sup>358</sup>And dogmas also.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The result is that sometimes, rather often, we become left [out] in history. We know our own history and how we have been left in this changing world and others have advanced beyond us, in spite of the fact that the heritage we had was magnificent, very great. We mixed up that heritage, which was very great, with all manner of things, cobwebs and other things, which are attached to that heritage. So, while we almost forgot the real heritage, we stuck to those additions to it.

Now, we have to realise that, we have to consider every problem in the context of today, not go on repeating parrot-like something that may sound

358. Swatantra Party.

very good but which has no relation to the facts of today. We have to live in the modern world, we have to face the modern problems in the modern way, keeping our ancient heritage but in the modern way. Of course, nobody here would suggest that we should go to the frontier and fight the Chinese with bows and arrows; obviously not. Yet, there are such minds which think along the lines of bows and arrows in the modern world and do not get out of it. Some people, who are disgusted with things as they are today, want to change them. But how to change them? They want to return to some medieval period in history or still more ancient period as if that is possible. Nobody can go back to history. One can learn from the past; one cannot repeat the past.

So, we live today at a moment of extraordinary changes and one would have thought that the great and terrible experiences that all of us have had in the last two months because of the Chinese aggression and invasion would have shaken us up. Some hon. Members accuse our Government of complacency. Well, I am no good judge of it. I cannot speak for this government or for myself, but one thing on which we are certain is that we are not complacent; that is my view. We may make mistakes, any number of them, but how can anyone who has to shoulder responsibilities and take great decisions at a moment of crisis be complacent? He may make mistakes, he may take wrong decisions, but he cannot be complacent. It seems to me that complacency consists in repeating the same thing regardless of events, regardless of factors, regardless of the context in which we do it. That is the grievance I have, to some extent, when these matters are considered in that unchanged way. It really amazes me—to talk about the Colombo Proposals—to hear hon. Members wax eloquent about a thing which is over and done with.

N.G. Ranga: Are they dead? Let us be clear about it. What is the good of saying it over and over again?

Speaker: Order, order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: They are not dead.

N.G. Ranga: There you are.

Jawaharlal Nehru: And they cannot die.

N.G. Ranga: As long as we live.

Jawaharlal Nehru: In spite of the hon. Member's speeches or dislikes, things have happened. Since then, we have accepted them, and we have accepted



them because a great majority of this House approved of them. A great majority of this House approved of them because a great majority of this House have previously approved of another proposal that we have made about the 8th September position, and it follows naturally. If some hon. Members are left out in the cold and cannot keep pace with others, it is not my fault.

N.G. Ranga: November 14th is still alive. The resolution that we passed on that day was a unanimous resolution. It is not to be upset.

Speaker: Order, order. The discussion lasted five days. Members of all parties have said what they wanted. They have criticised the Government and said that they do not approve of the policies of the Government. Now the reply is coming. Let us hear it.

N.G. Ranga: We will always refer to their mistakes.

Speaker: Order, order. He will have patience.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry the hon. Member whom I respect greatly, although I completely and absolutely disagree with his mental thinking, is somewhat unfortunately lost in the backwoods and he cannot even see the clear light of the sun.

N.G. Ranga: The only thing is that I am not an ostrich. I know where the ostrich is.

Speaker: Order, order.

Hem Barua:<sup>359</sup>The hon. Prime Minister has invited that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I will therefore venture to say that I hope and wish to deal with a few points raised by hon. Members, but I want to carry this argument a little further because we must have clear thinking, above all at this moment of crisis.

We have had this tremendous experience, an experience which shakes up a nation and which did shake us up. It has shaken us up and let us at least profit by it by remaining wide awake. I do not mean to deny that we, as a Government, or if I may say so with all respect, this Parliament or the people as a whole,

359. PSP.

have been rather out of touch sometimes with reality in the past. I ventured to say so three days after the Chinese massive invasion in a broadcast that I delivered.<sup>360</sup> But, nevertheless we have to think what the problem is, in what context it is specially when we talk about military matters. It is obvious that no victories on the battlefield are won by speeches there or here. Other things have to be prepared for victories in the normal course.

Obviously, the two major things before us are this Chinese invasion and, in a sense connected with it and with our thinking, the economic development of the country. Economic development is intimately connected with it because nothing else can strengthen us. Hon. Members may think that help from other countries will strengthen us. That is correct but only in a measure. It is correct that it does strengthen us, but even to use that help we have to have economic development; and, anyhow, one cannot live in the hopes of continuous streams of help coming to us year after year and decade after decade. At some time or other we have to build our own strength, with the help of others as we are doing, but nevertheless it must be our strength. That strength consists in advancement in science and technology which should be applied to all our processes, agricultural, industrial etc. That is a basic thing. The two are connected—all else are either parts of this or are of secondary importance—that is, firstly, the immediate issue of the Chinese aggression and how to meet it or repel it and, secondly, development in the country.

We have had this question of development before us ever since we became independent. Everybody has it. Every country has it. Yet, there is a difference. There are many countries round about us here in Asia or Africa who talk about development and seek help from other developed countries but who have no consciously regulated view of development. Consciously regulated view means roughly a planned approach to it. The planning may be slightly wrong or right, but a planned approach means a logical, reasonable approach, an approach to which, unfortunately, the learned Acharya opposite me does not agree. That is just it. I am glad that we had agreement about this matter at least. But that is the whole basis of my argument, that is, that the one thing that is absolutely essential in any developing country now—it is admitted by almost every intelligent person in this country or may be in other countries—is that planned approach is essential. The nature of the planning may slightly differ here and there, but the major facts of planning are the same.

When we plan, we may consult others. We consult experts from America, from England, from Russia and from countries that are capitalist, socialist or

360. On 22 October 1962. See SWJN/SS/79/item 259.



communist, we consult them. Apart from certain basic differences, nevertheless, when we come to later things to be done, it is quite extraordinary how they agree, because once they get out of their ideological differences and conflicts, they have to consider it from the scientific point of view of a planned approach. It will surprise hon. Members, we have had all manner of persons coming from dozens of countries in the world, eminent technicians, eminent statisticians and the like, some of them professors in communist countries, in Poland, etc. some of them professors in American Universities and others. And yet, when they have sat down together with us, they have, broadly, generally speaking, made the same observations and pointed out the same mistakes that we have committed. Because, today, we are slightly, not wholly, getting out of that old habit from which the world has suffered and from which some hon. Members opposite suffer greatly, of thinking that the world is confined to communists and anti-communists and nothing else. The fact is that the world today is a scientific world. There is no such thing—I hope even Prof. Ranga will agree—as communist or capitalist chemistry or a communist or capitalist gun or mortar. There is no such thing. It is a product of science and technology.

N.G. Ranga: There is the Lysenko system.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Today, almost all the things that we use in the world from day to day are products of science and technology which is the same whether the approach in communist or capitalist. There is difference, of course, in other matters between communism and capitalism. Basically, the thing is, the world we live in is a scientific world, resulting in technology and all that. Because it is a scientific world, any approach that you make must be based on science. Otherwise, you lose yourself in the quagmire of illogic and lack of reason. Every country that is considered a strong country today is, normally speaking, a prosperous country, a developed country. That is, a developed country is both a prosperous country and a strong country, relatively strong country from the point of view of military affairs. You cannot be strong unless you are technologically, industrially, scientifically developed. Some may be more strong than others. That is a different matter. That is the basis of it. That development has to take place. It cannot be imposed upon one. You cannot give a gun to me and make me developed. I may use the gun and do some damage with it. But, until I go through the process of manufacturing the gun, and lots of people do that, a gun is not so useful as it might otherwise be. That we have to develop. That is the whole essence even from the military point of view of our Five Year Plans and the like.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Behind military strength lies a developing nation, lies developing science and technology. That is why the very month or two or three months after we became independent, we laid stress on the development of science and started a fine magnificent series of national laboratories, national institutes which cover the country today and which have put India in a fairly advanced position in the ranks of scientific and progressive countries. That is the basis. Technology comes from that. You have got technological institutes. It is not putting up a mill here or a mill there. That is not industrialism. That may result in the man who owns it making a lot of money. That is a different matter. That is not industrialism. We have to develop a mentality among our hundreds of millions of people which comes from industrialism, a mentality whereby they will use better ploughs and the rest. We have to have specially trained people in vast numbers. Therefore, it may sound rather odd, to fight the Chinese we have to encourage this process as much as possible. As I have ventured to say previously, this Chinese menace is not a thing of today or tomorrow or the day after. It is a long-term thing, because I should like hon. Members to remember that this is, historically speaking, a tremendous development; this conflict of China and India is a very big thing for India and for Asia and for the world even. I should like it to be seen in that perspective and we should be prepared for that perspective. That does not mean that we think of what is going to happen five or ten years later and forget our duty today. It is a continuing duty—that is what I am trying to point out—from today onwards, and, therefore, we must not think of finding so sudden a solution of it by some magic wand or some magic help that we may receive to put an end to it. We want all the help, we can and we shall try to get it, and we are trying to get it; there is no argument about it. But the fact remains that real strength can only come from inner growth, and we must keep that in mind.

Therefore, this war situation that we have to face is intimately allied to the other problem, that is, of development in the country. The President has been pleased to point out that these are the two major problems; and development, of course, is necessary anyhow, war or no war. We want a prosperous country, but because of this war situation that becomes doubly important. Some people, without thinking, without clearly thinking, seem to think that because there is a war situation, therefore, we must allow the developmental part to be put in the background. They are utterly absolutely wrong, for, that is the real fundamental way of strengthening yourself to meet the situation.

N.G. Ranga: Nobody has said that. It is only your socialist plan that we object to. You do not want to give up your dogmas even in this crisis.



Jawaharlal Nehru: I have often felt inclined that there are many institutions in Delhi or some institutions for the members of the Opposition to go to and learn what the modern world is (Interruptions).

Hem Barua:<sup>361</sup> On a point of order ... (interruptions).

Hari Vinshnu Kamath:<sup>362</sup> He is the Leader of the House, and if he will lead the way, we shall follow him. He is the leader of the biggest party. Let him show the way and we shall follow him.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have always considered myself a student, and I still consider myself a student.

[Omitted: Debating sallies]

Jawaharlal Nehru: A grave crisis has overtaken us. That is evident. The question that arises, a very important question, is whether the basic policies that we have pursued have weakened us to face this crisis or strengthened us. I am not referring to all manner of mistakes we may have made or weaknesses that Government or the administration may have shown. I am talking about the basic policies that we have pursued because if they are wrong, if they have weakened us, then obviously we should change them, and change them considerably.

Now, what are these basic policies? In the domestic field, we have followed a course, as I have, said, of planned development. I have already referred to it and I would beg to say that that planned development has had an objective before it, as stated right in the preamble of our Constitution, of promoting justice, social, economic and political.

Priya Gupta:<sup>363</sup> And cumulatively falling national income?

Speaker: Can he not contain himself?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is extraordinary how the truth of my words is evidenced so frequently by what hon. Members opposite say.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: He is the Leader of the House. He looks happy.

361. PSP.

362. PSP.

363. PSP.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru: If you analyse social justice, it means justice for all, equal opportunity for all, thereby releasing the pent-up energies of a whole people so that they may take their place as equals with others. Social justice has no place at all in it for feudalism and relics of feudalism. It has no place for many other things that we have to put up with today, the great discrepancies in people's conditions and opportunities. But anyhow, I am for the moment not talking about what we have failed in achieving, but rather about our policies. Our policy of social justice inevitably leads to some structure which should be called socialism.

N.G. Ranga: No, Sir,

Surendranath Dwivedy:<sup>364</sup> It is a lone voice in the country.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not, again, speaking of socialism as some fixed, dogmatic, doctrinaire system, but broadly speaking, of what flows from that concept. Therefore, our objective has been socialism or a socialist structure of society leading to equal opportunities for all, and a measure of affluence for all, a measure of prosperity for all. Any sensitive man will feel it is scandalous—we may not act up to it—that some of us should be rich and prosperous and others should starve or should lead miserable lives. Any social system which permits that or which encourages that is definitely bad. There is no good looking back to the medieval times or to more ancient times to justify it by some saying or evidence.

Therefore, in the domestic field, our policy has been, first, of course, bettering the lot of our people—a welfare state—but aiming at social justice and socialism so as to give equal opportunities to all. Apart from the justice of it, the rightness of it, there is no other way, because once you give people political democracy, their minds begin to wake up. They do not submit to much that they submitted to previously. They make demands. So social problems arise. They make demands which we cannot fulfill, unless we change the social structure to some extent.

These have been our planned approaches towards socialism. It is true that we have attached great importance to democracy. But that very concept of democracy which we have adhered to or which we will adhere to tell us that democracy is not complete by merely remaining a political democracy. It has to become an economic democracy; only then democracy is complete. Therefore, again we come back to the ideal of a socialist structure of society.

364. PSP.



And this can only be achieved in the modern world or in any world with the help of science and technology. I do not call it socialism for everybody to be poor and starving, everybody to have the same lack of opportunity. That is not socialism or advance. Therefore, the only way to achieve this is through science and technology and to direct the products of science and technology into right channels so as to benefit the large mass of the people. Therefore, I submit that the policy that we have pursued of a planned approach to this end, to this desired end, is right in the domestic field.

The foreign field, however much we may discuss it from time to time, is, after all, secondary to the domestic field. It becomes primary suddenly when there is an attack or aggression on us, or when something happens to work us up—that is a different matter—but generally, the domestic field governs the foreign field. If we are prosperous in this country, if we are strong, our voice is heard everywhere. If we are failures in our own country, nobody listens to us. Therefore, ultimately it is the domestic field that counts. But domestic policy and foreign policy are more or less tied up. It is absurd to have domestic policy which differs completely from the ends of the foreign policy.

In foreign policy we have ventured to lay stress, considerable stress, on peace, peace in the world. I would submit that that was right, and that is right. That does not become wrong because the Chinese Government believes in war. The Chinese Government believes in many things which are utterly wrong. They have strayed away from every canon of international behavior, from their own high civilisation which they have pushed away. Therefore, we stood for peace and for co-operation with all nations. That simply means that we cannot cooperate with somebody who will not cooperate with us, but we are prepared to cooperate, to be friends with other countries. If I may respectfully say so, some people, quite a number of people, have said something to the effect that we are isolated in the world. What that means I do not know. I know something of the world, too, and I think the position is quite the reverse. There is hardly a country which is so much honoured as India anywhere. I do not mean to say that we are not criticised—we are criticised, and there is much to criticise in this country as in any other country—but we are honoured, and we are honoured principally and chiefly, apart from our ancient heritage, because of the memory of Gandhiji, and secondly because, to a small extent, I do not say more than a small extent, we have endeavoured, according to our dim lights, to follow that—not completely, of course, I admit that; we cannot, in the circumstances. But they have seen that we have put a noble ideal before ourselves and we work up to them.

We have adhered to the democratic method and yet tried to do things which no democracy, working through democratic methods, has tried to do yet. It is a

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

new, novel example in the world's history that India has been trying to do, i.e. build herself up by planned economy, planned approaches, and yet retain the democratic method.

So, we are by no means friendless in the world. We have plenty of friends, but though we may have many friends, each country decides its foreign policy not on high principle, but on material interests. That is what we see round about India, in the countries surrounding us, how their policies have changed, often unfortunately very wrongly changed, not because of any principle. In fact, the thing that is obvious is that the changes that have taken place are wholly without principle. But one cannot measure one's own policies by the failures of others to adhere to any principle. As a result of the policy pursued in regard to other countries, it was inevitable, both because of our background and practical consideration of today, that we should have a policy of non-alignment which is largely accepted by this House, I believe, and even by many hon. Members on the opposite side. I would explain again non-alignment. Simply put, in a different language, it is freedom of action. Non-alignment is not anything else but a measure of independence and freedom of action and complete friendship with other countries. It does seem to me essentially right. It is odd that when we started talking about this policy of non-alignment many years ago, we were among the very few countries mentioning it. Gradually in the course of these ten or dozen years a large number of countries have adopted it, chiefly the newly independent countries. Because it seemed to them the right attitude for a newly independent country to adopt and it came naturally to them. But what is more important is this. The people and the countries that looked rather askance at this policy of ours to begin with gradually, began to appreciate it and we had arrived at a stage when almost everybody, every country that counts, appreciates that policy. I do not mean to say that they appreciate it so far as they are concerned; they may be members of power blocs. But situated as we are, they appreciated it. The only extraordinary thing is that some people, some hon. Members, like in other matters, still disagree with us. They disagree with the whole world and they will continue in the rut of thought into which they have got by some peculiar process of reasoning or lack of reasoning.

N.G. Ranga: We remain in isolation and we do not recognise it today.

Jawaharlal Nehru: These are the two major domestic policies that we have pursued and I venture to say that they were right and they are right and they will continue to be right in the changing world. Take non-alignment. The mere fact that it gives us freedom of action does not tie us and we can adopt to a changing world. Now, here is a country, our neighbour country, Pakistan which, in spite



of being very much aligned is wandering about all over the place without any principle or any adherence to anything worthwhile. It was extraordinary.

N.G. Ranga: Has India freedom of choice?

Mahavir Tyagi:<sup>365</sup>My hon. Friend wants to be aligned both ways ... (Interruptions).

N.G. Ranga: Yes. She is playing with two; there is no bigamy there.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So, I do venture to say that the policies we have pursued in both these important fields are right. Events have shown them to be right. They are right in principle, theoretically but practically they have been shown to be right and therefore, we must adhere to them, both in the domestic and in the foreign field.

Opinions may differ as to the progress made by us in those policies. I venture to say that in both these, progress has been considerable. In the domestic field no doubt many of us would have liked to have gone faster. But we have to work. It is not merely a question of Government's functioning or this Parliament functioning and fine speeches being made and resolutions passed. It is after all dependent on the mass of the people working, mass of the people understanding the position and working in that direction. Of course, we, this Parliament and the Government, have to give a lead and help the process. But essentially, we have to set the whole nation working, whether it is for war or peace or for both. I think that it is easy to say that we have not succeeded in many things, that we have not progressed as we ought to have progressed. But nevertheless, the progress that we have made in these last dozen years has been quite remarkable. It would have been remarkable even if we had made no such progress, compared to ... (Interruption).

Hari Vishnu Kamath: He is speaking in paradoxes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I shall explain myself. The mere fact of our continuing as a democratic entity, functioning as a democratic entity, in spite of all the storms and stresses that we have gone through, is itself remarkable. If, in addition to that, we measure the progress of any country roundabout us, in Asia or Africa, one might see the difference. We have had democratic structures being replaced by *coups d'état* or revolutionary violence into autocracies,

into authoritarianism, into something that we consider very undesirable. This is happening, has happened all over. So, this comparison itself brings to light what we have achieved.

If we agree to these basic principles and policies, what we have to do today is to examine not the principles, because they are proved to be right, but the implementation of those principles; it is in the implementation that we have often failed, and the implementation requires a great deal of capacity to work for millions of people as well as the capacity to lead hundreds of thousands. It is a difficult business. We have to create, if we want to develop industrially, a strong industrial base; that is, not merely odd factories here and there, but a strong, logically organised industrial base out of which other things come. We have built a good part of the base, not complete by any means, but we are on the way to its completion; probably in another six, seven or eight years we would have made enough progress to stand to a large extent on our own feet. That is the theory behind it, and inevitably that would have made us even from the point of view of military necessities more or less independent; not entirely but more or less. I mention this merely to say that there is no question of being prepared for war except by going through this process. The other process is getting a large number of weapons of war from other countries, buying them or getting them without payment or on easy payment system. When a crisis occurs, one does that and we are doing it today. But it is not strength. We must realise that even ammunition required for these weapons is a crushing burden, continually to get ammunition, unless you manufacture them here. So, we have essentially to build up our industrial machine which becomes, when the need arises, a war machine. And meanwhile we have to rely for whatever things we need on what we can get from outside. That is what we are trying to do.

There is one thing I would like to say about the response of our people to the Chinese invasion. We have all described it as a wonderful and spontaneous response. But what lies behind it? Why did they respond in that way? You may say, it is because of the love of the country. That is true; but even that means that they have got the concept of the country. Why should people near Cape Comorin respond with great fervour to this invasion in the far south of India? It is because they have got that concept of India in their minds. It is a very fine thing; you must realise it. Further, it is because the challenge is made to the India of today; that is to say, however much they may criticise the India of today and the Government of today, they appreciate what has happened to India in the last ten or twelve years, which they are not prepared to lose. It means that. Otherwise, these are only a few intellectuals who get warmed up by some theory. But the common people visualise these things as not merely theoretical, but practical things and they responded, in this magnificent way,



because, if I may say so, they appreciated what had been done in India since independence and they did not want to lose it.

Hem Barua: It is all self praise.

N.G. Ranga: In spite of you, they have united.

Nath Pai:<sup>366</sup>You are demeaning that magnificent response by claiming partisan credit for it.

Hari Vinsnu Kamath: It is not a party affair at all.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not venture to say it is a party affair.

Nath Pai: You are giving it that colour.

Ranga: Before we became free, when we were getting united, there was no Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister. He was only one of the fighters for freedom. We all rallied round you as well as Mahatma Gandhi. But now you are only a Prime Minister and we know the result.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: He is still a fighter, I hope. (Interruption)

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have to face a military problem. But if we consider it as a purely military problem, we shall make a grave mistake. It is a political problem also in the larger context and therefore, from both these points of view, military and political, we have to prepare our people and make them a nation armed militarily and with clear ideas politically. Lack of political appreciation of the world we live in and of our country will weaken the military effort. Our people must feel that we and they are labouring for a better future for them, where every Indian can have a chance and we have rid ourselves of our terrible poverty. A socialistic ideal is essential to create that feeling among our people, apart from its desirability otherwise. We have made progress, but even now there are reactionary elements in the country, which confuse the issue and make it more difficult to progress.

Hon. Members have asked, what are we doing now about all this? I cannot easily go into the lists of what we are doing in the military field, what we are trying to build ourselves, what factories we are putting up, what we are trying

366. PSP.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

to get from others, etc. partly because it would not be a right thing for me to do so and partly because I do not know what ultimately we will get. We are getting many things. There are many other things we want, and we are trying our best to get them. The main things that we want are machines to build things ourselves—aircraft, training for special aircraft, etc. All those things we want.

I need not say much about the question of air umbrella. The other day I made a statement. So, I think it should have made the position quite clear. As it was thought—this business of air umbrella—is seemed to me quite a wrong thing, because it really meant, if you analyse it in that way, that we do not build anything important ourselves, anything worthwhile ourselves and we rely on others to do that job for us. That is a bad thing both psychologically and actually, because at the end of the period, whatever they might have done, we remain as weak as we were. Secondly, this impression in our people that other people are going to do our job is a bad impression. It weakens them and creates a mentality which might be called the Maginot-line mentality—something like a protecting cover, they are standing like *chowkidars* with *lathis* ahead, we are free of thieves or scoundrels coming in and we can live happily. It is not a right mentality to create, in any country, in the people. Psychologically it is bad. But, as I have said enough, we are trying our utmost to get the assistance of other friendly countries to give us what we require, whether it is in the air or in the field.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: May I submit that the word “umbrella” itself with some of its former political associations is an unhappy word?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I agree with the hon. Member completely in this matter.

N.G. Ranga: The word “umbrella” has gone and “armada” has come.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member opposite, I think, in his speech asked me, what he calls, some particular questions for which he wanted clear answers. I do not know how far I can give clear answers to all his questions at present moment. He asked me, “Are we at war with China or not?” Well, obviously, in the technical sense we are not. That is obvious. But behind that technical sense lie many other things. That is a different matter, and I might say that we have entered into a period of conflict with China which is going to be a lengthy period which may occasionally sometimes be actual war and at other times not a war. But the conflict continues and we live on the brink of it all the time. Therefore, we have to be prepared for it all the time—I do not know if that is an adequate answer—and, we can never be sure of what developments may take place in the near future.



Priya Gupta: Are we preparing for a war or for a conflict?

N.G. Ranga: We are living in an emergency.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Whether it is war or conflict, the preparation is the same.

Priya Gupta: I see.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The preparation is identical and, if I may add, if it is negotiation, even then the preparation is the same, because no negotiation can take place, it has no value, unless it has the strength behind it.

Priya Gupta: In respect of war it is the same?

Jawaharlal Nehru: At the present moment, so far as the present position in these border areas is concerned, we consider ourselves completely free to do what we like, to send our forces where we like, but we do consider ourselves bound down to some extent by the so called Colombo proposals—that is, having accepted them we do not want to go beyond them—not that the question arises at all...

N.G. Ranga: That means they are not dead.

Hem Barua: But there was a gap between the Chinese ceasefire and the Colombo proposals. What did you do during that gap?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I may venture to say that we consider ourselves completely free to go into and implement the Colombo proposals as accepted by us. That is not quite the same as the Chinese view of the Colombo proposals. Anyhow, these questions do not actually arise at the present moment. As I am telling you, our army is free to do so. They have to decide when to go where to go and how to go. That is for them to decide.

Nath Pai: That is not very convincing. Basically, it is a political decision. You are avoiding your responsibilities. Basically, the decision is political. If you do not like to face it, that is different. We cannot accept the position that it is a military decision. We fail to understand how to move to the border is a military decision.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: The Defence Minister has got a free hand, I believe.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru: The political decision has been made by us; I am talking of the present moment; day after tomorrow it may be different. That is to say, in terms of the Colombo proposals we can send our troops or our forces anywhere. That is the political decision. Whether in those terms the army sends them immediately, tomorrow or the day after is a military decision.

Nath Pai: That is implementation.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Its implementation is up to the army.

N.G. Ranga: May we seek a clarification? He said that it is up to the Army. Army is also a department of this Government and there is a Cabinet Minister in charge of that. Are we to understand that the army and the Cabinet Minister are free to take any decision and then go ahead? What did the Prime Minister say when he went to Ceylon? "I have asked our troops to march." Was it a military decision, or political decision, or the Prime Minister's decision?

Mahavir Tyagi: Should we inform the enemy what we are going to do?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Hon. Members will appreciate the little fact that something has happened since the middle of September.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Very much.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What I said then was not my decision alone; it was the viewpoint of the military people too. They wanted to do it. Otherwise, I would not have dared to say anything like that. It is obvious.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: The then Defence Minister also.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now, for instance, there are two places, Thagla Ridge area and Longju which, under the Colombo proposals, as accepted by us, were sought to be left out of the other proposals and were to be discussed by us, that is by our emissaries, with the Chinese Government in the course of implementation. Now, because of that, for the present we are not sending any of our armed forces to the Thagla Ridge area and Longju. Apart from that, in the whole of NEFA we can go anywhere, we can send our armed forces anywhere, subject only to the decision of our military people as to when to send, what to send, and how to send. In the same way, in Ladakh too, we are free to send our forces where we like within the limits of our agreement, according to the Colombo proposals.



Hari Vishnu Kamath: What agreement? There is no agreement.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Within the limits of our acceptance of the Colombo proposals; I am talking of the present—a different situation may arise tomorrow—I am talking of the position as it is now.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Sir, on a point of clarification. The Prime Minister himself says that the Chinese have not accepted the Colombo proposals. So, we are not bound by them when they have not agreed to them.

Jawaharlal Nehru: They have not accepted them. As a matter of fact, that need not come in our way at all, because we have not implemented that part too. Because, practically speaking, there are difficulties.

Hem Barua: It depends upon the acceptance by the Chinese also, for its implementation.

N.G. Ranga: Drop the word “agreement” then.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, there is no “agreement” in that sense. What I have said in regard to the Colombo proposals is that it is no doubt a limit which we have not reached yet, which our Army has not reached yet. That is what I said. This is a matter which is a continually changing matter. It will depend upon what the position is. It is an obvious thing for me to say that here it is not a question of advancing, waving a flag: It is a question of advancing with strength enough to face any odds and the Army has to think of that. We cannot tell them to go here or to go there. They have to decide whether they can go there. They have to decide whether they can go there. They can go within a certain range.

I would repeat one thing. Whenever we think of war a large number of amateur strategists arise who are constantly advising us as to what to do and how to carry on a war or our preparation for a war. All of us have some views about it, but if it really comes to any warlike operations, one has necessarily to depend upon the experts who are there to advise us and who have to carry it out.

Broadly, I would remind this House, although we are taking every step to prepare ourselves, even so, we do not rule out any possible settlement by negotiation. It may be unlikely—probably, it is—but to rule it out would be wrong. That has not been our practice at any time. I have previously referred to a reference of this matter to the International Court of Justice at the Hague or even to a proper arbitration by a number of countries. It may be unlikely that China accepts it. That is a different matter, but I think it is a right course for us—right in itself and right from the point of view that the world is appreciating it.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

M.S. Aney:<sup>367</sup>I hope, you will do that after consulting this House.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously, I cannot commit the country to such a step without coming to this House, but I have already stated it in my letters to the Chinese Prime Minister about two months ago or a month ago I forget when—and made this suggestion. Suppose—it is an unlikely supposition, but suppose—he accepts them; then it becomes rather awkward for me to back out of that.

Nath Pai: Accept what?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The reference to the Hague Court or something like that.

Nath Pai: He dare not.

Hem Barua: He has made that clear.

Nath Pai: He dare not face an international tribunal; rest assured.

[State of Emergency]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Then, may I refer to some other matters? Some people have suggested that we should put an end to the state of emergency. At the same time, they have also criticised the Government and the administration for not keeping up the mind of emergency, if I may say so, among the people. Is it not obvious, apart from other reasons, that if we put an end to the state of emergency, everybody will lose all thought of an emergency?

N.G. Ranga: No, Sir, they have a greater sense of patriotism.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I must confess that what is obvious to me finds difficulty in appreciating by Professor Ranga. But one thing is certain—I do not say that that is the sole test of that—that once we did that the whole country will feel that the danger is past or that something has happened and they need not be taut and ready for any crisis. That is one reason. The fact is—I want this House to appreciate it—that the danger is not past. I do not know what may happen in the next two, three or four weeks in the month of March or April; I have no notion at all. I know that we have been preparing for everything and we have to go on strengthening ourselves. This process of strengthening will go on not

367. Independent.



only for a few weeks or few months but, may be, for a year or two. That is so. Because, we want to be prepared for every contingency. To imagine that there is no possibility of any new crisis suddenly arising, will be completely wrong for us.

N.G. Ranga: Should you keep it on taking away civil liberties, and giving all the freedom to the Congress party to carry on as they please all over the country, treating the rest of us who differ from them as traitors?

Speaker: Order, order; it is not a speech.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as Defence of India Rules are concerned, there have been some arrests and some objection has been taken to preventive detention, etc. Nearly all these arrests have taken place at the instance of the State Governments, certainly with the general approval of the Government of India, not individual – approval of individuals. But, the fact that they took some such action...

Vasudevan Nair:<sup>368</sup> Are we to understand that the Central Government did not send any directive to the State Governments?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I just ventured to say with the general approval of the Government of India, not in regard to any individuals. Where they considered any persons dangerous from the point of view of war effort, etc. they might take action; that is our general direction to them. But, the choice lay with them how to do it. Since then, we have repeatedly asked them to re-examine these cases and where they did not consider it necessary, to release them. In fact, about 200 or so persons, who were originally arrested, have been released. This process of reexamination is continuously going on.

[Kashmir]

About Kashmir, I would like to say a word, though not much. Because, I feel, having decided to talk with the Pakistan Government, it will not be proper for me to discuss this matter in the House or in public although I must say, the recent new development, which has induced the foreign Minister of Pakistan to go to Peking to sign a treaty with them about their border...

368. CPI.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Our border.

Nath Pai: Which is their border? We claim Kashmir as part of India.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: They have usurped our border.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes ... has come as a shock. It has come as a shock not only because of the basic facts of the situation. But the extraordinary thing is the timing of these events. The House will remember that when first my colleague Shri Swaran Singh went to Rawalpindi for the first series of talks, the day before the talks were going to begin, an announcement was made that an agreement in principle had been arrived at between China and Pakistan about the border. It was an extraordinary timing; just the day before. Now again, when he is going in a short time, they go. The least that it shows is ...

U.M. Trivedi:<sup>369</sup>We know all the while that they were being invited. Peking was inviting. Mohammed Ali was invited. This gentleman was invited.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Nevertheless, the timing is significant. I think one is justified in thinking it is significant. I think one is justified in thinking that this timing cannot be fortuitous or accidental. It is deliberate. Therefore, it does not indicate any strong desire on the Pakistan Government's part to arrive at any agreement. That is a matter. We gave some consideration to this as to whether we should continue these talks in spite of this visit of Pakistan Foreign Minister to Peking at this moment. We came to the conclusion that we should adhere to our previous resolve and not back out of these talks because of this, although, naturally, the talks will be affected by it. So, probably, I say probably, I do not know what might happen in the next week or ten or twelve days, probably, subject to that, I shall request Shri Swarn Singh again to journey to Calcutta to continue these talks.

Hem Barua: This is going to be the last.

U.M. Trivedi: We should re-orient our policy.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Because, one has to balance various considerations. We thought that it would not be desirable for us to break on this issue. Hon. Members here know all the background. But, for the world at large, the fact

369. Jana Sangh.



that will stand out is that we have broken these talks, not that they have gone to Peking. That will be very much before them.

[Maladministration]

Then, there are one or two other matters that I should like to refer to. One is that many Members have referred to corruption and maladministration. It is a favourite subject and a right subject to refer to, though perhaps, very often, the reference gives an exaggerated picture. Anyhow, it is a vitally important thing on which there cannot be any two opinions. And I can assure the House that we have been doing our utmost, and I do not know if Members see these things or these papers get enough publicity, but every month, I think, I receive a long list of persons in the Government service, who, after due inquiry, have been either proceeded with in the law courts or departmentally and punished.

Recently, there was the Vivian Bose Enquiry Report, which I hope, every Member has got now, for, it is a document worth reading, not only because of the particular things mentioned in it, but even more so because of the background in which such things can happen. It is true that the background is somewhat different now, because many of these things happened in the early days of our Independence, when some new laws that we have passed were not functioning. Nevertheless, it is important to consider what action should be taken not only to punish the guilty but to prevent such things from happening again as far as possible.

May I mention also another matter? Some Members drew my attention to...

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Will Parliament have an opportunity of discussing that report?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Undoubtedly, but we have not put it up ...

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Any opportunity of discussing it early?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Discussing it early? That is difficult, because the Finance Bill will take up most of the time. But there is another thing. We have referred that report to some eminent lawyers and asked them not only to go into the individual cases—that, of course, is a matter of detailed examination—but we have also asked their advice as to what else we can do apart from proceeding individually. So, I think that we should wait for their report and then bring it up before the House.

There is another matter that I should like to refer to. Some hon. Members have drawn my attention to some reports in the Calcutta newspapers, apparently

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

about some papers, account-books and other things being attached by the police, and it is said that in these account-books occurred the names of some Ministers. Central Ministers, State Ministers etc. I heard of this for the first time two days ago—or perhaps three days ago, I am not sure; immediately, I enquired and I wanted to know something more about it, and I have asked for a report about this, so that we might find out what it is and we shall after finding it out take necessary action. About the National Defence Fund, various people have drawn attention to the fact ...

Priya Gupta: In regard to the anti-corruption drive, let there be a forum for the Ministers also to be tried in case of complaint. That is my submission. The Home Minister has said that Ministers are not Government servants as such, and so, there must be some forum to look into complaints of corruption against the Ministers.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot talk about forums.

Speaker: Not the public forum.

Jawaharlal Nehru: About the National Defence Fund, some charge is made that coercion and compulsion is being exercised in these collections.

Priya Gupta: What about my submission?

Jawaharlal Nehru: If that is so, I am very much distressed, because we have made it very clear, repeatedly clear, publicly clear as well as privately clear, that there must be not an atom of compulsion or pressure exercised. For, it spoils something that has been magnificent. The way the public have contributed to this Fund has been truly very heartening, and to have that record spoiled by an odd case of compulsion etc. is not good. I can assure the House that the Finance Minister, I and others have tried our utmost, and we will go on trying, to prevent that.

One or two words more, about gold policy. I would not say much about it. I take it that almost all, if not all—I dare not say “all” lest Acharya Ranga might ...

Nath Pai: No, no. It is Comrade Dange who has opposed that—your progressive friend (Interruptions).

Jawaharlal Nehru: He has not heard the end of my sentence. What I was saying was this, that so far as the general policy underlying it is concerned, I hope that



if not all, nearly all persons, all Members, will agree to the implementation of it. There may be difference of opinion and some suggestions made. That is a matter which should continuously be under the consideration of the Finance Minister. But I am, not going into that matter because I understand there is going to be a full debate on it very soon ...

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Monday next.

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... on the 5th. The matter might be discussed then.

[Northeast]

There is just one other thing—I have taken so much time of the House—a proposal made by some hon. Members about NEFA, Nagaland, Tripura and Manipur, all being made into a homogeneous province with Assam. I think that on paper it would sound very nice but it would create great difficulties and will not be liked by the people concerned. That is a very important consideration. We cannot take a step today which goes against the will of the people concerned there.

Another criticism has been made about NEFA being treated as a kind of reserved area where people are not allowed to go easily. To some extent, that is true. That has been so. But the House will remember that NEFA has been the special responsibility of the Government of India in the External Affairs Ministry, with the result that it has had more attention paid to it than most other areas. It is not a question of keeping it apart from India, but certain changes should take place in a manner that they may fit in instead of creating difficulties and irritation among the people who live there. We have to go on with the process of integration, but without gaining the goodwill of the people, the integration would be superficial. Therefore, for the moment—specially at this stage from the point of view of border troubles—it will not be desirable to make any major change in the constitutional arrangements there.

Hem Barua: How do you propose to bring about a comprehensive Indian mind so far as these people are concerned?

Hari Vishnu Kamath: It is coming slowly.

Jawaharlal Nehru: They won't get a comprehensive Indian mind if they get the idea that the average Indian goes there to exploit them.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Hem Barua: I know that. That must be stopped, from whatever source it comes. But the policy of segregation, with the rest of the Indians not being allowed to go into that place, must not be persisted in.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: The Chinese are exploiting them all right.

Hem Barua: On the other side of the line, the Chinese are coming in and going out, and fraternising with the people there.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What I ventured to say was that the process should go on, as the hon. Member suggests. It has to be gradual to fit in. If you upset them, it is difficult to soothe them down again.

I am sorry I have taken so much time. May I now say a few words about prices? Much has been said about prices. Oddly enough, some Members have complained of rising prices and some have complained of declining prices.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: There has been a debate already.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I know. That fact that Members have complained of two entirely opposite tendencies indicates that prices have, on the whole, been stable.

Hem Barua: That is the easier solution.

Jawaharlal Nehru: One must judge the wholesale prices, and wholesale prices have, on the whole, been stable. In fact, there was a slight declining tendency up to December. Since then, there has been some rise, but of a marginal character only. As for retail prices, it is very difficult to have even very correct information about the whole of India, but we are trying to get as much information as possible. But on the whole even retail prices have not changed very much. Nor has there been any market fluctuation in the price of manufactured articles. In regard to cloth, the supply position is good, and prices have been at a relatively satisfactory level. The fact remains that the question of prices is a very important one and I believe is very much in the mind of the Planning Commission and other Ministries that deal with it.

Thank you.



## 151. Official Language<sup>370</sup>

I have read this note for the Cabinet and the draft Bill. I have nothing much to say about them. But the paragraph or clause dealing with the High Court using Hindi or the official language of the State, if it so chooses, for purposes of any judgment, decree or order, will undoubtedly raise many difficulties. However, if this is definitely laid down in the President's Order of the 27th April 1960, then I suppose it will have to be stated in the Bill. Anyhow, we can discuss this in Cabinet on the present draft.

2. I do not quite understand why the appointed day should be the 26th of January, 1965 or a subsequent date. I suppose this has to be done because of Article 343 of the Constitution. Nevertheless, it seems odd to fix a date two years hence for the Bill to come into operation.

3. When this is put up before the Cabinet, I suggest that the President's Order of the 27th April 1960 may also be placed before the Cabinet for reference. Also, the exact language of the report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language.

## 152. To Satya Narayan Sinha: Disciplining Socialist MPs<sup>371</sup>

March 16, 1963

My dear Satya Narayan,

I went to see the President this evening. He spoke to me about the report of the Committee which was formed to consider what action should be taken against the Socialist Members who interrupted his speech. I gathered from him that it was proposed to ask the Lok Sabha to agree to paragraphs 26 and 27 only of the report of the Committee. That is, paragraph 26, which lays down the rule for future interruptions etc., will not be put up to the House for approval.

The President thought that it was necessary to get the approval of the House to paragraph 28 also. I also agree with him. Not to do so would practically mean that the House does not agree with paragraph 28. That will be very unfortunate.

370. Note, 3 March 2018, for Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Home Minister. PMO, File No. 52(12)/57-63-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 107-A.

371. Letter to the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.

I think, therefore, that you should tell Krishnamoorthy Rao<sup>372</sup> that the resolution he intends moving should indicate approval of the three paragraphs namely, 26, 27 and 28.<sup>373</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **153. In the Lok Sabha: Misconduct During President's Address<sup>374</sup>**

The Prime Minister and Leader of the House (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr Speaker Sir, we are considering an unfortunate and a highly undesirable incident that occurred at the joint session.<sup>375</sup> The first reaction of this House to it was strong disapproval of it and we requested you to appoint a committee consisting of representatives of various parties to consider it. Now, therefore, first of all we are considering a specific matter which took place on that day. Certainly we are considering it by itself, but also with a certain background, not so much the background in this House, but elsewhere, that was happening in other Assemblies too.

Secondly, we are not considering, and the question is not before us, of the importance of Hindi. That is a separate matter which, if it comes up and in the shape it comes up, will be considered.

The sole question before us is—it is a highly important one and a vital one—what rules and conventions we should establish for the carrying on of the work of this Parliament with dignity and effectiveness. Nearly everyone present at the joint session was very deeply shocked at what happened. It was for the first time that it happened, and if that was allowed to continue without any strong expression of opinion of this House or Parliament, it would have been a bad day for our democratic institutions, and Parliament especially. This Parliament is supposed not only to act correctly but lay down certain principles and conventions of decorous behavior. All the provincial assemblies will no

372. Lok Sabha MP, Congress.

373. See also items 147, 12 [paragraphs 1-3, 8-11], 11 [Misbehaviour in Parliament], [Misconduct in Parliament], [Language]; 47 and 148.

374. Moving Motion on President's Address, 19 March 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XV, 18th-28th March 1963, pp. 4770-4773.

375. See items 147, 12 [paragraphs 1-3, 8-11], 11 [Misbehaviour in Parliament], [Misconduct in Parliament], [Language]; 47, 148 and 152.



doubt be affected by what we do here and will try to follow that example. It is, therefore, of high importance what we do here.

Now, this was referred to a Committee and the Committee has presented a report. I was not a member of the Committee, but as I read the report it appeared to be a unanimous report. Whether I agree with all that it says or somebody else does not go far enough, we may think otherwise, but I should have thought that if any committee of this House, representative of various sections came to a unanimous conclusion after hearing the parties concerned and considering other evidence, there was not much room left for argument in this House.

But there is one thing I must say. When I read, I think, paragraph 28 of the report which refer to any future occurrences of this kind and lays down a certain procedure and a certain punishment if it occurred again, I was first not quite clear in my mind why that should not have been included in the resolution proposed by the hon. Deputy Speaker. At the same time, I thought that this was a particular matter being considered. We are not considering a matter that might occur later, because that would ultimately depend upon the way it occurs, how bad it is, and it might well be that if it occurs in a particularly bad way the decision of this House would be much severer than the one that we have taken now. It is quite possible. It just depends on how it occurs. Therefore, to limit the judgment of this House to a certain procedure and a certain decision now for a future occasion—well, it might be much worse—would not be right. Therefore, I thought that the resolution that the Deputy Speaker has moved was on the whole a right one, making it perfectly clear that this refers to this particular incident and if, unfortunately, in future some such thing or something worse happens it will have to be judged by the House in the circumstances and an adequate decision taken.

I might say, Sir, that this particular matter affected me deeply. It was not—anyhow it will affect me the way of breach of decorum on such a solemn occasion, but it was, as has been pointed out, something that was carefully thought out, premeditated, written about. It was not a matter of sudden excitement or temper. That made it much worse. And later, it was, by the persons concerned, justified; and, apparently, possibly—I do not know—it might even have been thought that it would be repeated. That made it worse.

However, what we are considering is the limited question of what we should do today in regard to the report presented by the Committee to the House. The Committee has come to a unanimous conclusion. It may be that some of us, if we had been members of the Committee, might have suggested something more or something less or some variation of it. But the main part of the Committee's report is a very strong disapproval of this. That was in keeping with the expression of views in this House earlier when the Committee was

appointed. Then comes the recommendation to the effect that disapproval should be shown to two members who did not go out, and the others who went out in that particularly, rather, dramatic way should receive a higher degree of reprimand. That, I would submit, is about the least that this House can do. Otherwise, not only will the Committee's report be in effect not accepted, their views—the Committee of the House unanimously recommending something, but I think it will be very bad for the future, for this House as well as for parliamentary procedure anywhere in India.

I submit, therefore, that we should, in the present instance, adhere to the Committee's report and fully carry out their recommendations, making it quite clear that if in the future any such thing happens or anything in the nature of indecorous behavior on a solemn occasion occurs, we shall have to consider it then and take such action as the House considers proper. And, in view of the present view of the House as exhibited in this debate and previously, no doubt, if this is repeated, we shall have to take a very serious view of it. But, for the present, I would submit to you, Sir, and to the House, that the least we can do is to accept this and thereby give an indication to this House, to the country and to other assemblies in India that we shall adhere strongly to the behavior that is expected of such a high assembly as Parliament and other representatives bodies in India. We have to set an example to them, and if we are weakened in this it will be a bad day for Parliament and for our future work. I submit, therefore, that the resolution moved by the Deputy-Speaker should be accepted by us without much argument.

## **154. To Raghu Vira: Use of Indian Languages and English<sup>376</sup>**

April 16, 1963

Dear Dr Raghu Vira,

I have your letter of the 14th April.<sup>377</sup> I do not understand how you have come to the conclusion that we have decided not to use the languages of the people. It has been our firm conviction that the Indian languages should be encouraged and developed in every way. I think they have made remarkable progress all over India ever since Independence.

I suppose you are referring in your letter to the proposal to continue English as an associate language for official and Central purposes. I should like to draw

376. Letter to a former Rajya Sabha MP and Jana Sangh leader; address: J-22 Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi-16. PMO, File No. 52(12)/57-63-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 113-A.

377. See appendix 61.



your attention to the fact that for all the work in our State legislatures and Governments as well as for education, it is entirely open to the Government to introduce the regional languages. That surely is the best way to develop these regional languages. Inevitably this will progressively affect the Centre.

Even the present Bill only relates to English being an associate language for certain Central official purposes. Hindi will be the first language even for these purposes.

I think that this is advisable even from the point of view of encouraging Hindi. But apart from this, you will remember that about four years ago, a Presidential Order based on the report of the Official Language Commission and the Parliamentary Committee was placed before Parliament by the then Home Minister.<sup>378</sup> In this Order, it was clearly recommended that English should be made an associate language. Ever since then we have been committed to this position, and it would be a breach of a promise clearly and definitely made to go behind that undertaking.

In this matter of language, it would be most unfortunate if we created the impression on any part of India that we wanted to coerce them into accepting and using Hindi. Fortunately, Hindi is making rapid strides even in the South. Any element of compulsion is more likely to stop this progress. I am convinced that Hindi will make more rapid progress by the willing cooperation of all parts of India than by doing something which is resented by some States.

I do not see anything undemocratic in what we propose nor anything which is opposed to the interests of our people as a whole.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **155. To Frank Anthony: English as Associate Language<sup>379</sup>**

April 18, 1963

Dear Anthony,

I have received the letter of the 17th April which you and a number of other MPs have sent me in regard to the Official Languages Bill.

378. G.B. Pant.

379. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Nominated. PMO, File No. 52(12)/57-63-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 117-A.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I am afraid I am heavily engaged on the 19th and 20th April and I do not find any suitable time to meet you on those days. I understand, however, that most of you have been meeting the Home Minister<sup>380</sup> who is in charge of this Bill. I am sending your letter to him.

I think that the use of the word “may” in clause 3 of the Bill is quite adequate for the purpose. It is well known that in this context it means “shall”.

Your reference to what I said previously in the Lok Sabha that in my opinion English should be used as an Associate Language or Alternate Language until otherwise decided by the Non-Hindi speaking people, continues to represent my opinion. I do not see, however, how we can make this provision in the Statute. For my part, I am sure that no major change in this matter should be made except by general consent, as I am convinced that such a change without the general consent of the non-Hindi speaking people will create controversies which are neither good for Hindi nor English.

We have been anxious to pass this Bill during this session as we thought that any delay would be misunderstood and will give rise to some people complaining that we are postponing it because of the Hindi agitation. I think it is desirable to take it up during this session.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **156. In New Delhi: At the CPP<sup>381</sup>**

Jawaharlal Nehru: Before we start our normal proceedings, there is a certain obituary notice I have to make. You may have heard that one of our members of the Rajya Sabha, Shri Thomas Srinivasan, died yesterday. So, we must express our sorrow at this by standing up for a while.

Thank you.

Well, comrades, we have met today more particularly to consider the official language/languages bill. I believe many of you or some of you have been meeting and discussing this with the Home Minister. Now, I do not want to speak at any particular length now, I will rather hear what members say. But I must confess to a feeling of surprise and dismay at the various expressions of opinion that have been made in regard to it. Because it seemed to me inevitable after what we had said in the House, after the President’s order was and everything,

380. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

381. Participation in discussion, 19 April 1963. NMML, AICC Tapes, Tape No. M-70/C.



it was absolutely impossible for us to pass it by and say “no” to this. It would have been a degrading spectacle for any government to function like this and if it had to be done the government must go, let somebody else take charge of the government. It is a big enough thing to give a pledge, a pledge with the background of all that the commission that was appointed, the Parliamentary committee that was appointed, the President’s order, the statements made in Parliament by the Home Minister then, and all that goes by when now we do a thing, which is just formally to give effect in some measure to what was said. This, opposition to it raised, it passes my understanding how any person with any sense of dignity for Parliament or for government’s word can say that. I am not going into the merits of it. I will, presently. But having arrived at that stage, it is absolutely impossible for any government, whatever government it may be, to go back on its word. It is quite clear to me.

But consider the merits of this business. First of all, it is unfortunate but very wrong for people to look upon it as a kind of rivalry between Hindi and English. That is a completely wrong outlook or for people to test it. Some people may, some opposition people, but not all. That this is an attempt to retard Hindi or give a dominant place to English, that is quite wrong. It is my conviction and I say so completely, with complete honesty, that Hindi, and I should say all our languages in India, will advance much more rapidly and much more effectively with some kind of association with English than without it.

I have often stated one thing to this House in another context and I should repeat it, that the one thing that India for various reasons has suffered from in the past hundreds of years—not the remote past, I am talking of the medieval period and all that—a few hundred years, has been the complete cutting off of India from world currents. We ourselves started world currents originally, powerful world currents, whether it was Buddhism coming in here or other philosophical thoughts, and others went out; we did that in the older days when we were more dynamic. But afterwards we became cut off, not only in the later so-called Hindu period, I do not like this, but the Muslim period, it is all cut off, it is quite extraordinary, how we were cut off from the rest of the world, with the result that the rest of world changed vitally, we were not affected by it.

Then we were affected with a thump by the British coming here, because the others coming here did not make much difference, they did not represent world currents, we were weak and there were invasions of India through the North-West and we were weak, cut off, and we were overwhelmed. The British came here representing a new current in the world, the industrial revolution, new kinds of armies, new kinds of this and behind that, new thoughts. It was a curious thing, they represented both, certainly they represented a colonial regime coming in and taking possession of India and exploiting it. They also

represented certain—they did not want to but they did represent—revolutionary tendencies, represented by the industrial revolution and all that. They did not want to do that but they did, they were there, that they themselves were representing it, they represented, and therefore, the two processes started in India. Now, apart from places like Tibet which is quite cut off from the rest of the world, we were one of the countries, a great big country with a magnificent past and vital movements here, we were in terms of thought and other things, cut off from the world's thought. We did not affect the world as we should have done and as we did do in the earlier stages of our history. We were cut off, we lived Narcissus-like in a circle of our own, which is a good circle, not bad but which is not a dynamic thing, it became a static thing. And that was the real reason for our downfall, because we had no growing life in us as a society. We had plenty of life which we had derived from the past, a very fine life, but still it was not a dynamic life and we were overcome.

Now we are trying to get over that difficulty by all these things that we say. Five Year Plans for me is not merely putting up factories or tractors or machines. That of course, that is a symbol of something much more. It is opening our minds to the tremendous modern trends of life, which ultimately could control the world, are controlling it and will be controlling it. It is no good denying it. The mere fact of that, our having 444 million people, will not stop it, numbers do not stop it, it is a quality of it. It is most important, therefore, that we should have our minds, the windows and doors of our minds, open to the rest of the world and we should not again close ourselves in. I do not think we will, nothing can do that, because enough changes have happened in India to keep the process going. But we should welcome those changes and encourage them.

Now there is grave danger, another danger which I might point out, that something of infinite value in our culture, in our lives, which has affected India powerfully in past ages and which is still affecting it, I think that is most important that that should continue. But if that is put as if it was an opposition to the modern world, that will suffer. If you put it that way, either this or that, it is not necessary to put it that way either this or that, it will suffer inevitably, because you cannot ignore the modern world with scientific achievements. It is too powerful a thing for it to be ignored. It can be adapted and I think there is nothing inherently contradictory to the basic Indian philosophy and contradictory between that and the modern world. In fact it is relatively easy to reconcile the two and to keep both, maybe that minor fringes change. Therefore, I feel, because I feel the value of many of the ancient things that we have inherited, I feel the importance of our retaining them, I do not want them to be put in a position where they are competing with all modernity. If that is the position, then undoubtedly the modern world will get predominance and



well sweep away the rest, which will be sad. That will mean the whole heart and soul of India, as we have known it, being suppressed, the individuality of India being suppressed, and I would hate that. I am all for modernity but I do not want the individuality of India, the greatness of India as it has been, to be suppressed. That can only be kept going by your bringing about a synthesis between all that is valuable in the past and all that is valuable in the present. By sticking entirely to the past, you do not protect it even, because the waves of modernism are too powerful and it is not by you and me ultimately this will be decided but by the hundreds of millions of people in India. In a democratic set up they will be swept away by that. You cannot, we do not want to leave the past, much of it; you can only preserve it by synthesising it with the present. And in that process therefore I think the question of language is important.

The question of language, it is important first of all, I think, it is highly important to bring our masses of people into our political, economic and the rest of the life for the work to be done in the languages of the country, I have no doubt too about it and their progress, their spreading education in our languages. That is highly important. While I acknowledge that importance, it is equally important for us to keep our windows open to the rest of the world. Therefore, I have been of the opinion that English should be taught compulsorily in our schools etc. after a certain stage. This is nothing to do with the official language. I am merely telling you my approach to this question. I think any foreign language, but it is obvious the only one language we are accustomed to is English, other languages Russian, French, German, etc. we may learn but we will never get very proficient in it. Therefore, I have thought that the Indian languages must be encouraged, in every way encouraged. It is not a question of translating books. You can, they should be translated of course, all the classics of the rest of the world, it is something more than translation. It is getting ideas from abroad, not text books but real ideas. Today, every year, I do not know, I am merely guessing, anything up to 50,000 new worthwhile books are published in various languages, 50,000 or 1,00,000. You cannot translate hundred thousand books every year, it is impossible. You have to enter into that world of modernity, of modern thought which these languages represent. It cannot be done by translation.

Now I want you to consider that our languages, whether it is Hindi or Bengali or Tamil or Gujarati or Marathi or Telugu or anything, they are pretty old languages. They have their roots—I am leaving out the Southern languages—they have their roots in Sanskrit. Apart from the Southern languages—and Tamil is as old as Sanskrit—and even apart from their roots, they have had a separate existence for some hundreds of years. Most of our modern Indian languages have produced some very fine and very great books. Take Hindi for

instance, it has some very fine books which are very popular and very great. Yet, you will find that all of them are rather the epic, the devotional, that type, the poetic type, very fine poetry, very fine ideas. This is the early stage of a language and a very fine stage, every language has gone through and goes through, English, French, German. Then just like these languages in India were rather overshadowed by Sanskrit and to some extent by Persian later, because they did not quite develop as modern languages do, just as French and German and English and Italian were not allowed to develop by Latin, although they all derived from Latin, they were not allowed to develop from Latin and it was as if you read the history of languages, it was a very brave effort on the part of the Frenchmen, Italian and English to build up their languages then. Their opposition was to Latin, not opposition but they did not want to be submerged by Latin and partly Greek. They built them up from the 16th or 17th century onwards. In England the basis of that language you might say was the Bible and Milton and Shakespeare, these are the strong foundations of that language. So also, in French and Germany they built up to very great languages.

Now in India that process could not easily start, for a variety of reasons, till the British came. Our languages, fine books as that they had, were rather confined to the earlier stages of language development. It was when the British came, by the British coming I mean the British ideas also came here, English came, that our languages started developing in the modern way. Take prose, there are very, very few prose books in our languages previous to that, prose books came and other things came. And the press came, the printing press came, and our languages developed. Modern Hindi or modern Bengali or modern any language in India has developed during the British regime in India. Not because the British wanted to do it, but because of impact of ideas, impact of modern conditions. And take now, take the last fifteen to sixteen years of independence, our languages have developed remarkably during these fifteen to sixteen years. Not that languages developed by government orders, government can help or hinder, but really, they developed because they have life in them. Hindi has developed tremendously, because Hindi has some life, it adapted itself to modern ideas, the modern novel has grown, the modern short story has grown, the modern drama has come, in Indian conditions, and revived our languages which were previously confined to certain topics, good topics, but still confined topics. Therefore, to think that the intrusion of another language suppresses a language is wrong. It encourages it. I think Indian languages are growing and will grow more by the inter-relation to each other. I am sure Hindi would profit and has profited by Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, etc. and so also it does profit and it will profit by foreign languages. Therefore, even from the point of view



of giving body, the body of modernity to our languages, it is desirable to have English round about to bring those ideas, and those ideas will be clothed in our own languages and become a part and parcel of them. Otherwise there might be danger, I do not know there is real danger because we have gone too far in the other direction, there is danger of ours becoming what is called a stilted language, beautiful in its own way, fine in its own way, but stilted, not having enough, what shall I say, enough material fitting in with the modern world in it, and ideas and things. I am not merely talking of technology and science that is important but other things too. Therefore, I think it is for the good of Hindi and good for all our languages, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil etc. for this connection with the foreign language to go on for some time, any time. Our languages will grow, the forces for our language which has to grow, for Hindi to grow, are very great, but the point is it should grow not merely governmentally and the like but internally, which have had the strength, and the vigour to grow, that vigour it has in some way it gained from connections with other languages in India.

I think I have always thought that it is important for Hindi, merely for its vigour, to be closely connected with Urdu. The two together bring vigour and strength, it will remain Hindi of course but it can derive vigour from Urdu. Urdu has remarkable vigour. It is surprising that in spite of the fact that Urdu is not, well, officially helped very much, still, there was a book exhibition here the other day and I was amazed to find about two years ago, that Hindi was number one in the number of books published, and this was I remember, I am not quite sure, I think Urdu was number two in all the languages in India. It is surprising. It is not a regional language in the sense of Hindi or Marathi or Gujarati and yet it has vigour, the vigour of it has produced so many books and good books, it is surprising. And Urdu, this foolish controversy between Hindi and Urdu, it pulls back each. Hindi will remain Hindi, of course, but a language grows by its close association with other languages and ideas and words. English is a language which has taken in it thousands and thousands of words from other languages. It has taken, I do not know how many, but many hundreds from even our Indian languages, possibly a thousand from our Indian languages. When I was in prison, I sat down one day with a dictionary. I went through it noting down the books, words in English that had been taken from languages, all the languages. I got tired of it, I made a list of a few hundred, I did not go through the dictionary that way. This idea of maintaining a purity of language while keeping out other words weakens a language, does not strengthen it. You must clothe it in the forms of the language, that is a different matter you cannot keep easily, take foreign elements, which do not fit in with the genius of a language.

Therefore, this association with English I think is eminently suited, especially in the present time, when languages are changing rapidly, becoming more and more scientific, and as I was saying the other day, a new language is developing which most of us do not know anything of. New language for technical work, a scientific work, a language is of pure symbols. You will be surprised to see a book now, any book, of physics or higher mathematics, there is hardly a linguistic word, it is just symbols complicated symbols, they are the same in every language, must be, you cannot have different symbols for every different language. That is, all kinds of changes are taking place, you have to keep pace with them. These are some general considerations I have put before you. But the major consideration is this, in a matter of language, there can be no compulsion, let this be understood completely. It is not a question of majority or minority. The moment the idea of compulsion comes, immediately there is resistance from that compulsion. With the result that those who may be in a majority, lose by it. A language grows by acceptance, by willing acceptance, not by compulsion. You cannot do it simply. You can of course do it in one way, which may have been done in the past of liquidating everybody. That is a different matter, the Changiz Khan way, that is not done now-a-days. They are ways only of willing acceptance, as indeed is happening today in regard to Hindi, because Hindi is spreading very widely in the South, leave out the North, very widely. It is amazing how it is spreading, but the moment you put across this idea of compulsion there is resistance to it, people give up learning Hindi, people say no, and you lose what you are getting and you create an atmosphere of conflict, and linguistic conflicts are very bad things, even in small matters. Not small it seems, linguism we call it, between Maharashtra and Gujarat or some place of Bihar and Bengal. But that coming in this way is very bad, and we have therefore to proceed with caution with care and with a great deal of loving kindness to all the languages of India and this idea that we can thrust a language over the heads of a large number of people is patently not possible of achievement, you cannot do it, it is not a question of arguing about it, it cannot be done. And more particularly when movements are afoot in India which are rapidly increasing the importance and the value of our Indian languages, which are certainly increasing the importance and the spread of Hindi, these are natural growths added by some other activities that we indulge in, the government, or others, those are right things, moving in the right direction. Therefore, I should like you to consider this question from this broad point of view. I am not going into details etc.

I have got a letter yesterday from some, not members of our party, but some others, that is, they were largely from the South, who criticised the President's



draft of the Bill.<sup>382</sup> One of the criticisms is that I have said that I would not like English to be removed except by the consent or goodwill of the non-Hindi speaking parts of India. They say why is this in the Bill. This is a rather absurd criticism. I believe in that still, because I believe that Hindi is the only language which can take that place in India and it can only, I equally believe, it can only do it by friendly approaches, by cooperative approaches and all that. Take one thing. Hindi is being spread more, if I may say so, by the cinema than by any of the literary societies. There it is. The literary societies do good work, no doubt, I do not know, but the fact is the popular upsurge for it is more due to the cinema, so that all these forces are at work. They should work. But when I said that I said something which I believe in, that is I do not want to thrust this on anybody, they have an element of compulsion. But you do not put that in a statute, that is a mental approach, it is mine today also, I hope it will remain in other people. But you cannot put it in that statute. People from some states will come and vote, it will be an extraordinary division of your people voting, state's voting separately, but you should bear that in mind that should be the approach, and the moment that is the approach, you will find that your progress is much greater than otherwise.

This was the main thing. Some other things: it says that English may be an additional language, an associate language. Some people said it should be written "shall be".<sup>383</sup> Well normally the word "may" is used in such things. I do not want to enter into the discussion, we can discuss it fully, I am merely pointing out to you that "may" has a particular meaning in Statutes. You cannot think too much in terms of going to the Supreme Court and getting it, some order of the Supreme Court, in terms of "shall" or "may". You expressed the idea was that English under the Constitution was to last for ten years, fifteen years, whatever the period, for fifteen years. Now that fifteen years is over, you say it may continue, the same thing may continue. It is good enough.

And that there were two, three other matters, I forget what they were. I think that if the Home Minister, he can state that this thing naturally, because we want large measures and largest consensus of opinion in its favour, the Home Minister should state it. In so far as he is concerned, nobody can say who will be there ten years later. This is the idea that will be on record. Government should be consulted. So I would beg of you to consider this, because it is, it maybe, has not become so bad yet, but if it really becomes bad, if for instance, the kind

382. 15 MPs from the Swatantra Party, DMK and some Independents presented the Prime Minister a memorandum suggesting postponement of the Official Languages Bill. One of the signatories was Frank Anthony. See *The Hindu*, 20 April 1963, p.7.

383. See item 155.

of things that we saw some days ago in the Lok Sabha when some members, Socialists and others, misbehaved badly and had to be pushed out, now nothing can be more harmful to the cause of Hindi and the cause of democracy of course and the cause of any kind of decent living than that kind of thing. I mean to say if those persons can do it, others can do it in the contrary way. You do not have Parliament functioning but you have extraordinary sights. So we must put a stop to these tendencies. Unfortunately, some people evidently do not attach much importance to democracy or the democratic way of functioning, because we have to accept sometimes since we do not like that is the essence of democracy. So, I hope that the Congress Party, at least in this matter, will function unitedly and with strength in this matter and give a lead not only to the rest of the Parliament but to the country. We cannot in this matter, it is not a question of religious principle involved, that one man's conscience says, that conscience clauses are invoked, this is a matter of practical commonsense and politics and we must all hold together in this.

Well, I have taken quite a lot of your time.

A Member: I thank the leader for having given me the opportunity to say a few words.

Jawaharlal Nehru: One matter is still there—the fact to be kept in mind, it is no good forgetting it, that India is a multi-lingual country, it is not a one-language country, even a country like Yugoslavia which is much smaller, they have I think, I forget four or five, five official languages, all those five languages can be used everywhere, and that is the only way Yugoslavia has been kept together. You all know about Switzerland. And the second thing is that the real linguistic growth of our languages naturally must take place in the linguistic areas. For instance, Hindi, in the Hindi areas, UP, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, etc. It can flourish. This Bill we are thinking of, of the central official work. We have to think somewhat differently. We want one of our languages like Hindi to perform the function, and we want that to happen. But we cannot, we cannot try to expedite it in a way so as to injure the interest of other linguistic areas in the Central Government or in the centre.

That is all.



**157. To C. Rajagopalachari: Postponing Language Bill<sup>384</sup>**

April 21, 1963

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th April.<sup>385</sup> I have naturally given a great deal of thought to whatever you have written and have also consulted our Home Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Normally we would have gladly postponed the Language Bill to the next session. As a matter of fact, we made a special point of bringing this Bill up in this session because of criticisms made in Madras and elsewhere at the delay in our bringing it forward. We were asked why we had not introduced it in the last session. It was as a matter of fact hardly possible to do so, although we intended it.

Now that we have introduced it and all the parliamentary programme has been prepared accordingly, it would be difficult and awkward to postpone it. Also this would probably result in a continuing agitation of various sides in regard to it. It is better to proceed with it now.

The assurance I gave some time ago in Parliament holds so far as I am concerned and so far as Government is concerned. Indeed, I am convinced that the only proper way to proceed with these language matters is by a large measure of consent in regard to Hindi. Certainly, the consent should include the agreement of the non-Hindi areas.

But I do not see how such an assurance can be embodied in the Constitution. That seems to me a very unusual way of proceeding.

The main purpose of the Bill is to get over the difficulty of fixing a date for the change over from English to Hindi which the Constitution had laid down and to ensure that English will continue to be used for Central and official purposes. I do not see why the South should think in terms of hatred and fear. We are doing this especially in order to remove any apprehensions in the minds of the people in the south or elsewhere. I propose to speak on the Bill in the Lok Sabha, and I shall repeat my old assurance quite clearly and make it clear that in this matter there can be no decision at any time without the general agreement of the non Hindi speaking areas.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

384. Letter to the leader of the Swatantra Party. PMO, File No.52(12)/57-63-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 121-A.

385. See appendix 65.

## 158. In the Lok Sabha: Official Languages Bill<sup>386</sup>

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr Speaker, Sir, I confess to a feeling of a little confusion after the speech of the hon. Member who has just spoken. I hoped and I intend, as far as I could, to deal with question before this House.

यशपाल सिंह:<sup>387</sup> आज के पवित्र वायुमंडल में प्रधान मंत्री हिन्दी में बोलें तो अच्छा रहे।

बागड़ी:<sup>388</sup> आज तो हमारे प्रधान मंत्री हिन्दी में बोलें तो अच्छा है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: आप बैठ जायें हर एक मेम्बर को हक हासिल है कि चाहे वह हिन्दी में बोले या अंग्रेजी में। यह उसकी मर्जी है। मैं किसी को इस के लिए कुछ नहीं कह सकता। आप बैठ जायें।

बागड़ी: मैं प्रधानमंत्री से कहना चाहता हूँ...

अध्यक्ष महोदय: अब आप बैठ जायें।

बागड़ी: गांधी जी की जबान तो बोलें।

राम सेवक यादव<sup>389</sup>: उत्तराधिकारी तो गांधी जी के हैं।

[Tranlation begins:

Yashpal Singh: In such a pious atmosphere, if the Prime Minister spoke in Hindi, it would be good.

Maniram Bagri: Today if our Prime Minister speaks in Hindi it will be good.

Speaker: Please sit down. Every member has the right to speak in either Hindi or English. I cannot force anyone. Please sit down.

386. Responding to debate on Official Language Bill, 24 April 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XVII, 13th April to 24th April 1963, pp.11631-11658.

387. Congress.

388. Socialist.

389. Socialist.



Bagri: I wish to tell the Prime Minister...

Speaker: Please sit down.

Bagri: At least speak Gandhiji's language.

Ram Sewak Yadav: He is the heir of Gandhiji.

Translation ends]

Jawaharlal Nehru: But the last speech—I am not criticising it—I am merely saying that I do not quite know what it was about, and I must say with respect that many of the speeches delivered either for the motion or a criticism of it, were ...

बागड़ी: अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं वाक आउट करता हूं क्योंकि ऐसे हम भाषा के सवाल पर भी प्राइम मिनिस्टर हिन्दी में नहीं बोलते। मैं इस के विरोध में बाहर जाता हूं।

(Shri Bagri then left the House)

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मैं बहुत मश्कूर हूं माननीय सदस्य का अगर वह यहां से चले गये।

राम सेवक यादव: उनके जाने का कम से कम एक असर तो हुआ कि आप हिन्दी में दो शब्द बोले।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: आर्डर, आर्डर, अगर आप भी चाहते हैं ...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मैं और भी मश्कूर हूंगा (Interruption).

अध्यक्ष माहोदय: क्या आप बोलने की इजाजत ही नहीं देंगे किसी को?

[Translation begins:

Bagri: Hon. Speaker, Sir, I want to walk out. Even on the issue of languages the Prime Minister is not speaking in Hindi. In protest, I want to stage a walk out.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I would be thankful to the hon. Member if he leaves the house.

Ram Sewak Yadav: The impact of his walking out had at least the effect that you spoke a few words in Hindi.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Speaker: Order...Order... if you too want to ... (interruptions)

Jawaharlal Nehru: I would be further thankful.

Speaker: Would you not allow anyone to speak?

Translation ends]

Jawaharlal Nehru: When we started the course of the Bill, when it was introduced, we saw a most extraordinary and disgusting and disgraceful spectacle in this House. It was a bad beginning. (Interruption). You were pleased to take some action in regard to that matter. I do not know—I hope at least that it has some effect on those who misbehaved on that occasion, because if they really thought about the matter at all, they have done more injury to the cause of Hindi than any man in the whole of India. Now, if this is the logic how some hon. Members act, it is a little difficult to meet their arguments which are equally wide of the mark.

Yesterday, one hon. Member who had not come here but in the precincts of this House behaved in a rather extraordinary manner, I do not know if that gentleman, that hon. Member, has the least conception of what Parliament is, what democracy is, how one is supposed to behave or ought to behave. It is extraordinary where we are going to.

Bade<sup>390</sup>: On a point of order, Sir. When the hon. Member is not here and when action has already been taken against him, can he say ...

Speaker: Order, order. Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That, I submit, raises even more deeper questions than even the question of language. Therefore, I am referring to it, because language, after all, does represent some of the deepest urges of the human being and is the vehicle of all our business. I am perfectly free to say that I will prefer any language, whether Finnish, Swedish or anything, but I am not prepared to have this behaviour in the name of language and spoil democracy and everything.

As I said, many of the speeches delivered yesterday—some I had the privilege to listen to and some I read subsequently—it seemed to me, having regard to the importance of the occasion and consideration of problems which raise considerable heat and passion, were on the whole, if I may say so with

390. Jana Sangh.



respect, in spite of the delicacy of the subject and in spite of the strong sentiments expressed, in line with parliamentary practice and procedure and were good for all to listen to, even though we may not have agreed with them. I refer to the speeches like those delivered by Prof. Mukerjee or Dr Govind Das. Much that Dr Govind Das said, and indeed part of his speech consisted of quotations from various persons, including quotations from me, one can agree with that and yet, as it happens, thoroughly disagree with the conclusion that he has arrived at. Whatever he said, he said because he felt it and I welcome his saying it.

I am sorry I cannot say exactly the same thing about the hon. Member, Mr Anthony's speech, which I read in full afterwards. It was unhappy. I am not referring to his views. But it was an unhappy speech and as he himself said in the course of his speech, he represented a rather extreme, and I think he used the word "bigoted" point of view. That is not the way to consider this question. I shall venture to deal with one or two points that have been raised. There are not many points raised; in spite of the heat engendered in the debate, there are not really many points raised, because it is not a contest between English and Hindi. It will be wrong to look at it in that way.

This is a Bill in continuation of what has happened in the past, to remove a restriction which had been placed by the Constitution on the use of English after a certain date, i.e. 1965. It is just to remove that restriction that this was placed. It was to carry out an assurance given in this House; it does not do really much more than that. There are a few other little things, but the main thing is to remove that restriction. It was our purpose to bring this Bill during the last session, but the last session was tied up with many things, you will remember, with regard to the Emergency. It was a short session and we could not do it for lack of time. We were accused then of deliberately not bringing it forward and postponing it. We were accused of doing that by the very persons who want us to postpone it today. I do not understand it. In spite of the heavy work before this House, we insisted in bringing it forward to please the people who thought that we were playing about with this matter and postponing it for various reasons, because we dare not bring it before the House, etc. Now we are asked to postpone it. I am sorry, I do not understand the logic behind this demand. This bill is essentially a bill to extend this period, more or less indefinitely, beyond the period put down in the Constitution—1965. That is the main purpose—there may be differences of language etc. and I think it should be looked at in that way.

Now, the hon. Member, Shri Anthony has said very hard things about various persons and about the assurance I gave. I am sorry, I am not, I hope, lacking completely in some kind of mental capacity—I am entirely unable to understand what he has said about going back on any assurance I gave at any

time. He talked about all kinds of pressure being exercised on me. I do not know who is exercising it. I am not aware of it, and I have not succumbed to any pressure, either exercised or implied. I had given on the last occasion an assurance about no major change being made in regard to the use of English without the consent, without the approval of the non-Hindi-speaking people. That was made by me and that represents not only my view point but the view point of our Government. And, when it was made, it was clear to me that it was made, largely with the approval of this House. We stand by that completely. There is not an iota of difference from what we had said then. And, apart from that, what I may have said or not said, there are circumstances in the country which inevitably point to that direction. May be, some of these gentlemen who perform havans, and what not, on this question may think otherwise. That is a different matter. May be, Shri Anthony in his excitement may also think otherwise. I would strongly recommend Shri Anthony to develop close contacts with the gentleman who is performing the havan outside and, perhaps ...

Frank Anthony<sup>391</sup>: Sir, I rise on a point of explanation. May I know—I am not questioning the motives of the Prime Minister—how the bill reflects his assurance? How are the non-Hindi-speaking people going to be consulted? How is “may” going to be prevented from being interpreted as “may not”?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I shall deal with those points. I do not see how this bill was going to say anything about the consultation of non Hindi Speaking people.

Frank Anthony: Why not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I say, according to my thinking, it is quite absurd and unconstitutional.

Frank Anthony: Why is it unconstitutional? Give us some reasons. I am a lawyer and the Prime Minister also is. Why is it unconstitutional?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The assurance has nothing to do with the bill or the Act being passed in this Parliament by the vote only of one part of the Parliament. The whole thing seems to be absurd on the face of it, limiting the power of Parliament, limiting the power of the Assemblies and other bodies in that way. It is an assurance which has to be given effect to in other ways. For the Government to see to it that nothing is done against it, for the Government when

391. Nominated.



the time comes to consult the State legislatures also, I can understand. But to say in this House we give an assurance that a future legislation will have to be passed by only one half, or whatever the figure is, it may be two third—and others should not vote, seem to be quite extraordinary (Interruption).

As for the words “may” and “shall”, [I] would again say that when people get excited, they do not see quite straight—the word “may” is the most ordinary word always used in this connection in the English language. I do not pretend to know more English than Shri Anthony. But the question is of removing a restriction, a restriction which would have prevented the English language to be used after a certain date. We say, for removing it, that this may be used afterwards. It is quite absurd to say that the word “may” means also “may not”.

Frank Anthony: Why absurd? That is the natural meaning.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Maybe, but I disagree with the hon. Member.

Frank Anthony: If you disagree with the natural meaning, what can I do?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I disagree with the hon. Member in this context. I say it is not the natural meaning in this context. The dictionary meaning may or may not be so but, in this context, it simply means that the barrier is removed, and I defy, I challenge anybody to prove that this bill does not remove that limitation and barrier. That is the main purpose of this bill.

Now, let us consider this matter with some objectivity and calmness. I realise, it is very difficult to do so when people get excited about it. It may be because of my upbringing but I am rather partial to English. I think English is a fine language, just as other languages are very fine too. Nevertheless, I have been convinced for a long time, and I am convinced today, that any real upsurge in India from the people, any awakening of the people, cannot take place through the English language; it is patent to me; not today, but for the last 40 to 50 years, ever since I have been engaged in public work in this country. The House will remember, at least many of the hon. Member who have participated in it will remember, the tremendous difference that came in our public work and agitational work when we gave up frock coat, top hat and English language in our approach to the people. There was an amazing difference. Previously, we talked in the English language, even in our Congress sessions and other meetings, but we could not reach the people. It is obvious, and it does not seem to be an arguable point that a country can preserve not only its individuality but develop the sense of the masses only through languages which have some deep roots in their minds and hearts. Therefore, from that time onwards, I

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

have believed that it is through the language of India alone that we could do it. That has nothing to do with our discarding English, because I think it is a very important language and, I think, in some form or other it is not a question of ten years or not. English is likely to remain in India for a long, long time. I repeat it. I do not know the exact form it will take, whether for international use or otherwise, but the mere fact of its being there will serve as a vitaliser to our languages, though it is a curious argument that I am using.

Our languages are fine languages and old languages. I do not know who, I forget the name, somebody, probably Shri Anthony, said they are 50 years old. I was amazed to hear that.

Frank Anthony: I did not say that. I quoted Shri Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, who said that what is now being passed off as Hindi came here as a dialect only in 1860. I never presumed to say that. That is what Shri Suniti Kumar Chatterjee says.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Our languages, most of them, certainly the big languages, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi etc. and the Southern language of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam are great languages from any point of view. They have produced great books, which are rooted down in the minds of the people. There is no doubt about that.

Sivamurthi Swamy<sup>392</sup>: Even before Christ.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as Tamil is concerned, if I may say so, it is as old as Sanskrit, and all our languages, Northern languages, apart from the four Southern languages, are all daughters of Sanskrit and have grown out of Sanskrit. The other languages also, to some extent, have grown from that root and have been closely associated and affected by Sanskrit. In fact, one may say with confidence that Sanskrit has represented broadly all the thought, culture and traditions of India; I do not say exclusively, but broadly it may be said so. I am an admirer of Sanskrit; not that I know very much, but I admire it very greatly.

I thought that it would be a great pity if Sanskrit became a completely dead language in India at any time. That would be great damage done to all that we stand for in India. Unfortunately, we cannot make Sanskrit the working language in India today. That is obvious. I should like to encourage the learning of Sanskrit as widely as possible, but it cannot become the language of the common people. It ceased to be a language of the common people 2,000 years

392. Lok Sewak Sangh.



ago when Prakrits came in. It remained a language of the learned and gradually Prakrits developed. But it gives a certain basis and foundation for our present day languages, strengthens them, gives them depth and so on which we should cherish.

If we had only two or three languages, I would have suggested—suppose, there were three languages—that all the three languages should be national languages in the sense that all three should be used as they use three languages in Switzerland or as they use some languages in Finland or in Canada. In Finland about 10 per cent of the population is Swedish, but Swedish is also a national language in addition to Finnish because the 10 per cent are there.

In these matters of language, one has to be very careful. One has to be as liberal as possible. One should not try to suppress a language. One should not try to coerce anybody into a language as far as possible. Wherever an attempt has been made to suppress a language, a popular language, or coerce the people into some other language there has been trouble. There have been innumerable examples of this. Therefore, since it is impossible for us to have thirteen or fourteen languages mentioned in our Constitution as languages which everyone should know and use daily, nevertheless the makers of our Constitution were wise in laying down that all the thirteen or fourteen languages were our languages as much as any other. There is no question of any one language being more a national language than any other. I want to make that perfectly clear. Bengali or Tamil is as much an Indian national language as Hindi. Therefore, it becomes our duty to encourage the thirteen or fourteen languages.

But having admitted that may I differ completely from the remark that many hon. Members have made here and the hon. Member who spoke last repeated it many times about Hindi being not allowed to grow and not encouraged etc.? I entirely disagree with that. I think, Hindi has grown more in the last fifteen years. Not only Hindi but all our Indian languages have grown more in the last fifteen years than any language anywhere in the world in this course of time. It is a big thing, I say. But I say that with some knowledge and confidence because I happen to be the President of the Sahitya Akademi which deals with all these languages. I see what is being done in all these languages. Reports come to me. Hundreds and thousands of books have been produced in all these languages, including Hindi of course, by the Sahitya Akademi. Hundreds of translations from one into the other have been done. All our languages are alive and are dynamic today. People seem to imagine that the growth of a language is whether it is used by some wretched clerk in some wretched office or not as if that represents the life of a language. It is part of the use of the language; certainly, it should be used; but no clerks and no departments and Government offices have ever made a language grow.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Hari Vishnu Kamath<sup>393</sup>: Why wretched clerks?

An Hon. Member: Wretched Ministers.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Languages grow because of other reasons. What has happened to our languages? In spite of our fine old literature, in spite of some magnificent books, the fact remains that our languages have ceased to grow. They have become static because they did not wholly represent life as it is lived today and the modern trends of thought. They represent our traditions. In the nineteenth century our languages had to face English, not directly. English came in—not with our goodwill, but it came in—and because English came in, English became a vehicle of new ideas about the new world, not only of science and technology—that of course, but many other things too. It is the impact of English on our languages that has made them grow from the nineteenth century onwards. Even the literary forms of our languages changed greatly. They are very very few—prose works, very fine poetical words, epics in our languages, prose works of nineteenth century creation in our languages, fine prose works as they came. So, because of the impact of English on our languages, our languages grew and I do submit that even now, although they have grown and they will grow, the further impact of English on our languages will be good for our languages. From the limited point of view, for the growth of our languages alone, it is good for them to be in contact with foreign languages. I say, foreign languages. They can be in contact with Russian, with French, with German, with Italian, with Spanish, etc. But the fact is that the easiest contact for us is through the English language. Therefore, I would submit that for the growth of our languages and making them more and more dynamic in responding to the world's needs today, it is necessary for these contacts to be established and encouraged. I venture to say that because hardly anybody realises the effect of these contacts. I think one of the most harmful things that has happened in India, not in regard to language only but including language and affecting our whole lives is that we have lived for hundreds of years in the past, regardless of who was a ruler here—so-called Hindu times, so-called Muslim times—in a closed circle, had very little contacts with outside world, earlier, long ago.

Hem Barua<sup>394</sup>: That is true only of the medieval times.

393. PSP.

394. PSP.



Jawaharlal Nehru: In the early days of this era, India was not so cut off from the rest of the world. Of course, in the Buddhist times, India had wide contacts, people went all over, people came here—literary and everything. But gradually, about a thousand years ago, India became more and more self-centred, maybe because we are introspective people—that helped us—but anyhow we became self-centred and we lost these contacts. We could not keep pace and we did not even know what happened in the world outside and that affected our languages too because the language is a very good medium of what the people are, and our languages became static, not progressive, not developing. Because our lives were static. And it was the changes that came with the British invasion of India which administered the shock and all that which had this effect on our languages also. It made them more dynamic—brought new forms, brought the novel, brought short stories, brought so many things, brought new kind of drama quite apart from science and technology which is a good thing.

Now, at the present moment, anyhow, we have to face a situation in India and realise that India is a multi-lingual country. We must realise that. What is the good of hon. Members opposite talking about 44 crores of people knowing Hindi? It is not a fact. Everybody knows it. India is a multi-lingual country although the languages in use in India, especially in North India are closely alike through Sanskrit and the languages of the South are not so closely alike but nevertheless they have many contacts through Sanskrit. That is the first fact to be realised. And the second is that we have to develop this country through the languages of the people. There is no other way. You may have English—you may like, I hope, to have English too—but the languages, the real language to develop people is through their own language which they understand, to which they have emotional response. I would go so far as to say, I am all for English being used for higher scientific and technological studies—English or the foreign language. But, I think, even to spread the knowledge of science in our schools, we must teach it widely through the national languages. Because, otherwise you will inevitably limit the people's appreciation of it, people's understanding of it. It will not spread. In the higher stages foreign languages will come in; in research work, etc. not one, but several foreign languages will come in.

Renu Chakravartty<sup>395</sup>: The Vice-Chancellors do not agree. That is the trouble.

The Minister of Education (K.L. Shrimali): They have agreed.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Let us not look at it from the point of view of Hindi versus English or English versus Hindi. That is a wrong point of view. We have to use each in its proper sphere. In the sphere of national language, only national languages have any place. All the fourteen national languages have a place. There is no doubt about that. You cannot speak of English in that connection. You can speak of English in many connections. You can say as I do say that English should be a compulsory language in the schools, second language, foreign language; that is a different matter; that English should be used for foreign contacts, that English should be used for scientific and technological work of a higher grade and all that. That is all right. But, English cannot be, we must admit it, a language which rouses the understanding or emotion of the common people in India. They must be the languages of India, whether it is Tamil, Hindi, Bengali or Marathi.

I would add that all these languages of India have made remarkable progress in the last fifteen years. Some, of course, have made it before too. But they have now made remarkable progress. I entirely deny, repudiate the suggestion that these languages have not progressed. You may criticise some Government activities. They might have helped more. I do submit you are thinking entirely in terms of offices and clerks. Language is something bigger than offices and clerks. I will tell you an instance. Take Urdu. I think it may broadly be said that no great encouragement has been given to Urdu and yet, such is the vitality of Urdu that today, Urdu is growing faster than many of the other national languages of India. If you judge of it from the number of books that are published, that is good text books, dramas, stories and other literary books, it is extraordinary how fast Urdu has grown. Because, it is a dynamic language. I think that if Hindi is really to grow very fast, it should ally itself with Urdu, ally itself in the sense of vocabulary, etc. It will get vitality from Urdu retaining its own genius and nature. Urdu is vital. I shall tell you why. For many reasons, because, Urdu has a strange capacity of adaptability and of drawing from other languages. Urdu has drawn more from English than Hindi, strictly speaking. Urdu has drawn from Persian, Urdu has drawn from Arabic, Urdu has drawn from the Turki language in Central Asia. It can do that. I do not mean to say that you should adapt from Arabic or Turki in Hindi. That is not my point. It is this adaptability that makes a language strong. The other thing weakens it. The tendency which, unfortunately, has been evidenced in India for some time of living in a narrow linguistic circle and coining words from ancient Sanskrit or Pali, I do not know, does not help. Because those words which you coined have no reality behind them, have no emotion, have no history. Every word, if you look up in the dictionary, has got a history behind it. It is an impossibility for you to really translate from one language to another. Because,



you cannot translate all the historic connections of that word, where it has been used, how it has been used. That is so in regard to the best of all languages. You may translate, of course, a chair or table. Something like that you can translate. But, as soon as you get a slightly more complicated idea, you cannot translate it. You may represent that idea. Of course, once you get into the question of translating into or from Chinese, it is almost an utter impossibility to do it. Because, the whole background of the Chinese language is quite different. It is not even an alphabetical language. It is a picture language, or whatever it is. That apart, we do not have to face that difficulty in translating from Hindi to English or any other European languages because the basic stock is the same, historical development, etc. Yet, it is extremely difficult to translate from one language to another. As one who has tried it, I am amazed at the rapidity with which our journalists translate, seldom correctly. But they do. They pass off some journalese starting off which I rather doubt if it would benefit the growth of our national languages. This is a new development.

We have to develop our regional languages. There is no doubt about that. I am putting for the moment Hindi as a regional language only. We have to do everything. I have no doubt that they will do more and more of the work, education, administration, etc. in the regional language.

The real difficulty arises in the next stage. What is the link connecting these regional languages? That is the point we are dealing with. Thus far, the link has been English. In fact, not only the link, but work has been done not in the regional languages, but in English even in the regions. What are we to do? That is not a question of your choice or mine. It is partly, of course.

We all know that English standards are going down; not because of conflict between Hindi and English, but because of conflict between the rising regional languages and English. English standards are going down. They will go down. I think English would be more widely known in India in the future than even now. But it will not be better known in quality. Individuals apart, you won't have people as we have had in the past, who took pride in their English quite so much. As Shri H.N. Mukerjee said, we have had a fixation about English and we still have it to a large extent. There is no doubt there is a certain vested interest created in the knowledge of English. It is a bad thing to have a fixation. It is a bad thing to have a vested interest. Because that automatically separates us from those who do not know English. It is a very bad thing. We know before independence what the position was. In this country of castes, the most hardened caste was the caste of English knowing people, English clothed, English living, English knowing people. A terrible caste. All our administrators and others, many of us too belonged to that caste. It is a bad thing because it put tremendous barriers between us and the masses of India. We gave it up; many of us gave

it up. I do not attach much importance to clothing. But it is important that it removes the barriers. We gave it up and we took to wearing clothes which were more in keeping with the Indian people. That brought us nearer to them. It is quite clear, if I go in European clothes to a village, I am further removed from them than otherwise. As it is, I am far enough from them. If I go like that, if I go and speak to them in English, I can satisfy myself; I won't satisfy anybody else. That is patent. We have to remove these barriers that have come between us and our people. The great success of Gandhiji's movement was that we removed many of these barriers. That process has not stopped.

All that is admitted. It follows logically that we can only progress in our national languages. National languages mean all the languages mentioned in the Schedule to the Constitution. We cannot, I would add, suppress any of them; we cannot impose any of them on others—both these things. Because, imposition in the sense of imposition is resisted and it is harmful to the thing being imposed. Other languages come up and they fight with each other. The growth of India in the language sense can only take place by the cooperation of languages and not by conflict of languages. They are near enough. I was talking about translation. It is relatively easy to translate from one Indian language to another, because, the ideas behind them are much the same and the language is not so terribly difficult. We can do that. So, we have to take all the languages together. The only question that remains is—there are many questions, and one of them is—the link language between them. And Hindi has been suggested by our Constitution as the link language for Central and official purposes. Remember the words “Central and official purposes”.

It is clear that if we do not think of English as such a link language for any length of time, then inevitably we have to deal with Hindi, not because Hindi is superior to Bengali or Marathi or Tamil of course, no; nobody says that; in some matters it may be better, in some matters, it may not be, but for the simple reason that Hindi is the most feasible for this purpose, apart from its being widespread; and it is spreading. If I may say so, all the steps that my hon. friend the Education Minister may take in regard to the spread of Hindi do not go as far as the effect of the cinema on the spread of Hindi. These are patent things. This is what is happening. This is life as it is. These are recognised things. And any order that in this office Hindi must be used tomorrow—I have no objection to that. But that does not spread Hindi to the root of it. The cinema does more than all these orders, so that we can envisage or have a link language which is Hindi and no other, that is, if it is not English. I submit that we cannot have English in any sense for a long time.

I said some time ago that I want English to continue here for many purposes, and I hope it will continue and to some extent, it may even be a link language



between thinkers and authors, individual thinkers, literary people and even governmental people—I have no objection—but the normal link language cannot be English.

Therefore, the normal link language has to be an Indian language, and of all the Indian languages, only Hindi is feasible. That is the only claim that I make for it. Because of this, it was decided in our Constituent Assembly, and wisely decided, that Hindi should be the official language for Central purposes.

Now, it is said that it might have become, but I think that most people agree that at the present moment, it will not serve the purpose fully to take up all this work of the administration. But they say that this is because the Government has not helped it or not encouraged it enough. There may be some justification. I do not think that there is much in regard to Government not helping it, but the reasons are far deeper than Government help or lack of help. People seem to think that a language is a thing which grows or spreads by some magic like the mango tree covered up and which grows up. It is a much deeper thing than that. Especially when there is a question of one language people rubbing up the people of another language [the wrong way], it becomes still more difficult. You have to proceed very cautiously. It is not a question of producing only dictionaries, although dictionaries have to be produced and have been produced and will be produced, all glossaries of terms and other things. It is something much bigger than that.

A language must develop the thinking habits of the subject with which it is concerned. You can write books, and translations are being made of technical books, and that is right, simple books, but the moment you go a little beyond that, your translations are stilted; they have no history behind them; the words used have no history behind them. Here, you have a tremendous history which is contemporaneous for the growth of science and technology, out of which each word has come. Now, If you translate it quickly into some word which has had no previous history, and no previous life in it, it becomes a stilted word. So, all these things come in the way.

That is why it has been suggested, and, I think, accepted, that all scientific and technical terms should as far as possible be in line with international usage, not only in Hindi but in all the languages of India. And if you do that, if all the languages of India adopt scientific and technical words in conformity with international usage, you succeed in two things; first of all, you bring the languages of India closer to each other. Secondly, you keep contacts with the thought of the world in regard to technical and scientific matters. They are both important. And it becomes easy for you to learn another language for scientific work etc. All this is happening daily. And to say that Hindi has not progressed is merely to show an utter and absolute ignorance of the subject. Hindi has

progressed; Bengali has progressed, and Tamil has progressed and so on. I am surprised at the abundance—I am not concerned very much with text books, although they are important, but really—of the matter coming out in all our languages, which represents new thought and a new approach to our problems. That is the growth of a language, and that is happening.

So, I submit that there is no escape for us; you may argue; you may have your preferences as you like; but there is no escape for us from these three or four languages.

India is a multilingual country. Although it is multilingual, the languages are closely allied, and, therefore, they are not foreign to each other. That is, you can skip from one to another with relative ease, and we should try to do so. We have suggested the three – language formula. A larger number of people should know, some other languages apart from English, some other Indian languages, that is, other than their own. And as this grows, you will find them coming closer together, a large number of people knowing the other languages and the gaps which exist today between Indian languages will lessen. But, inevitably, those languages must grow in their own regions. That should be encouraged.

The question of the link language remains, and there can be no other link language than Hindi basically. But merely saying it or putting it down in the Constitution does not make it the link language. It has to grow into it. It is not sufficiently adapted today for various reasons. It is getting rapidly adapted. Let it be adapted, and let us encourage that process. And [at the rate at] which that process is being encouraged, it becomes necessary and almost inevitable for English to continue to be a link language. The process is not a sudden thing that you fix a date and from that date you say that English ceases and Hindi comes in. It is a gradual process of both being link languages, and Hindi gradually getting better known and better used, and in regard to English, as is happening today, and as I said, the standards are going down, and the use will go down to some extent, although it will be more widespread. That is the process I see.

And in this gradual transformation, dates have very little significance except to see what happens, except to examine the position from time to time to see what is happening, to see whether we are going along the right lines or not. It is important that we should see and give a certain direction to our movements.

Now, from that point of view, it becomes, and it is quite inevitable, according to me, apart from the assurances I gave or I may have given, that English has to continue as an associate language or an additional language or call it what you like. These words have no particular meaning. The door remains open, and it will be used. As a matter of fact, it is the circumstances prevailing in the country that will compel you to use it. They do compel you to use it, and not what you call it. And if you try to suppress its use, undoubtedly,



you create not only a hiatus and a gap but you do stop or progress in many directions, because that progress cannot be achieved at the present moment entirely through Hindi.

Therefore, the whole object of this bill is to remove that barrier which was put by the Constitution, that barrier of date, and to allow things as they are to continue. For how long they will continue, I think, is a matter which I cannot precisely and definitely say. But our progress should be in these various directions, in developing our regional languages, in developing Hindi also, not only as a regional language, but as a link language, as far as possible, and maintaining English to serve that purpose so that there may be no hiatus or gap. And gradually this process will automatically take shape. Regardless of governmental decisions, these are the forces at work. This is bound to happen. It is happening. You may expedite it or you may slow it down a little. That is a possibility. But I do think we should get rid, not of English, which, I think, is very good, very useful, but of the fixation of the English language in our minds. I think that is bad, because that separates us from the rest of our people.

There is one thing else. I think the Home Minister said or may say later that whenever that Committee, which is envisaged in this, after ten years is constituted and reports, that report should—we entirely agree—be sent to all the State Governments for their views, so that there is no question of using a thing like this. There is no question of trying to impose anything on others in this way, because the attempt will fail. The more you impose, the more obstructions you have, the more difficulties you have. A question like this can only be dealt with by a large measure of consent and consultation.

Frank Anthony: May I very respectfully ask one thing? On this clause 5 I raised this very question. When the report of the Parliamentary Committee was discussed here, I sought to move an amendment. The Speaker said that Parliament had no authority to change that Report by one syllable. What is the good of bringing it here and sending it on to the States? You short circuit Parliament. We cannot change it by one syllable. That is what we are asking for.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what happened then. But I do not see how you can change a Report. A Report is a Report.

Frank Anthony: Why should not the recommendations be of Parliament? It is a Parliamentary Committee. Why should not Parliament make the recommendations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Parliament may make independent recommendations. It can always do that. But it cannot change the Report of other people.

Shri Frank Anthony: We always consider reports. It can consider the Report and make recommendations.

Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri<sup>396</sup>: May I ask another question? The Prime Minister has just said that the Report of the Committee which would be appointed after ten years would be sent to all the States for their opinions and general concurrence.

Frank Anthony: We can have a provision to that effect in the bill.

Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: What prevents Government from bringing in an amendment or accepting an amendment tabled by some Members to that effect and incorporating it in the bill?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Parliament can do what it likes. But it cannot change the thing of somebody else. That is obvious.

Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: Shri Frank Anthony wants that report to be changed. But my question was different. I want some provision to be made here in the bill about sending it to the States.

Mahavir Tyagi<sup>397</sup>: That question will be discussed in detail.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think there will be any difficulty about that. My colleague, the Home Minister, will deal with that matter that he has raised in his reply. I have no doubt he will. But the whole approach to this question must be one of the fullest consultations and agreement.

What was the purpose of the assurance that I gave, which I hold today? That is that no change of this kind will be effected in English or Hindi without the full approval of the non- Hindi people; because I wanted to remove any apprehension that possibly by a majority in Parliament or elsewhere, we shall make changes which are not approved by them. As a matter of fact, this cannot be done, apart from my assurance, because it will raise such problems and such

396. RSP.

397. Congress.



difficulties that no government can conceivably want to do it that way. That was the purpose.

Frank Anthony: With great respect, what exactly did you do last time? You short circuited Parliament. You short circuited the unanimous Resolutions of the West Bengal and Madras Legislatures (Interruptions).

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Frank Anthony: That was exactly what happened.

Mahavir Tyagi: Even then, English is there (Interruption).

S.M. Banerjee<sup>398</sup>: Unfortunately, Frank Anthony is not frank (Interruptions).

Speaker: That is not fair.

Jāwaharlal Nehru: One cannot refer everything.

This major question of one language conflicting with another can only be settled by consultation and general consent.

In Pondicherry, we are encouraging the French language. Definitely, we are trying to have a University there with French. Why? As a matter of fact, I do not know if the majority of the people in Pondicherry know much French. Nevertheless, because French is a valuable language and we want it to have a place in India—we want to take advantage of the knowledge of French there—we want to encourage it, to be a window. We want these to be windows of India to the outside world.

H.P. Chatterjee<sup>399</sup>: May I ask one question?

Some Hon. Members: No.

H.P. Chaterjee: I have tabled an amendment also and I want to be clear about it.

The Prime Minister wants all the State Languages to flourish in India. I ask: being a Bengali, why am I not allowed to speak here in Bengali? (Interruptions). In the USSR ...

398. Independent.

399. Independent.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Speaker: Order, order.

H.P. Chatterjee: Let me finish my question. I want a clarification.

Speaker: I am giving that clarification. Let him resume his seat. Whenever he expresses desire to speak in Bengali, he should get the answer from me, not from the Prime Minister.

H.P. Chatterjee: You cannot be of any help because I have to submit a translation in English if I have to speak in Bengali. Why should I have to do that?

In the USSR, every language has that privilege. They can speak in any language they like. In the Supreme Soviet, 100 people are gathered there. They are allowed to speak in their own languages. I have been there. Why should I not be allowed that here?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member probably has much greater information about the USSR than I possess. But what I should like to know is, at any meeting-- all Russia meeting-- how many languages are used?

H.P. Chatterjee: In the Supreme Soviet, there are 100 people gathered. Of them, 40 did not have any letters at all. So, they created their letters, and languages and they are allowed to speak in those languages.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There can be no objection to anybody speaking in the various national languages, of course not. The only practical difficulty that comes in is that a large number of people will not understand them. May be we can evolve some system of translation, automatic, simultaneous translations and all that.

H.P. Chatterjee: Yes, that should be done.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no objection to that.

A little while ago I mentioned about Urdu. I feel rather particularly about Urdu. It is a good example. Here is a language. For long, the House may remember, there was a conflict between so-called Urdu and so-called Hindi in Uttar Pradesh etc. A more foolish controversy in the linguistic sense I have been unable to think of, because neither side—the protagonists on neither side—did much to progress their language but they wanted to pull down the other. The result was injury all round and little progress.

Now Urdu itself is an amalgam, a synthesis, of various languages; it is about 75-80 per cent Hindi, and about 25 per cent of the words come from other languages. Persian maybe, Arabic, and Turki. It is quite clear that when



two languages come together, they strengthen each other. The idea of pulling down a language and thinking that your language will profit by it is utterly wrong. Our thinking has been so much in terms of clerks and officers. It disgusts me to think that language should be associated with clerks and officers all the time. Do you develop a literary language or any language by having 100 or 1,000 or 10,000 mere clerks using it? I do not understand it. What was the conflict between Urdu and Hindi? What language should be used by the clerks in office—the same thing.

I have talked about Hindi a great deal. When I talk about Hindi, I should enter a caveat about the content of the language. It is very necessary, and the Hindi people have got to realise that more than the Bengali or Marathi or Gujarati people. There the content is not very different from popular understanding, here it is different and it is growing more and more different. That is why Gandhiji laid stress on relatively simple language, and a language which is understood by most people, and which is, to some extent, an amalgam of Hindi and Urdu as far as possible, retaining the basis of Hindi, the genius as Hindi. The moment you stop words coming in, you stop the progress of the language.

I should like the House to consider this matter not only in the limited sense in which we have been arguing it, but in the broader sense, in the wider context. We are passing through difficult and delicate periods of transition in many ways, and it requires wisdom from us and a capacity and flexibility in order to meet the demands of the times. Rigidity stops growth. The main question is of India's growth in every way, materially, scientifically, industrially, intellectually and spiritually. We must view every step that we take from the point of that major question. What will it profit us if we honour Hindi and put it in a closed space, which prevents not only its growth, of our languages is essentially tied up with the growth of the nation. Both help each other. We must, therefore, look upon this question in this wide context and see to it that we advance all along the line to reach the great goal that we have in view.

### **159. To E.V. Sampath: Assurance on English<sup>400</sup>**

April 26, 1963

Dear Shri Sampath,

I have received your letter and your telegram. I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter. I went away to Allahabad and returned only today.

400. Letter to the President of the Tamil National Party. PMO, File No. 52(12)/57-63-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 130-A.

Whatever assurance I gave about English and Hindi, I have repeated it fully and without any reservation. Indeed, I have made it clear that that is an assurance of our Government, and I am sure that no Government can bypass it.

But I do not understand how in the present bill this can be incorporated. The present bill is meant merely to get over the difficulty of the Constitution putting a limit to the use of English. We have removed that barrier and, according to the bill, there is no limit now to the use of English in the Central Government. I am wholly unable to understand why this should displease you, whenever this question comes up again, it will have to be considered by a Committee of Parliament consisting of a considerable majority of representatives of the non-Hindi-speaking States. Subsequently, it will be sent to all the State Governments for their views. These, taken together with the assurance of Government, are ample safeguards. Anyhow, no question arises at the present moment by our Bill to limit in any way the use of English. The bill indeed extends the period indefinitely.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **(h) Populaar Mobilisation**

#### **160. To Bhagwat Jha Azad: Maintaining Urgency in Administration<sup>401</sup>**

February 2, 1963

My dear Bhagwat Jha,

Thank you for your letter of January 28, which I have read with interest. What you say about the sense of urgency not being sufficiently infused in the Administration is partly correct, but not wholly so. Anyhow, we have to try to keep up this sense of urgency in the administration and in the people.<sup>402</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

401. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address 209 North Avenue, New Delhi.

402. See item 463, paragraph 20.



## 161. To Mohanlal Saksena: People's Movement<sup>403</sup>

February 5, 1963

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of the 4th February.<sup>404</sup> I still think that the Community Development movement for Village Volunteer Force devoted to greater production, education and volunteers for law and order etc., is a good effort which deserves encouragement. Even if it yields 25 percent success, it is worthwhile. You may, however, certainly try to give effect to your People's Movement. It will be good if it yields any worthwhile results.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 162. To S.K. Sinha: Recruiting Armed Forces and Volunteers<sup>405</sup>

February 9, 1963

Dear Shri Sinha,

I have your letter of the 31st January with the note attached. Much of what you say should be done and an attempt is being made to do it. Armed forces of various kinds are being recruited and special training is being given to them. Apart from the purely government work in this connection, a widespread programme has been suggested to all our village panchayats to recruit Village Volunteer Force with a three-pronged programme—increased production, mass education and defence.

I do not know how far your friends could encourage these programmes. They have scope for much work there. It is difficult for a government agency to have non-officials, but non-officials can organise work of their own accord.

Should you come to Delhi when I am here, I would be glad to see you.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

403. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Nominated (1959-1964); address: *National Herald*, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh. PMO, File no. 17(530)/62-66-PMS, Sr. No. 25-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

404. See appendix 4.

405. Letter; address: Rainbasera, P.O. Namkum, Ranchi.

### 163. To Debotosh Dasgupta: Shanti Sena Volunteer Force<sup>406</sup>

February 10, 1963

Dear Debotosh,

I am glad to learn from your letter of the 8th February<sup>407</sup> that the Central Shanti Sena Committee offers its services of building up a volunteer force to take up the task of national construction as well as defence. I am sure that with your experience of having worked with Mahatma Gandhi, when he went to Bengal, you would be able to help in this task.

As you know, there are several efforts, on a wide scale, being made in India today for volunteer training, apart from purely governmental efforts. There is the Congress organisation which is doing something in this direction in different States; and there is the big Community Development Movement which is functioning through the Panchayats in the rural areas all over India. Also, there is Acharya Vinoba's Shanti Sena which functions in a somewhat different field.

I suggest to you that you might see some of the persons connected with these organisations and find out how you can fit in your work with any of them.

You have done good work in the past and I am sure you can do equally good work in the future. You have all my good wishes. I hope you will keep well and not overstrain yourself after your recent illness.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 164. To Prithvi Singh Azad: Son's Recruitment to Army<sup>408</sup>

फरवरी 11, 1963

प्रिय पृथ्वी सिंह जी,

आपका 6 फरवरी का पत्र मिला। आप ने लिखा है कि आपके सुपुत्र अजीतसिंह को आर्मी कमिशन की मंजूरी नहीं हुई क्योंकि उसकी उमर कम थी। यह कोई आश्चर्य की बात

406. Letter to the General Secretary of the Shanti Sena Committee, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 17(530)/62-66-PMS, Sr. No. 27-A.

407. Letter not reproduced. Available at the NMML.

408. Letter to freedom fighter and associate of Gandhiji; 11 February 1963; NMML, Prithvi Singh Azad papers.



नहीं है। क्योंकि आर्मी वालों को अपने कायदों पर चलना है। शायद अभी थोड़े दिन ही हुये कि कमिशन के लिये कुछ उमर कम की गई, फिर भी 19 है और यह उसकी उमर से कुछ ज्यादा है।

अजीतसिंह को कुछ निराश नहीं होना चाहिये। थोड़े ही महीनों में उसकी उमर पूरी हो जायेगी और उसको उस समय शायद कमिशन मिलने में कोई दिक्कत न हो। उसको चाहिये कि अपनी पढ़ाई जारी रखे और यह जो उसको कुछ समय मिला है उस से पूरी तौर से फायदा उठाये। यह जाहिर है कि आर्मी कमिशन मिलने के बाद उसकी तरक्की उसकी पढ़ाई और जानकारी पर मुनहसर होगी। इस वक्त उसकी कुछ पढ़ाई के लिये ज्यादा समय मिलना ही अच्छा है।

हमारे सामने जो संकट है वह जल्दी फैसला नहीं होगा और मौके मिलेंगे।

आपका  
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

Dear Prithvi Singh ji,

I got your letter of 6th February. You have written that your son, Ajit Singh, did not get the Army Commission's nod because he is younger than the minimum age of recruitment. There is nothing to be surprised about it, because the army will run according to its own rules and regulations. I think a few days back the age of recruitment has been lowered to 19 and that too is a bit more for his age.

Ajit Singh should not get frustrated. In a few months he will be eligible, and then it might not be difficult for him to get commissioned. He should continue his studies and utilise the time fully. This he should know that after getting commissioned, his promotions would be dependent on his knowledge and education. For the time being he should spend more time on his studies.

The crisis before us is not going to be resolved soon and he will get many more chances.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

### **165. To Binodanand Jha: Visiting Bihar<sup>409</sup>**

February 11, 1963

My dear Binodanand ji,

I have been pressed by many friends to pay a visit to Patna and address a meeting there on the current situation. I myself wanted to go there. I do not quite know when I shall be able to do so as I cannot be away for long from Delhi for some time to come. But it is not difficult for me to go there for a day.

Could you please let me know if this would be suitable for you and roughly what time would also be suitable? Perhaps I could come towards the end of February or early in March.

Swami Harnarayanananda, Chairman of the Bihar State Bharat Sevak Samaj, has asked me to visit Patna to inaugurate a session of the Bharat Sevak Samaj there. I do not think this will be possible for me on the same day as I address a public meeting. The two will conflict. But I am quite prepared to go for half an hour to a meeting of Bharat Sevak Samaj workers and address them. I understand that the Bharat Sevak Samaj has done some good work in Bihar.

So, if I go to Patna, I can arrive there in the morning at about 10.30 or 11 a.m. I should like to address the Congress Party in the Legislature if that is meeting then or else Congress workers generally and, in the evening, there should be a public meeting. In between if you feel it possible and desirable, I could meet the workers of the Bharat Sevak Samaj.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **166. To Sisram Ola: Jhunjhunu People's Contributions<sup>410</sup>**

February 13, 1963

Dear Sisram ji,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th February. I am very glad to learn of the response made by the people of Jhunjhunu district and I congratulate you and all others concerned.

I would gladly visit your district and thank the people myself for their generous contributions in men and money. I hope I shall be able to do so some

409. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

410. Letter to Rajasthan MLA.



time, but I fear it will be difficult for me to go there in March or April. I shall, however, keep this in mind.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**167. To S.K. Dey: Coercion in Defence Fund Collection<sup>411</sup>**

February 13, 1963

My dear Dey,

I have received some complaints about pressures and even compulsion being used to collect money for the National Defence Fund. I have pointed out to all Chief Ministers that this is highly undesirable and indeed harmful. I am writing to you about this matter as I am told that BDOs and even Village Level Workers have been engaged in this business. The latest complaint I have received is from Gorakhpur District in UP.

I think that you should make it clear to all these people that we are strongly opposed to any pressures or compulsion.<sup>412</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**168. To Shibban Lal Saksena: Coercion in Defence Fund Collection<sup>413</sup>**

February 13, 1963

My dear Shibban Lal,

I have just received your letter of the 6th February. I have repeatedly made it clear in various statements I have made that there must be no compulsion of any kind in the collection of money for the National Defence Fund. I am, therefore, much distressed to read what you have written. I am sending your

411. Letter to Minister of Community Development.

412. See item 168.

413. Letter to freedom fighter and socialist leader; address: 64 D, Mian Bazar, Gorakhpur, UP.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

letter to the Chief Minister of UP<sup>414</sup> and asking him to enquire into this matter immediately.<sup>415</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **169. To C.B. Gupta: Coercion in Defence Fund Collection<sup>416</sup>**

February 13, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

I enclose a letter I have just received from Shibban Lal Saksena. He has given a specific instance of the Tahsildar of a place using threats and coercion to collect money for the National Defence Fund. This is highly undesirable and must be put an end to absolutely.

I go on receiving complaints about compulsion being used for the collection for this Fund. This is most distressing and it gives us a bad name. It does not much matter if we collect a little less. I would, therefore, specially ask you to issue strict instructions to all your officers on this subject.

About the case to which Shri Shibban Lal has referred, I think, an immediate enquiry should be held and some steps taken to express Government's high displeasure.<sup>417</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

414. See item 169 and note in 173.

415. See item 167 and SWJN/SS/80/ items 305-311.

416. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

417. See items 167 and 168 and SWJN/SS/80/items 305-311.



## 170. To Partap Singh Kairon: Coercion in Defence Fund Collection<sup>418</sup>

February 13, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

I have written to you previously about allegations of forcible collection of money for the National Defence Fund, and you have assured me that this is not and will not be done. Nevertheless, I continue to receive complaints and I am greatly worried about them. This has given us a bad reputation. I would much rather have far fewer collections than have people to believe that we are using compulsion.

I enclose another complaint that I have received. This is anonymous, but refers to particular places and particular officers like the SDM, Jagadri and the Deputy Commissioner, Ambala. Also, there is reference to post-dated cheques and people being kept in police lock-up. I am really greatly worried.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 171. Delhi Flower Show<sup>419</sup>

I am glad that the Delhi Agri-Horticultural Society is organising a Flower and Vegetable Show, the proceeds of which will be given to the National Defence Fund.

I think that gardening deserves to be encouraged in every way. A good garden is a delight to the eyes and brings peace to the mind. The growth of vegetables, though not as spectacular as flowers, is of particular importance, and I would like more and more of our people, both in towns and in villages, to encourage it.

I send my good wishes for the show.

418. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

419. Message, 14 February 1963.

**172. To Swaran Singh: Railway Workers' Offer for Defence Fund<sup>420</sup>**

February 17, 1963

My dear Swaran Singh,

At our Party Meeting this evening, a Member, I think his name is K.P. Sharma from Bihar, drew attention to the fact that railway workers had decided in a conference to offer one day's wage every month for the Defence Fund. Out of this one day's wage, Re 1/- was to go to the Fund and the rest was to be converted into Bonds. This amounted to a large sum of money every month.

He said that in spite of the railway men's offer, nothing had been done to give effect to it on the part of the Government. The offer was to have this cut off at source, so there could be no difficulty in collecting it.

I think you might enquire into this matter. There are, I am told, nearly a million railway workers and the sum will be considerable.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**173. To C.B. Gupta: Defence Fund Collection Coercion<sup>421</sup>**

February 19, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

I continue to receive complaints of coercive methods being used to collect funds for the National Defence Fund in the UP. The latest is from Raghubir Sahay of Badaun. I am much distressed by such reports. Even if the reports are exaggerated, the mere fact that this is said about our collections gives us a bad name and spoils the reputation of the Congress.

I hope you will please take effective steps to prevent this kind of thing.<sup>422</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

420. Letter to the Minister of Railways.

421. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

422. See items 167-170, 174-177, 184, 185 and 191 regarding coerced Defence Funds collection.



**174. To C.B. Gupta: Defence Fund Collections<sup>423</sup>**

February 22, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

I have two letters from you, dated February 20th and 21st. Both these refer to complaints received about the way money was being collected for the National Defence Fund.

It is not Raghubir Sahay alone who has complained to me about this matter. Other complaints have come to me. There is always a tendency among our District staff to collect money even through undue pressure because they feel this would advance their reputation for good work. I feel, therefore, that repeated instructions should be sent to your District Magistrates and others to prevent this kind of thing happening. Not only does it not do good, but it is injuring us greatly and will have a powerful reaction later in creating discontent.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**175. To Rang Rao Badseshi: No Coercion from Rich for Defence Fund<sup>424</sup>**

February 22, 1963

Dear Shri Badseshi,

I have your letter of the 18th February.

It is true that the contributions from the relatively poor people to the National Defence Fund have been very heartening. I think, however, that your proposal to resort to satyagraha at the doors of some rich people and thus compel them to contribute handsomely to the Fund will be very improper. We do not want any money which is extorted under pressure of this or any other kind. Please, therefore, refrain from such pressure.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

423. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

424. Letter; address: Near Ram Mandir, Bidar, Mysore State.

**176. To S. Nijalingappa: Defence Fund Collection<sup>425</sup>**

February 23, 1963

My dear Nijalingappa,

I am sorry I have to write to you again on the subject of compulsion being exercised in collections for the National Defence Fund. I have received further complaints.

But, apart from complaints, I have seen a circular letter issued by the Chief Secretary of the Mysore Government to employees of Government. This letter is, I think, not at all a proper one. The suggestion made in it is that one month's salary should be given by those whose salary is above Rs 300/- and half a month's salary by others.

On the face of it, this is almost an Order of Government. I do not think any such direction should have been issued.

I would suggest to you to have this circular withdrawn and to make it perfectly clear that only purely voluntary contributions will be accepted.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**177. To Partap Singh Kairon: Defence Fund Collections<sup>426</sup>**

February 28, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

Thank you for your letter of February 26. You have mentioned that no cheques have been received which have been dishonoured. I do not think anyone would dare to send a cheque which might be dishonoured later. That would get him into trouble. I doubt, therefore, if this can be considered any substantial reason.

I think it would be desirable for you to make it clear again to all your officers and others that on no account whatever should any pressure be exercised in collections for the National Defence fund.

425. Letter to the Chief Minister of Mysore.

426. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.



Punjab has done so well in these war efforts, for which I congratulate you. It would be a pity if any complaint is made of the least kind of coercion or pressure.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 178. In Amritsar: The Chinese Threat<sup>427</sup>

पंजाब रक्षा दल के सैनिकों, बहिनो और भाइयों और बच्चों, करीब साल भर से कुछ ऊपर हुआ मैं पिछली बार जब आया था, यहाँ अमृतसर में और यों तो पंजाब में भी मेरी ख़्वाहिश थी यहाँ आने की, सुना था मैंने कि यहाँ एक नया रूप है पंजाब का, नया रंग है, नया जोश है, उसको मैं देखना चाहता था, कुछ आपके चेहरे देखना चाहता था, खासकर आपके नौजवानों के, कुछ आपकी नब्ज भी देखना चाहता था कैसे चल रही है और इससे कुछ अंदाजा किया चाहता था मैं और कुछ यह भी ख़्वाहिश थी कि यहाँ आकर मेरे ऊपर भी अच्छा असर हो, मेरी भी कुछ नब्ज तेज चले और आपका जोश कुछ देखकर अपना जोश भी बढ़े। तो मुझे ख़ुशी है कि मैं आज यहाँ आया और इस अजीमोशान जलसे को देखा। यह एक इसका महज देखना ही एक असर पैदा करता है। मालूम नहीं कितने लोग आप जमा हैं, अन्दाज करने वाले अन्दाज करें, लेकिन जाहिर है कि बहुत बड़ी तादाद में आप हैं यहाँ, कितने लाख हैं मैं नहीं जानता, एक लाख से ऊपर तो पंजाब रक्षा दल के सैनिक हैं और फिर आप अमृतसर वगैरा के रहने वाले। ख़तालियाँ,

अभी शुरू में आपने एक शोक प्रस्ताव मंज़ूर किया, एक अफसोस का इजहार किया कि हमारे बड़े लीडर और जो पार साल तक हमारे राष्ट्रपति थे, राजेन्द्र बाबू, उनके गुजर जाने पर। ठीक था, आखिर उनका गुजरना हमें तकलीफ़ देता है, दुख होता है, क्योंकि वह एक उन बुजुर्गों में थे जिन्होंने इस हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई में शुरू से अब तक अपनी ..... एक बड़े लीडर थे, गांधी जी के खास साथियों में थे और बाद में आजादी हासिल करने के बाद उन्होंने जो राष्ट्रपति का काम किया वह भी शान से किया और जो हिन्दुस्तान की एक खास निशानी है, बहुत नम्रता से। कोई उसमें शान होते हुए भी आदमी नम्रता से काम करे, यह जोड़ खास बड़े ऊँचे दर्जे के आदमी का होता है। ख़ैर, वो गुजरे और हमें रंज होता है लेकिन आखिर में हम जानते हैं कि हम सभी को आना होता है और जाना होता है और वो भी अपना वक्त पूरा करके, बड़े-बड़े काम जो उन्होंने उठाये थे उनको शान से निभा के गुजरे और एक नाम छोड़ा हमारे इतिहास के लिए, हमारी तारीख़ के लिए भारत की जो कि लोग याद करेंगे, आज नहीं बहुत दिन बाद तक और उससे सीखेंगे कुछ।

427. Speech at Amritsar, 3 March 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No.13288, NM No.2290. The recording is incomplete.

हल्के-हल्के हमारे पुराने लोग, पुराने नेता गुजरते जाते हैं और गुजरेंगे ही, और हिन्दुस्तान की खिदमत करने का और सेवा करने का बोझा आप लोगों पर पड़ रहा है, पड़ेगा क्या अभी से पड़ रहा है, हमारे नौजवानों पर पड़ेगा। और हमेशा मुझे तलाश होती है जहाँ मैं जाऊँ कि मैं उनकी आँखों में देखूँ, हमारे नौजवानों की कि किस किस्म की कौम हिन्दुस्तान की बन रही है। हमने उनको बहुत देखा जो आजादी के लिए लड़े, अब भी वो कोई बहुत कम उम्र के नहीं रहे, ज्यादा उम्र के हो गये हैं। तो अब नई पौध कैसी है, इस आजादी को कायम करने के लिए कित्ती, क्या उन्होंने सीखा है, कित्ती हिम्मत है उनमें, क्या-क्या हुनर हैं जो कि होने चाहिये एक मुल्क को आजाद रखने को और एक मुल्क की तरक्की के लिए, इसकी तलाश होती है मुझे। और मैं तलाश करता हूँ इसको देखकर जहाँ तक बन पड़े लोगों की आँखों में, लोगों के चेहरों पर, और भी नापने के गज हैं लेकिन सबमें ज्यादा उनको देखकर अन्दाजा करता हूँ।

तो आजकल पिछले तीन-चार महीने से जो एक नया-नया संकट हमारे देश पर आया, चीनी हमला हुआ, उससे रंज हुआ, कई बातों में रंज हुआ उससे। एक तो यह कि एक देश जिसके साथ हमने दोस्ती की थी, जिसकी हमने पैरवी की थी अक्सर जगह उसने हमें धोखा दिया। दूसरे यह है कि कोई भी हमारे मुल्क पर हमला करे तो उससे रंज होता है और एक बड़ा मुल्क चीन जैसा हमला करे पूरी ताकत से। तो एक नया सवाल हमारे मन में उठा, हम लोग, मैंने कहा था उसके बाद ही हमले के, हम लोग कुछ गफलत में थे, मैं मंजूर करता हूँ मेरी गफलत, लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ मेरी नहीं सारे मुल्क की कुछ गफलत थी। हम समझे कि हम आजाद हो गये, हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ, अंग्रेजी हुकूमत से अलग हुआ तो अब हम शांति से रह सकेंगे यहाँ। हाँ, हमारे बड़े-बड़े सवाल थे और अब भी हैं बहुत बड़े सवाल, लेकिन अन्दर के सवाल हैं, उनको हम हल कर लेंगे और हम पर कोई हमला वगैरा नहीं करेगा। हालांकि शुरु ही में हमें एक धक्का लगा था, आप जानते हैं अच्छी तरह से, जबरदस्त, वो हिन्दुस्तान के दो टुकड़े होने पर और एक नया मुल्क जो हमारे मुल्क का हिस्सा था उसके बन जाने पर, और उसके बाद जो तूफान, बदतमीजी हुआ आपके यहाँ, पाकिस्तान में और हिन्दुस्तान में, दोनों तरफ वह हुआ, बेशुमार शरणार्थी आये, अजीब जमाना था वो और इतिहा दर्जे परेशानी हमें हुई थी उस वक्त कि कहाँ हम अंग्रेजों के साथ शांति से लड़े और बीस-पच्चीस-तीस बरस तक जोरों की जंग हुई और फिर बाद में यह नौबत आयी कि हम आपस में लड़े, एक-दूसरे का कत्ल करे, बहुत सख्त तकलीफ का, इम्तिहान का जमाना हमारा था। फिर कुछ और लड़ाई का सिलसिला काश्मीर में जारी हुआ, वहाँ भी हमला हुआ। अजीब हालत थी कि हम, जिन्होंने उम्र भर अपनी जवानी से सीखा था गांधी जी से शांति का सबक, आजाद होते ही हमें दूसरे रास्ते पर चलना पड़ा, परेशानी थी।

खैर, हल्के-हल्के हम उस पर हावी हुए और मुल्क को अपने संभाला और दूसरे तरफ हमने ध्यान दिया, मुल्क को बनाने की तरफ। क्यों मुल्क गुलाम हुआ? क्यों कमजोर हुआ? हमारे मुल्क में बहादुरों की कमी कभी नहीं आयी थी, फिर भी हो गया, क्यों हुआ? सोचने की बात है। क्यों हम गरीब हुए? कहा जा सकता है कि अंग्रेजी राज वगैरा का



ऐसा इंतजाम था, ऐसी उसकी पोलिसी थी, नीति थी कि हमारे मुल्क के रुपया खींच के बाहर ले जाते थे लेकिन फिर भी महज अंग्रेजों को बुरा-भला कहना यह फिजूल है। अंग्रेज आये क्यों यहाँ? हमारे कसूर से आये, कोई अपनी बहुत शान और ताकत से नहीं आये। सबमें पहला सबक तो उसका यही था कि हम में कमाल का मादूदा था आपस में लड़ने का, सारे हिन्दुस्तान में, राजस्थान है आपके करीब जहाँ कि बड़े-बड़े राजा-महाराजा लोग हमारे इतिहास में मशहूर हैं हिम्मत के लिए, हिम्मत बहुत थी, अजीब थी, उसकी मिसाल आपको कहीं नहीं मिलेगी, लेकिन उसी के साथ अक्ल कम थी, अक्ल कम ही थी, आपस में एक-दूसरे से लड़ के राजस्थान के बहादुर से बहादुर आदमी, एक-दूसरे को खत्म कर दिया, एक वक्त में नहीं, एक जमाने भर में, कमजोर कर दिया और राजस्थान को मैं आपसे क्या कहता हूँ, हिन्दुस्तान भर में एक आपस में ना-इत्तेफाकी, आपस में लड़ाई, यह होती रही। यहाँ तक कि हिन्दुस्तान हालांकि एक देश था, एक सभ्यता उसकी, एक संस्कृति थी हजारों बरस से, एक सियासी तौर पर एक देश नहीं बना, बहुत दिन से नहीं बना था, जबकि अंग्रेज आये उन्होंने बनाया। तो पहली बात, सबक तो हमें सीखने का यही था कि यह एकता का और यह जो हममें एक पुरानी बीमारी है आपस में झगड़े करने की, लड़ाई करने की, उस बीमारी से अलग होने की। गांधी जी ने सिखाया, पहली बात यही थी और जिस कदर गांधी जी ने सिखाया उसी कदर हमारी ताकत बढ़ी, इत्ती बढ़ी कि बगैर हथियार के और एक शांतिमय तरीके से हमने आखिर में हम अंग्रेजी हुकूमत पर हावी आये और आजाद हुए।

और दूसरी बात क्या? क्या वजह है कि आजकल की दुनिया में अंग्रेज, अमेरिका वाले, जर्मनी, फ्रांस वाले, जापान वाले, और भी कई मुल्क हैं वो खुशहाल हैं, हम नहीं हैं, उनके मुकाबले में हम नहीं हैं, और बहुत सारे मुल्क एशिया-अफ्रीका के हैं जो हमसे भी बदतर हैं, क्या वजह है? एक जमाना था, बहुत जमाना भी नहीं, जब अंग्रेज यहाँ आये थे, तो अंग्रेज एक अपनी राय में यहाँ एक दौलत के लालच में यहाँ आये थे, तिजारत करने और दौलत पैदा करने, क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान बनिस्बत अंग्रेजों के मुल्क के एक दौलत-मंद मुल्क गिना जाता था। फिर क्या वजह है वो इत्ते अमीर हो गये, हम रह गये वहीं के वहीं? एक नई बात हुई थी दुनिया में जब अंग्रेज यहाँ आये थे और वो ये, एक बड़ी क्रांति हुई थी, बड़ा इंकलाब। आप इंकलाब को सुनते हैं और इंकलाब के माने समझते हैं एक हुकूमत को पलटना वगैरा, वह भी होते हैं इंकलाब, वो छोटे इंकलाब हैं। असली इंकलाब होते हैं जब एक मुल्क का रहन-सहन बदल जाये, जब एक मुल्क की आर्थिक, इक्तिसादी हालत बदल जाये, वो इंकलाब शुरू हुआ था साइंस और विज्ञान की वजह से यूरोप में, हम भूल गये थे उसे, हम नहीं उधर देखते थे, हम पड़े थे अपने, बस पुरानी बातें सीख ली थी, अच्छी बातें थी, उसी को रटने में, नयी बातें सीखते ही नहीं थे, हम दुनिया का हाल तक नहीं जानते थे यहाँ। बड़े-बड़े बादशाह हुए यहाँ, बड़ी धूमधाम उनकी हुई लेकिन उनको फिक्र नहीं हुई कि दुनिया क्या चीज है, जरा दुनिया को भी तो समझें, और दुनिया बदलती गई, उसके बदलने का असर हम पर नहीं पड़ा, साइंस बढ़ी, विज्ञान बढ़ा। आजकल तो हरेक आदमी जानता है साइंस कैसी चीज है, विज्ञान क्या चीज है, जो कि चाँद तक पहुँचता

है और कहाँ तक, हजार बातें उसने की हैं, उस वक्त ख्याल नहीं था, यूरोप में फैला वो और उसकी वजह से ताकत बढ़ी, नई-नई ताकतें इंसान के हाथ में आयीं, रेल चली। क्या है रेल? एक ताकत है, किसकी? भाप से एक ताकत निकलती है, बिजली आयी—ताकत है, एक आदमी का नहीं हजार आदमी का काम करती है, इससे यूरोप की ताकत बढ़ी, उस ताकत के बढ़ने से नये-नये काम किए। उन्होंने दौलत पैदा की और उन्होंने नये-नये हथियार बनाये, ताकत बढ़ाई और आके उन्होंने एशिया के मुल्कों पर कब्जा किया, अफ्रीका के, एशिया के, यानी उसके पीछे इल्म था, विज्ञान था, साइंस थी, नई मशीन जो बनी वो थी, नई ताकतें, स्टीम की, बिजली की, वगैरा और आजकल तो खैर, एटम बम्ब की भी ताकत आ गई है। इस तरह से यूरोप एक छोटा सा हिस्सा दुनिया का है वो सारी दुनिया पर हावी आ गया, अपने इल्म से, अपनी अक्ल से।

तो आजकल आप देखते हैं, जो-जो मुल्क दुनिया के खुशहाल हैं वो वही हैं जो इस रास्ते पर चले हैं, जहाँ यह इंकलाब, इसको कहते हैं “इंडस्ट्रियल रिवोल्यूशन” हुआ, जहाँ कि विज्ञान को समझे, नये-नये तरीके, नयी-नयी मशीन लिए, इस तरह से बढ़े, और बढ़ते जाते हैं। आजकल सबसे ताकतवर मुल्क कौन है? वो अमेरिका और रूस सबमें ताकतवर हैं, इसलिए कि उनके पास सबमें ज्यादा ये एटम बम्ब हैं, उस किस्म के हथियार हैं। वो कैसे आये उनके पास? उन्होंने सबमें ज्यादा तरक्की की विज्ञान में, साइंस में और उसी दौरान में खुशहाल भी हो गये। तो पहली बात तो हमारे सामने यह सवाल था कि हम जब आजाद हुए, यह सवाल हमारे सामने था कि हम कैसे अपनी गरीबी को दूर कर सकें, क्योंकि गरीब मुल्क कित्ती ही वो एंठे वो कमजोर होता है। यह बड़ा सवाल था कि हम और मुल्कों की तरह खुशहाल क्यों न हों और ताकतवर क्यों न हों। ताकत, कित्ते ही आप कहिए ताकत आती है..... लड़ाई की ताकत लीजिए, बहुत बहादुर आदमी हैं और मैं मानता हूँ, यह भी मैं आपसे कह दूँ, मैं मानता हूँ कि अगर एक कौम बिल्कुल पक्का इरादा कर ले कि किसी सूरत से वो नहीं गुलाम बनेगी, किसी सूरत से वो नहीं सर झुकाएगी दूसरे के सामने, यहाँ तक कि वो मरना पसन्द करे तो उस पर कोई फतह नहीं कर सकता है, मुझे इत्मीनान है, चाहे उसके पास हथियार कैसे ही हों। लेकिन यह कहकर, फिर भी आजकल की लड़ाई तीर-कमान से नहीं लड़ी जाती है, आप जानते हैं, न लाठी से, न ऐसे पुराने हथियारों से बल्कि बंदूक वगैरा भी अब पुरानी चीजें समझने लगे हैं, बच्चों का खेल हो गया है, नई-नई चीजें आती हैं, नये हथियार होते हैं हवाई जहाज पे, नये-नये बम्ब होते हैं। तो इसके लिए मुल्क को इस दुनिया में आना पड़े, नये विज्ञान के, जिसके जरिए से हम नयी दौलत पैदा करें, हम अपनी खेती से ज्यादा, जमीन से पैदा करें, कारखानों से करें, नई-नई चीजें सीखें, औरों से महज नहीं, सिखाने से सीखें नहीं बल्कि खुद ईजाद करें। तो यह इंकलाब हम चाहते थे। इसलिए आजादी आने के बाद हमने यह पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरा शुरू किये। पंचवर्षीय योजना, फाइव ईयर प्लान के क्या माने हैं? उसके माने यही थे कि एक मुल्क को इस तरह से बढ़ायें कि यह इंकलाब जो यूरोप में हुआ था, वो हुआ था अरसा हुआ, सौ बरस हुए हुआ था, उसको लायें हम, और तेजी से लाके बदलें मुल्क को, और मुल्क को खुशहाल करें। यह बातें हमने सोचीं और हमने उसी वक्त मुल्क में



विज्ञान के विज्ञानशाला बहुत सारी बनायी, नेशनल लेबोरेट्रीज, इंस्टीट्यूट साइंस की, विज्ञान की सारे मुल्क में फैला के, बच्चे थोड़ा बहुत पढ़ते हैं स्कूलों में, लेकिन ऊँचे दर्जे की पढ़ाई के लिए सारे बड़े-बड़े और कारखाने बने, जहाँ और मशीन बनती हैं और हल्के-हल्के हम बढ़े हैं। सबकी बुनियाद यही थी कि पढ़ाई हमें बढ़ानी है, बगैर पढ़ाई के कोई मुल्क आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता और पढ़ाई ख़ाली किताब का पढ़ना नहीं, वह तो जरूरी है, आजकल की दुनिया को समझना और आजकल की दुनिया की जो नई ताकतें हैं उनको समझना और उनको चलाना है। पढ़ाई हमने बढ़ाने की कोशिश की, यह सब काम किये दस-बारह बरस में, काम बहुत बढ़े हैं क्योंकि चवालीस करोड़ आदमियों का मुल्क है और ऐसे आदमी जो कि सैकड़ों बरस से पिछड़े हुए हैं, जिनको मौका नहीं मिला तरक्की का, और आसान नहीं होता कि एक कौम के कौम को एक गढ़े से निकाल कर गढ़े से ऊपर करना। यह काम हमने उठाया, बहुत बड़ा काम, बड़े भारी इंकलाब का काम, जिसमें मेहनत की जरूरत, अक्ल की जरूरत, एकता की जरूरत। ख़ैर, हमने किया, हजार दिक्कतें हमारे सामने आयीं, फिर भी हम करते गये और मेरा ख़्याल है कि पिछले दस-बारह बरस में हिन्दुस्तान ने काफी तरक्की की है और बुनियाद डाली है उस इमारत के खड़ा करने के लिए जो हम चाहते थे, जो आजकल की दुनिया की इमारतें होती हैं जैसी वैसी। हमारा दिमाग वैसा बने, हम कामकाज वैसे कर सकें, नई ताकतें पैदा हों, नया विज्ञान हो, सब बातें हों और इन सब बातों के साथ हमारी पुरानी जो संस्कृति है, जो तहज़ीब है वो भी रहे। क्योंकि हम, मेरा ख़्याल है कि हमें दो बातों की जरूरत है, एक तो हम हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वाले, हिन्दुस्तान में पैदाइश हमारी हुई और हजारों बरस हिन्दुस्तान में जो कुछ हुआ वो रद्दे पे रद्दा हो के हमारे दिमाग में भरा हुआ है, बड़ी बातें हैं, बहुत बड़ी बातें हैं, कोई दूसरों की नकल करने की हमें जरूरत नहीं है। अगर हम उन बातों को भूल जायें हजारों बरस की अपनी तो हम अपने, अपनी जिस मिट्टी में पैदा हम हुए हैं उससे हम उखड़ जाते हैं, बेजड़ हो जाते हैं। तो बहुत जरूरी बात है कि हम उसमें रहें, समझें, हिन्दुस्तान एक शानदार मुल्क है, यह न समझिए कि कोई महज नकल करने वाला मुल्क है, शानदार है, बहुत ऊँचा है, ख़्यालों में रहा है, दुनिया पे असर डाला है सब कुछ, फिर भी कुछ कमजोरियों से गिर गया। अब पुरानी शान भी रखते हुए, पुराने जो ऊँचे ख़्याल हैं उनको रखते हुए और आजकल की दुनिया को भी समझना, और अपनी ताकत बढ़ाना, दोनों काम हमें करने हैं। हमने यह सोचा और यह पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरा हुए और हो रहे हैं।

तो ऐसे मौके पर जब हम बढ़ रहे थे और इस जमाने में दुनिया में काफी हिन्दुस्तान की कदर हुई। पहले कुछ शिकायत थी उन्हें हमसे कि हम उनके साथ नहीं चलते, हरेक के, बंधे-बंधे नहीं फिरते। हमने कहा कि हम आजादी से अपनी राय पर चलेंगे, आपसे दोस्ती करेंगे, हमें किसी मुल्क से अदावत नहीं, बद-किस्मती से पाकिस्तान से रंजिश रही, हमने बहरहाल कोशिश की कि वो मसला ख़त्म हो जाये। जब पाकिस्तान बना, खुशी से तो हमारी बना नहीं था, लेकिन हमारी रजामन्दी से बना, हमने सोचा था कि बजाए इसके कि अन्दरूनी झगड़ा बनें, इससे अच्छा है पाकिस्तान बने और फिर दो मुल्क पास के हैं, करीब के हैं, एक रिश्ते के हैं, वह मिल के रहें, यानी अलग-अलग आजाद मुल्क हों लेकिन

हम आपस में हम सहयोग एक-दूसरे का करें। बद-किस्मती से जो जड़ उनके बनने की थी वो एक ऐसी ख़राब थी हमारे लिए, वो अदावत थी, हिन्दुस्तान से अदावत, हर चीज़ हिन्दुस्तान से अदावत और डर कि वो उनको रोकता था हमसे मिल के काम करने के लिए और चुनांचे वह नहीं हो सकता जो हम चाहते थे, हालांकि पुरानी रंजिशें बहुत कम हो गई हैं लेकिन फिर भी वो बातें उनके दिमाग में रहीं और अब भी कुछ हैं। हम अब भी चाहते हैं कि मसला हल हो, लेकिन हल होने के मसले के माने यह तो नहीं कि हम गलत बात मान लें, हम ऐसी बात मंजूर करें जिससे हमारे मुल्क तबाह हों और हमारे उसूलों को नुकसान पहुँचे, ये तो गलत बात है, मानना तो नहीं हुआ, यह तो एक ख़राब ख़्वात, तस्लीम करनी हुई। अभी आप जानते हैं, सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह तीन दफे इनकी पाकिस्तान के नुमाइंदों से भी मुलाकात हो चुकी है, पिंडी गये, फिर देहली में हुई, फिर अभी कराची में हुई, अभी एक दस रोज के अन्दर कलकत्ते जा रहे हैं। हमारी तरफ से पूरी कोशिश हो रही है, लेकिन कितनी ही कोशिश हो, उस कोशिश के मायने नहीं हैं कि हम ऐसी बात मंजूर करें जिससे हमें यकीन है कि नुकसान होगा हिन्दुस्तान को और पाकिस्तान को, दोनों को, हमारा उसूल है।

ख़ैर, बावजूद इसके कि पाकिस्तान से हमारा कुछ उस तरह का करीब का रिश्ता नहीं हुआ जैसा हम चाहते थे और जैसा होना चाहिए था, क्योंकि आख़िर में कित्ता ही अलग मुल्क हो जाये, एक जो हमारे साथ है, हमारे जमाने से साथी है, इधर-उधर हो जाने से असर होता ही है, लेकिन वो रिश्ता नहीं टूटता। तो और मुल्कों से हमने दोस्ती की, सभी से, अमेरिका और रूस में बड़ा झगड़ा है, हमने दोनों से दोस्ती की और दोनों से दोस्ती हुई। पहले दोनों हमसे कुछ जरा ना-ख़ुश थे कि हमारी तरफ नहीं आते। फिर उन्होंने देखा कि हाँ, ठीक है इनका, जिस ढंग पे वो चलते हैं वो उनके लिए मुनासिब है और दोनों की हमें दोस्ती मिली।

ऐसे मौके पर चीन ने हम पर हमला किया, अजीब हालत है, मुझे अच्छा नहीं लगता किसी कौम को बुरा-भला कहना, सब अलग-अलग कौम हैं, बड़ी-बड़ी कौम हैं, ना मैं पसन्द करूँ कि आप भी बैठ के चीन वालों को बुरा-भला कहें, चीन की हुकूमत को आप कहिए गलत है, यह सब ठीक है। बहुत बड़ा मुल्क है, पुराना मुल्क है, दुनिया में दो ही मुल्क हैं इतने पुराने, एक हिन्दुस्तान और एक चीन, जिनका इतिहास हजारों बरस का सिलसिला चला आता है, जिसका दो हजार बरस से हमारा कुछ रिश्ता है, जिसने (हमारे) मुल्क से अपना पुराना धर्म लिया, बौद्ध धर्म, हमारे मुल्क से गया उनके यहाँ, और कोई, हालांकि हम पड़ोसी मुल्क थे, कोई लड़ाई-झगड़ा नहीं हुआ दो हजार बरस से, हमें ख़्याल भी नहीं था कि होगा, लेकिन बद-किस्मती से अब जो बातें हो गई हैं दस-बारह बरस से उसने ऐसी हवा पैदा की है चीन में कि उनका दिमाग बिल्कुल फिर गया है। यानी हमारा उसूल यह है कि हर मुल्क को हक है कि जैसा चाहे वो अपने यहाँ इंतजाम करे, यह उसका हक है, जैसे हम चाहते हैं कि हक हो कि हम अपने मुल्क में जैसा हमारे लोग चाहें इंतजाम हो, दूसरे को क्या हक है दबाव डालने का। हाँ, औरों से सलाह लें, सलाह करें, यह और बात है। तो चीन में इंकलाब हुआ। हमने कहा ख़ुशी है, चीन वाले करते हैं करें, हमारी



कोई उनसे दुश्मनी तो है नहीं, हमने उसको मंजूर किया, लेकिन अजीब हालत है, उनके इंकलाब में जाहिर है कि कोई उनको दखल नहीं देना चाहता, लेकिन उसको समझने की जितनी कोशिश करते हैं उते ही हैरत होती है।

अब आजकल एक, आप जानते हैं कम्युनिस्ट, साम्यवादी इंकलाब का सबमें बड़ा मुल्क रूस था। आजकल चीन वाले रूस से करीब-करीब लड़ाई लड़ने पर उतारु हो गये हैं और धमकियाँ रूस को देते हैं, हालांकि समझा जाये कि उनका रिश्ता साम्यवाद का करीब का है। वो उनसे भी ना-खुश है और औरों से ना-खुश है, एक अजीब उनका दिमाग फिर सा गया है और यह भी कोई निशानी मेरी राय में अक्ल की नहीं थी कि उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान पे हमला किया। एक दोस्त मुल्क को अपना उन्होंने दुश्मन की तरह उससे बर्ताव किया और दुश्मन उसको बनाया और मुझे यकीन है कि इससे उनको नुकसान हुआ, हमें नुकसान हुआ, और क्या फायदा हुआ यह हम आइन्दा देखेंगे, उनको नुकसान हुआ मुझे कोई शक नहीं, और होगा। तो यह न समझिए कि थोड़ी सी जमीन हिन्दुस्तान के पहाड़ों की है, उसकी लालच में उन्होंने हम पे हमला किया, वह तो एक जाहिरा वजह थी, मुमकिन है उसकी ख्वाहिश हो लेकिन वो वजह नहीं, इससे नहीं, वजह ज्यादा दूर की है, ज्यादा गहरी है और इसीलिए मैंने कहा था कि शुरु में, जिस रोज इनके अक्टूबर में हमले की ख़बर आयी थी उसके तीन बाद मैंने कहा था कि यह मामला बहुत गहरा है और हमें कम से कम चार-पाँच बरस के लिए तैयार होना चाहिए इसका मुकाबला करने के लिए। अब भी मेरी यह राय है। मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि पाँच बरस तक मुसलसल लड़ाई होती जाये। मैं तो नहीं जानता कब लड़ाई हो, कब न हो, लेकिन यह मुख़ालिफ़त हमारी और चीन की गहरी हो गई है, उनकी वजह से, हमारी तरफ से नहीं, और यह लम्बी चलेगी, इसका असर दुनिया पर पड़ेगा, हम पे तो पड़ेगा ही। इसलिए हमें जरा दूर तक देखना है, इस वक्त तैयार होना है साल भर बाद के लिए, दो बरस, तीन बरस, पाँच बरस के लिए, दूर तक देखना है। जब एक आदमी, आप दौड़ते हैं, आप जानते हैं जो आपमें दौड़ने वाले नौजवान हों कि दूर तक दौड़ना होता है तो दूसरा सांस आ जानी चाहिए, नहीं तो सांस उखड़ जाती है। सांस हमें उखड़ने नहीं देनी है अपनी तैयारी की, अपनी जोश की, वो जारी रखना है, यह नहीं कि दिखाने की होती है, एक वक्त जोश दिया, दूसरे वक्त ठंडे पड़ गये, इस तरह से काम नहीं चलता, एक लम्बा सवाल है हमारे सामने।

अब यह बोझा हमें उठाना है, उठाना ही है, हर मुल्क को उठाना पड़ता है, कोई अपनी आजादी तो नहीं दे देता है और न अपना सिर झुका लेता है। जो दुश्मन उस पर हमला करे, जो कोई मुल्क ऐसा करे वो निकम्मा मुल्क है, उसकी कदर क्या है, इज्जत क्या है, कर क्या सकता है, उसके माथे पे लिखा है गुलामी। यह तो ना-मुमकिन है हमारा करना। यह तो ठीक है लेकिन उसको करना है तो सोच समझ के करना है, कि अक्ल से अपनी ताकत बढ़ानी है, ताकि आज-कल-परसों, साल भर बाद, दो बरस बाद, तीन बरस बाद, चार बरस, पाँच बरस बाद तक ताकत हमारी बढ़ती जाये। और ताकत कैसे बढ़ती है? सही है, आप यहाँ बहुत सारे हिम्मत वाले नौजवान बैठे हुए हैं, आप ताकत हैं मुल्क की, लेकिन आपको सामान चाहिए, जाहिर है लड़ाई का सामान चाहिए, लड़ाई के पीछे उस

सामान को पैदा करने का इंतजाम चाहिए। अब लड़ाई का सामान अमेरिका और विलायत से तो नहीं मंगाते जायेंगे रोज-रोज, हाँ, जरूरत के वक्त हम जरूर मंगायेंगे, और मंगाया और उन्होंने हमें भेजा, हम उनके मशकूर हैं, उनको शुक्रिया अदा किया, लेकिन जब तक हम खुद नहीं करें तो हम मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते। हम क्या यह समझते हैं कि और मुल्क हमारी हिफाजत करेंगे, हमारी मदद करना एक बात होती है, ठीक है लेकिन आखिर बोझा हिफाजत का तो हमें करना है। हम आजाद कैसे अगर और लोगों पे हमें हर वक्त दौड़ना पड़े कि हमें बचा लो, हमारी हिफाजत करो, यह आजादी की निशानी नहीं है। तो हमें तैयार होना है, आदमियों को तैयार होना है, फौजें तैयार होनी हैं, सामान पैदा करने के कारखाने बनाने हैं, हमें अपनी पैदावार बढ़ानी है, खेती से, कारखानों से, हर तरफ से। यानी अजीब बात यह है, इस लड़ाई से लड़ने के लिए या मुकाबला करने के लिए हमें बहुत कुछ वही बातें करनी हैं जो कि पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमारे लिखी हैं।

[Translation begins:

Soldiers of the Punjab Raksha Dal, Sisters, Brothers and Children,  
More than a year has gone by since I was here last in Amritsar or for that matter even the Punjab. So, I was very keen to come here. I had heard that the Punjab was donning a new look and pulsating with a new life. I wanted to see for myself what was happening. I was keen to meet the youth in particular and feel your pulse to gauge how things are going. At the same time, I wanted to come here and imbibe some of the new enthusiasm and feel my pulse quicken. So, I am happy to be here in this grand gathering. Just the sight of such a vast gathering makes an impact. I am not sure how many people are here today. But it is obvious that it is very large gathering of, I do not know, how many hundreds of thousands. There are more than a hundred thousand soldiers of the Punjab Raksha Dal alone and then there are the citizens of Amritsar. [Applause]

At the beginning of the meeting, condolences were expressed at the passing away of a very great leader, one who was the President of India until last year, Rajendra Babu. That was proper. His passing away has been painful for us and fills us with sadness because he was among those great elders who had been in the thick of our freedom struggle right from the beginning. He was a great leader and was among the special comrades of Gandhi ji. After independence he became the President and filled that office with great dignity and with great humility, which is a special hallmark of India. A human being who holds high office and yet combines grandeur with humility shows that he was a man of great stature.

Well, he has passed away and we are grieved. But ultimately, we know that all of us have to go one day. He went after fulfilling the great tasks that he took up with great dignity and has made a niche for himself in Indian history.



He will be remembered for years to come and serve as a model to be emulated. Gradually the old guard is passing away, as is inevitable, and the burden of serving the country will fall upon you. It has already fallen upon you. Wherever I go, I am on the lookout to see for myself what India's youth is like and the kind of India that is taking shape. We have seen the freedom fighters who are no longer young today. Now it remains to be seen what the new generation is like, how capable they are of preserving our hard earned freedom, how much courage they display and what they have learnt. I seek to judge whether they have the qualities to keep their country free and on the path of progress. This is what I search in the faces of the people, in their eyes, for there is no better yardstick to judge human beings.

During the last few months a new danger has descended upon us. The Chinese attacked us which has grieved us deeply for many reasons. For one thing, a nation to whom we had extended a hand of friendship and even spoke up for in various forums, had betrayed us. Two, any aggression committed on our soil is always painful and then it was a great power like China which had used all its force against us. This posed a new question in our minds. I agree that in the immediate aftermath of the attack we were in some confusion. It was not I alone but the entire nation felt confused. We had thought that now that India has gained freedom from the British rule, we would be able to live in peace. Great problems still remained and had to be faced. But they were internal problems and we thought we would be able to solve them. But we did not expect an external aggression, though we had suffered a setback right at the dawn of freedom when India was divided into two and there was a terrible holocaust on both sides of the border. Innumerable refugees poured into India and we were beleaguered with problems at that time. Our freedom struggle lasting over 25-30 years had been a peaceful one. Therefore, the catastrophe that followed partition when people were at one another's throats was extremely harmful. It was a great testing time for our forces. Then followed the war in Kashmir where we had to face external aggression. It was indeed strange that after a life time of learning lessons of peace, we had to embark upon the opposite course. It was extremely painful.

Anyhow, we gradually overcame these problems and the country was on an even keel once more. We would direct our energies towards nation-building. Why had India become weak and downtrodden? There had never been a dearth of brave people in India. Why then was there a downfall? It is something to ponder about. You may say that the policies followed by the British of siphoning off India's wealth impoverished us. And yet, it would be absurd to blame the British wholly for our downfall. How did they come here in the past? It was due to our own folly, not their superior valour. The most significant lesson to

be learnt from that is that we had an extraordinary capacity to fight among ourselves. You will not find a greater example of valour and courage in the whole of India than in Rajasthan where the rulers have become famous in history for their undaunted spirit. But at the same time, they lacked common sense and finished off one another in internecine warfare over a period of time. In fact the whole country was afflicted by the malaise of disunity. Though India had thousands of years of tradition of culture and civilization, it did not become a political entity until much later when the British came and unified the whole country under one administration. So the foremost thing to be learnt is the lesson of unity. Gandhiji tried his utmost a sense of unity among us, and root out the ancient malaise of fighting among ourselves, of divisions. To the extent that he succeeded, we grew in strength and ultimately we shook off the yoke of British rule without resorting to armed might and became free.

Secondly, we must try to understand how the countries of the West, England, the United States of America, Germany, France, the Soviet Union, and Japan and other countries have become so affluent. Compared to them we are poor and there are many countries in Asia and Africa which are even worse off. There was a time not long ago when the British came here drawn by the Lure of the wealth of India. They came to trade with us because India was considered to be extremely wealthy in comparison to England. Then how did they become so affluent while we remained where we were.

At about the time that the British came to our shore, a great revolution had taken place in the world. You hear of political revolutions and overthrowing of regimes. But the real revolution is a change in the way of life, in the standard of living of a nation. The Industrial Revolution in Europe took place due to the advance made in science and technology. We had forgotten how to look ahead and were content to repeat old lessons learnt by rote. We were ignorant of what was going on in the world. There were great kings and emperors in India who lived in great pomp and splendour. But they were not bothered about learning what was happening in the outside world. The world kept changing but it had no effect on us. Great strides were made in science and technology. Today everyone knows what science means and how it has enabled Man to reach the Moon and a thousand other things as well. But at that time we were blissfully ignorant.

Europe advanced with the help of science and acquired great new techniques. Steam-power led to locomotives and electricity gave enormous power which was used in a thousand different ways to produce wealth and invent new weapons. With this newly acquired wealth and military power, the Europeans came and conquered Asia and Africa. Behind all this was knowledge of science and new machines and new sources of energy like steam-power and



electricity and later atomic energy. In this way, Europe, a small corner of the world succeeded in conquering the whole world by its new found knowledge and intellectual curiosity.

So you will find that the affluent countries of the world today are those which adopted the path charted by the Industrial Revolution, acquired scientific know-how and invented new machines. Today the United States of America and the Soviet Union are the biggest powers in the world with huge arsenals of atomic and other weapons. They have acquired all this power through the advance made in science and in the process have grown extremely affluent as well.

So the most urgent priority we had after independence was to eradicate poverty from India because a poor nation is weak. We had to find the means of bringing about economic change to acquire a better standard of living and power. I agree that valour is of great importance in war. Let me tell you that I also believe that if a nation is absolutely determined not to bow down to aggression even if it is at the cost of innumerable lives, nobody can conquer it even if it has no weapons to speak of. I am convinced about that. But having said that, it cannot be denied that today wars cannot be fought with bows and arrows or outdated weapons, Even guns are regarded as out-dated today. New weapons have been invented, bombs which are carried by aeroplanes. Therefore we have to grasp the new knowledge of science which can help us to create new wealth from land and industries. We must do original research and not be content with copying others.

So this is the revolution we seek to bring about. It is with this aim that we started the Five Year plans, etc. What does planning imply? It means that we should progress as Europe did more than a hundred years ago through the Industrial Revolution. We wanted to bring about such a revolution in India to transform our economy and bring about affluence. We set up national science Laboratories and institutes to educate our youth and train them. Children learn a little science in schools. But we need higher education and specialised knowledge. We have gradually made progress.

The most essential need was for education because no country can do without it. I do not mean merely book-learning but the practical application of science and technology. So we have tried very hard to ensure the spread of such education during the last 10-12 years. There are many tasks ahead because we are a vast country of forty-four crores of human beings, people who have been back-ward for hundreds of years, deprived of opportunities for progress. It is not easy to pull out an entire country from the rut that they had fallen into. We took up this great revolutionary task which requires hard work, intelligence and unity.

Anyhow, we did it in spite of the obstacles that have loomed to our path and I think India has made considerable progress during the last 10 or 12 years. We have laid the foundations for the kind of India which we want to build. We have tried to create the proper mental outlook in which new ideas and scientific knowledge can spread. At the same time we have tried to hold on to our ancient culture too because in my opinion, we need two things. One, we must hold on to our identity as Indians born on this soil and moulded by thousands of years of our history. There is no need for us to copy any one. We will become rootless and lose our moorings if we forget our thousands of years of past. So it is very essential for us to understand our past and be proud of our heritage. India is not a country which initiates others slavishly. It is a grand country with high ideals and thoughts which deeply influenced the world in the past and yet fell due to its own weaknesses. Now we must hold on to our great ideals and strive to understand the modern world in order to become strong. It is with both these aims that we have adopted planning etc.

In the last few years, India has gained a great deal of prestige in the world. In the beginning there were some complaints when we refused to join any of the blocs. We were determined to follow our independent path and maintain friendly relations with everyone. We have no enmity with any country. Unfortunately, there has been some bitterness with Pakistan. But we have tried to clear up the misunderstandings. Pakistan came into being with our consent even if we were not happy about it. We thought that instead of letting internal discensions escalate, we should consent to the creation of Pakistan and live in amity as friendly neighbours. We would be two independent countries with close ties of cooperation. Unfortunately, the creation of Pakistan was rooted in bitterness against India. It was bitterness and fear too which prevented Pakistan from establishing close ties with India. Though the old bitterness has faded to a large extent, the fear and suspicion still remain. We want to resolve the disputes. But that does not mean that we can accept something wrong, something which will lead to India's ruin or damage our principles. It would be wrong to accept something bad. As you know, Sardar Swaran Singh has recently met the Pakistani representatives thrice in Pindi, Delhi and recently in Karachi. In the next few days he will go to Calcutta. So we have spared no efforts. But no matter how much we may desire a solution, we cannot accept something which we are convinced would harm both India and Pakistan.

Anyhow, though relations between India and Pakistan have not been as close as we wanted or as they ought to be because though the country has been divided, the links go back to hundreds of years and cannot be broken. We have established friendly relations with all other countries, even with the two superpowers which are bitter enemies. In the beginning, both the United



States and the Soviet Union were annoyed with us for not joining their camp. But gradually they have come to accept that our policy is the right one and so we have the friendship of both.

Then China attacked India. I do not like to abuse any nation. All are great countries, you may say that the Chinese government is at fault. But China is an ancient country, a great country. There are only two countries in the world - India and China which have a history dating back to thousands of years and which have had links for over two thousand years. China was deeply influenced by an Indian religion, Buddhism, and adopted it. Though we were neighbours, there had been no wars between us in two thousand years. We had never dreamt that there could be war. But unfortunately, many things have happened during the last ten years or so which have turned China's head. We have always maintained that each nation has the right to adopt the ideology that it thinks proper. No outsider has any right to interfere or put pressure on others. Yes, we may consult others or seek their advice. That is a different matter. So when the revolution in China took place, we accepted it. We had no enmity with them. But the strange thing is that the more you try to understand their ideology, the more confusing it is.

Today as you know the greatest socialist revolution has been in the Soviet Union. But the Chinese have almost reached a point of confrontation with the Soviet Union and keep threatening them even though they see closely linked, through communism, China is upset with the Soviet Union and others too. They seem to have a strange outlook and it seems to me that they did not act very intelligently in attacking India. They have behaved like an enemy towards a friendly country which has been damaging to their image. We will be able to judge what damage it has done to us. But I have no doubt about it that it has been damaging to China. Please do not think that they committed aggression on India for the sake of a few miles of territory on inhospitable mountain terrain. That was only an excuse. They may have coveted the territory too but that was certainly not the reason. The reason for the attack goes deeper. As I said in the beginning, the day we got the news of the attack in October, I had said that the cause is deeper and therefore we must be prepared for a long conflict. That is my view even now, I do not know whether there will be actual fighting or not and if so when but the conflict is deep-seated and China is responsible for it. I do not say that actual fighting will continue for five years but the conflict will be a long drawn-out one. It is bound to have an impact upon the world and on India too. Therefore, we must be prepared for it and take a long term view of the matter. We should be prepared for a long conflict. We must not allow ourselves to run out of steam but keep up our spirits and determination. We are facing a grave challenge.

This is a burden that we have to carry as any nation desirous of defending its freedom has to. The country which bows down before aggression cannot hope to retain the respect of others. Its only fate is slavery. That is impossible as far as we are concerned. But we have to prepare ourselves intelligently and with determination so that we continue to grow in strength. How are we to do that? It is true that the brave youth of this country is its innate strength. But you need the right equipment to fight with. So we have to make arrangements to produce what we need. We cannot continue to import arms and ammunition from the West. We may do it if it is absolutely necessary. We are thankful to those who have helped us in our hour of need. But we will not be self-reliant until we become self-sufficient. We cannot depend on others to protect us. The other countries may help us but the main burden of defence has to be carried by us. How can we remain independent if we have to run to others with cries for help? That is not the sign of an independent nation.

So, we should prepare ourselves by training troops and producing all the arms and ammunition they need. We must increase production from our fields and factories. In short, we must continue to do what has been laid down in the five year plans even to face the conflict with China. [Tape incomplete.]

Translation ends]

### **179. In Patna: Bharat Sevak Samaj and Sadaqat Ashram<sup>428</sup>**

#### **Dignity of Labour**

Addressing a meeting of the workers of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, the State Panchayat Parishad and Citizens' Council and other constructive workers here, Mr. Nehru said that the dignity of labour should be realised and "science and its offspring" utilised more and more for stepping up production if the country were to make rapid progress.

It was not the numerical strength but the quality of the people that would determine the country's march to progress, he added.

"With every day that passed, the feeling grows in me", Mr. Nehru said, "that our educational system should produce men and women who can work with their hands hard to make the country prosperous".

428. Report of meeting with executives of Bharat Sevak Samaj and visit to Sadaqat Ashram; *The Hindu*, 8 March 1963, p.1.



For this, he said, a congenial climate had to be created in which the dignity of labour was realised and the benefits of the machine age utilised as in Russia, America, Japan or Germany. He said it was a matter of pride in America that a millionaires' son should start his life as an ordinary labourer.

### Visit to Sadaqat Ashram

Mr. Nehru, soon after his arrival here drove down to the Sadaqat Ashram from Raj Bhawan and called on the family members of the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad to offer his personal condolence. He enquired from the sons of Dr. Prasad, Mr. Mrityunjay Prasad and Mr. Dhananjay Prasad, who received him at the Ashram, about the last hours of the departed leader.

Mr. Nehru entered the bed-room-cum-study room of the late Dr. Prasad barefooted and stood in silence with closed eyes before a garlanded bust-sized photograph of Dr. Prasad which had been taken when Dr. Prasad was bidding farewell to the people of Hyderabad during last summer.

Those present at Ashram during Prime Minister's visit included Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan and his wife, Srimati Prahbawati Devi, the Chief Minister, Pandit Jha, the President of the P.C.C. Pandit Rajendra Mishra and Dr. Sayed Mahmud.

Large crowds lined that route from Raj Bhawan to Sadaqat Ashram to have "darshan" of Mr. Nehru who drove down in an open convertible.

Mr. Nehru stayed in Dr. Prasad's residence for about 15 minutes and then left for Rabindra Bhawan to address a joint meeting of workers of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, the Bihar Panchayat Parishad and the Bihar Citizens Council, and the constructive workers.

## **180. To S.G. Amin: Defence Fund Contributions from Kenya<sup>429</sup>**

March 8, 1963

Dear Mr Amin,

I write to thank you and those who have contributed from Kenya and East Africa to the fund for the relief and welfare of soldiers and their dependents. We have received from you £85,000 sterling besides about 300 tolas of gold ornaments, 205 tolas of silver ornaments and a wrist watch. We appreciate and

429. Letter to the Chairman of the India Aid Fund Committee, The Kenya Indian Congress, Ruprani House, 1st Floor Rooms 9/10, Gulzaar Street, Nairobi.

are grateful for these generous donations. I hope you will convey our sense of appreciation and gratitude to the donors.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## **181. In Bhopal: Another Chinese Attack Possible<sup>430</sup>**

### **China May Attack Again, Warns PM**

Bhopal, March 13 – Prime Minister Nehru said here today that China might again attack India at any time.

He told a meeting of the staff and the trainees of the Government of India's Heavy Electricals Factory near here, that the challenge thrown by China had to be accepted and “we must succeed in our struggle.”

India, he said, had embarked on plans to wipe off her poverty through scientific and technological means. That was a great challenge. "But the challenge thrown by China was a far bigger one, which we have to accept and achieve success.”

The Prime Minister said that in order to achieve success against China's challenge India must increase her resources and mobilise them.

Pandit Nehru expressed the hope that the Heavy Electricals Factory would make rapid progress. The progress which was being made at present showed that the factory was making good strides as compared to the period when he first visited it two and a half years ago.

Earlier, the NCC cadets of the factory presented a guard of honour to the Prime Minister.

Pandit Nehru went around the switchgear and transformer blocks of the factory.

The Heavy Electricals Factory has for the first time designed and manufactured 10,000 kw transformers and started production of circuit breakers and traction equipment for electric trains.

Pandit Nehru also drove through the Heavy Electricals township.

430. Report of speech of 13 March 1963, reproduced from the *National Herald*, 14th March, 1963, p .1.



### Call to Congressmen

Addressing a meeting of Congress workers, Pandit Nehru is understood to have asked them to strengthen the party on the organisational as well as governmental level.

He stressed the need for their having a team spirit to work unitedly. He said that several weaknesses of the Congress had been exposed during the last general elections. If the party could not follow its own principles, it would lose ground and would be turned into an "electioneering body". The party would in that event also become incompetent.

The Chief Minister and other Ministers were present at the meeting.

Pandit Nehru was understood to have also analysed the role of the other parties. He is reported to have said that the Swatantra Party had no connection with the present-day trends. The party was opposed to socialism and every means of development. "In fact, this party is opposed to everything we do. It is also opposed to the measures we are adopting for the defence of the country. We cannot leave our defence to others," he said.

Pandit Nehru said that the communal parties were adopting the same path that had weakened the country in the past.

Pandit Nehru spoke of the backwardness of the Hindi-speaking areas. He mentioned in this context UP, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan.

Pandit Nehru also referred to the Socialist Party and said that they wanted that Hindi should be imposed. By adopting such a course, they had defamed the name of socialism.

## 182. In Bhopal: Unity<sup>431</sup>

### Nehru's Call for Total Unity

Bhopal, March 13 – Prime Minister Nehru today called upon the people in villages, towns and cities to unite as a disciplined force with a view to increasing the strength of the nation in all spheres.

Those who created trouble on the basis of religion or caste and were responsible for any other fissiparous tendencies were but traitors, he told a rally of the newly-formed Village Volunteer force of Madhya Pradesh.

Fifteen hundred group leaders of the force, four drawn from each block, staged a march past on the occasion.

431. Report of speech of 13 March 1963, reproduced from the *National Herald*, 14 March, 1963, p. 3.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Chinese attack, the Prime Minister said, had shaken the whole country and awakened it. It was now for the whole nation to work as a determined and disciplined force to counter the aggression on the motherland. The defence of the country was not the responsibility of the armed forces alone. "We all have to shoulder the responsibility and be prepared for it", he added.

### Discipline, Cooperation

Pandit Nehru said that in the wake of Panchayati Raj and in view of the present Emergency, the rudiments of military training were being imparted to villagers as well. This was sure to prove of a great value for all times to come. He said that discipline and cooperation were the primary needs. These virtues could be gained by villagers for the good of the villages and the nation. They, as disciplined and cooperative people, could increase production in fields and factories which was so vital for increasing the resources of the nation. To remove poverty, he said, a nation had to increase its production in fields and factories. Villagers could do things in a better way through cooperatives than through individual effort.

Pandit Nehru referred to the dacoit problem in Madhya Pradesh and said the state must do the needful to counter the menace. It was necessary that the problem should be solved. A united and disciplined people could check such a problem, he said.

The Prime Minister said that the responsibility to awaken villagers rested on those who had received training for the Village Volunteer Force. They had to make others realise the importance of discipline and cooperation. They should be prepared to extend help in defence of the country whenever they were called upon to do so.

### 1,000 Camps

Earlier, the Madhya Pradesh Local Self-Government Minister, Mr Jagmohan Das, said that nearly 17,000 *dalpatis* and *updalpatis* had received fifteen days' training each in one thousand camps under the Village Volunteer Force Scheme being implemented in the state since January 26 this year. The total strength of the force in the 70,414 villages of the state was now more than 4.91 lakhs. He said one thousand more camps would be started by the end of April and the strength of the force was expected to reach five lakhs—PTI.



### 183. In Bhilai: Unity for Defence<sup>432</sup>

#### PM Calls for United Effort for Defence

Bhilai, March 14 – Prime Minister Nehru today called for concerted effort to strengthen defence and increase production to overcome the "shock" suffered by the country as a result of the Chinese aggression.

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing a rally of 20,000 steel workers here, also said that India would have to produce cheaper and quality goods to be able to compete in world market.

During his forty-minute speech in Hindi, Pandit Nehru laid great emphasis on increasing agricultural production.

He also stressed the need for starting more and more basic industries in the country.

Pandit Nehru said that the freedom of the country could not be preserved only by external assistance. "We should make united efforts to produce what we need not only for defence but also for economic development."

#### New Taxes

Referring to the new taxation proposals, Pandit Nehru said that they were bound to affect the people. Expenditure, particularly that for defence had increased. People had to bear the burden not only for their own sake but also for the sake of the country.

People should now forget petty differences and unite as one man to face the challenge of the Chinese, he said.

He said that India belonged not only to the Hindus but also to all the communities and sects which went to make it. He called upon all the communities to unite and make the country strong and prosperous.

Earlier, Mr Subramaniam, Minister for Steel and Heavy Industries, said that the Bhilai plant had achieved its rated capacity production in February as well as in March. He assured the Prime Minister that efforts were now being made to increase production and also to reduce the cost—PTI.

432. Report of speech of 14 March 1961, reproduced from the *National Herald*, 15 March, 1963, p. 1.

**184. To C.B. Gupta: Coerced Collections for Defence Fund<sup>433</sup>**

March 16, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

I am sorry I have to write to you again about the complaints about forcible collections to the Defence Fund. I have received two letters from two Socialist Members of Parliament. One of these is enclosed. The President has also received a similar letter which he has forwarded to me.

These letters contain a printed open letter addressed to me by one Chandra Shekhar Shukla who describes himself as a member of the District Congress Committee, Farrukhabad. He describes what was done to various individuals in his presence. Some of the individuals have also given statements to this effect.

In view of these specific charges in which especially the name of the City Magistrate, Munnalal Agarwal, is mentioned, it becomes essential for some enquiry to be made in these cases. Also, that Munnalal Agarwal should be called upon to explain.<sup>434</sup>

As the President has especially forwarded his letter to me, I am anxious to report to him what has been done.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**185. To Ajit Prasad Jain: Coerced Defence Fund Contributions<sup>435</sup>**

March 16, 1963

My dear Ajit,

Some Socialist Members of the Lok Sabha sent me a printed paper which is supposed to be an open letter to me bearing the name of Chandra Shekhar Shukla, a member of the District Congress Committee, Farrukhabad. As the writer is supposed to be a Congressman and a member of the District Congress Committee, I am sending a copy of this printed letter to you.

I have also received a number of letters written by individuals in Farrukhabad who make statements to the effect that they were terrorised in

433. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

434. See also items 185 and 76.

435. Letter to the President of the UPCC. NMML, A.P. Jain Papers, Sub. File No. 13.



various ways by or on behalf of the city Magistrate Munnalal Agarwal to contribute to the Defence Fund, even when they had previously done so.

I am sending all these papers to Chandra Bhanu Gupta.<sup>436</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 186. In Bombay: To the Sea Cadet Corps<sup>437</sup>

राज्यपाल जी, मुख्यमंत्री और उपस्थित सज्जनो,  
कई बार मुझे यहाँ, बम्बई जब मैं आया मुझे “सी-कैडेट्स” को देखने का मौका मिला और मुझे वो पसन्द आये और भले मालूम हुए। फिर “रिपब्लिक-डे” के समय पर कुछ यहाँ दिल्ली भी आते थे और हमारी परेड में शरीक होते थे। इस पिछले बरस नहीं हुए क्योंकि इमरजेंसी थी, तो हमने बाहर से लोगों को नहीं बुलाया। तो जब-जब मैंने उनको देखा मुझे बहुत पसन्द आये और जो कुछ उनको यहाँ ट्रेनिंग मिलती है वो अच्छी मालूम हुई। अभी राज्यपाल ने हमें बताया कितने लोग ट्रेन्ड हो चुके हैं यहाँ और बाद में कितने नेवी में गये, कितने फौज में गये, कितने हवाई जहाज सेना में गये और और भी काम उन्होंने किया, वो उसमें हमें लाभ हुआ, इससे, सी-कैडेट्स से। बात यह है कि ऐसी ट्रेनिंग से कोई लड़का या लड़की जो भी कुछ करे बाद में उसका अच्छा करेगा, मामूली से अच्छा, वो अच्छी चीज है। इस किस्म की ट्रेनिंग और डिसिप्लिन, अनुशासन, मैं तो चाहता हूँ किसी न किसी शक्ति में, चाहे फौज का या नेवी का या हवाई जहाज का बहुत हमारे नौजवानों को मिले। आजकल तो उसका बहुत चर्चा है, क्योंकि इमरजेंसी है, हमारी सीमा पर आक्रमण हुआ है, लेकिन अलावा उसके कि हमारे देश में लोगों को चुस्त और चालाक होना चाहिए और कुछ ढील जो हम लोगों में होती है वो निकल जानी चाहिए। इसलिए आज यहाँ मेरा आना मुझे बहुत अच्छा लगा और भाग लेना इस कार्य में कि आपके केन्द्रीय कार्यालय के लिए “फाउन्डेशन स्टोन” लगाने के लिए मुझे खुशी है कि मैं आया, कुछ मैंने इसमें हिस्सा लिया और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि खूब “सी-कैडेट्स” बढ़ें।

अभी थोड़े दिन हुए मद्रास में भी उसकी एक शाखा बनी और शायद कलकत्ते में भी और कोचीन में भी हुई, ठीक है। क्योंकि हमें हमेशा याद रखना है कि हिन्दुस्तान, भारत के दो तरफ या तीन तरफ समुद्र है और एक हमारा देश बना है जोरों से, समुद्र के और पहाड़ों के बीच में हैं। हम एशिया के जो बड़े भारी लैंड मैस, जमीन का, उसका एक हिस्सा हैं और उसके साथ काफी समुद्र का उससे हमारा संबंध है, दोनों तरफ हमने देखना है। पहले-पहले आप हमारा इतिहास देखिये तो हमारा काफी संबंध रहा था समुद्र

436. See item 184.

437. Speech, 20 March 1963, laying the foundation-stone of the National Headquarters of the Sea Cadet Corps, Bombay. NMML, AIR Tapes, AIR TS No. 9564, NM No. 1783.

से और हमारे लोग दूर-दूर गये सारे साउथ ईस्ट-एशिया, इंडोनेशिया, मलाया, और दूर भी इससे गये थे, समुद्र से। फिर कुछ कम हो गया वो, बहुत कम हो गया और हम कुछ फंसे रहे इधर जमीन की तरफ, उधर से आक्रमण भी हुए, जमीन की तरफ से और हम पिछड़ गये। और फिर वो जमाना आया जबकि समुद्र में “सी-पावर” बढ़ा दुनिया में और बाहर से लोग आये हम पर हमला करने, किया, पॉर्चगीज और कौन-कौन आये, फिर अंग्रेज आये, उन्होंने हमला किया, हम उनसे ढीले थे, उसमें बाद में हल्के-हल्के हम लोग जागे। मराठों ने उनका मुकाबला करने की कोशिश की, कुछ कामयाबी से भी, टीपू सुल्तान ने कुछ कोशिश की लेकिन कुछ जरा देर में कोशिश हुई और कामयाबी पूरीतौर से नहीं हुई। उस जमाने में “सी-पावर” का जोर था और “सी-पावर” से बड़े-बड़े देश, यूरोप के देश फैले और दुनिया में। अभी जरा बदल गया है, फौज तो खैर एक आवश्यक चीज है किसी भी देश के लिए और अब वायुसेना और ऐयरफोर्स आ गये हैं जो कि एक बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा लेते हैं लेकिन फिर भी “सी-पावर” की अहमियत बहुत कम नहीं हुई है और रहेगी और हमारे लिये विशेषकर जो कि तीन तरफ हमारे समुद्र घेरे हुए है, एक तरह से भारत समुद्र की गोद में रहता है। तो उसकी तरफ काफी हमें ध्यान देना है और हमारे लोगों में एक मनोवृत्ति पैदा करनी है समुद्र में जाने की आने की, नेवी की। इसलिए भी जो ये “सी-कैडेट्स” हैं बचपन से उनका ध्यान उधर दिलाया जाता है, यह बहुत अच्छी बात है। मुझे फिर भी आज आके खुशी हुई। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आपका काम खूब बढ़े, और बढ़े और भारत का ध्यान एक तरफ तो हमारे हिमालय की तरफ तो हमेशा ही रहता है, रहेगा, दूसरी तरफ समुद्र की तरफ भी रहे।

जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Governor,<sup>438</sup> Chief Minister,<sup>439</sup> Gentlemen,

I have had the opportunity of meeting the Sea Cadets many times in the past and liked what I saw. They join in our Republic Day Parade in Delhi too except this year. We did not invite anyone from outside because of the Emergency. Anyhow, I have always liked what I have seen. I feel that they are being trained well. The Governor mentioned just now how many cadets have been trained so far and joined the Army, Navy and Air Force thereafter. So the training of the Sea Cadets is obviously beneficial. Any individual after such training is bound to do well in any sphere. I want that this kind of training and military discipline ought to be available to our youth in large numbers. There is a great deal of talk about this at the moment because of the Emergency on our borders. In any

438. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit.

439. M.S. Kannamwar.



case, the people must be fit and vigilant. They must get rid of the slackness which is creeping in.

I am happy to be here today to take part in the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Central Headquarters. I hope the number of sea cadets will continue to grow. Recently branches have been opened in Madras, Calcutta and Cochin too. We must always bear in mind that India is surrounded on three sides by the ocean. We constitute a major portion of the Asian land mass and have close links with the sea. Therefore, we have to pay attention to both.

If you read history, you will find that we had close links with the ocean, Indians in large numbers travelled to South East Asia, Indonesia, Malaya by the sea route. Then gradually our seafaring activities were reduced. Our attention was absorbed landward and by the invasions which took place from that side. We became stagnant while the sea power of other countries grew. The Portuguese and the English came by the sea route and conquered us easily. It is only then that we were jolted out of our lethargy. The Marathas and Tipu Sultan tried with some success to challenge the western powers. But they were too powerful for us.

Sea power was in the ascendant in the West in those days. Things are changing now. Armed forces are essential for every country. The air force plays a major role nowadays. But sea power has, by no means, lost its importance. It will always remain important for India, for we are surrounded by the ocean on three sides. India, in a sense, exists in the lap of the ocean. Therefore, we must pay attention to it and inculcate among the people a keen desire to join the navy. The training as sea cadets does this right from childhood which is a good thing.

I am happy to be here. I hope you grow and expand. Our attention is always fixed on the Himalayas no doubt. But we must pay attention to the ocean too.

Jai Hind!

## 187. To G. Lutter: Defence Fund Contribution<sup>440</sup>

April 8, 1963

Dear Miss Lutter,

The Minister of External Affairs,<sup>441</sup> Shrimati Lakshmi N. Menon has forwarded to me three bank drafts for Rs 4,101/-, Rs 335/- and Rs 401/- being the contribution of the staff and students of your School towards the National

440. Letter to the Principal, Maharani Gayatri Devi Girls School, Jaipur.

441. In fact, the Minister of State of the Ministry of External Affairs, as Nehru himself was the Minister.

Defence Fund. I appreciate very much the spirit which has prompted them to make this generous donation. Please convey my grateful thanks to all of them.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**188. To Homi J.H. Taleyarkhan: Collections for Defence<sup>442</sup>**

April 11, 1963

My dear Homi,

Thank you for your letter of April 5th and the two copies of the Cricket Souvenir. One of these copies I am returning with my signature.

I am glad to learn of the success of this cricket match, yielding Rs 1.25 crores for Defence Savings. You have obviously discovered a new and most successful way of raising money for desirable causes.

Maharashtra deserves praise and commendation for her effort in regard to small savings. I congratulate the people of Maharashtra on this successful effort.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**189. To Prithvi Singh Azad: Tour in States<sup>443</sup>**

अप्रैल 13, 1962

प्रिय पृथ्वी सिंह जी,

आपका 8 तारिख का पत्र मिला। मैं हिमाचल प्रदेश के लफ्टेनैंट गवर्नर को आपके बारे में लिख रहा हूँ।

जो आपने अपने दौरे के बारे में लिखा है वह मुझे ठीक मालूम होता है। आप हिमाचल प्रदेश और पंजाब के सीमा का दौरा करें और फिर ठीक समय पर कुछ दिन के लिए लाहौर चले जायें।

मुझे तो यह अच्छा लगता है कि आप, जैसे कि सरदार परताप सिंह ने कहा है, 15 रोज़ और जगह दौरा करें और 15 रोज़ पंजाब में रहें। इस से आप सब जगह जा सकते

442. Letter to Minister for Civil Supplies, Housing, Small Savings and Fisheries in the Government of Maharashtra. PMO, File No. 23(94)/63-71 PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

443. Letter to Gandhian freedom fighter; address: Chandigarh.



हैं बारी बारी से, और पंजाब से भी, जोकि बहुत आवश्यक जगह है, सम्बन्ध रख सकते हैं।

आपने जो लिखा है कि आप केन्द्रीय सरकार में आकर काम करें, वह शायद हो सके, लेकिन फिर भी इस में काफी कठिनाई होगी। वह एक नया सिलसिला यहां शुरू करना होगा, और इस बात में हमेशा दिक्कत होती है।

आपने जो मुझे एक लम्बा अंग्रेजी में नोट भेजा है उसको मैं ने पढ़ा और डा० श्रीमाली को भेज दिया है।

आपका  
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

April 13, 1963

My dear Prithvi Singh ji,

I received your letter of 8th. I am writing to the Lt Governor of Himachal Pradesh about you.<sup>444</sup>

What you have written about your itinerary seems alright to me. You tour Himachal and Punjab border areas and after sometime go off to Lahol.

As Sardar Partap Singh has said, and I too endorse it, that you tour for 15 days in these areas and spend 15 days in Punjab. This way you can tour each region one by one. And at the same time, you can keep in touch with Punjab, which is a very important place.

You have written that you would like to work with the Central Government. That is possible, but might lead to some difficulty. In that case we have to start a new chapter here, and in such cases, there is always various hurdles involved.

The long note in English that you had sent me, I have gone through it and have sent it to Dr Shrimali.

Yours,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends]

444. See item 190.

**190. To Bajrang Bahadur Singh: Recommending  
Prithvi Singh Azad<sup>445</sup>**

April 13, 1963

My dear Bhadri,

I presume you know Prithvi Singh Azad. He has had a very adventurous life, first as a revolutionary who spent some time in the Andamans also; then he went to Russia for some time. On Gandhiji's advice, he delivered himself to the police. Later, he was at Gandhiji's ashram for some time. I think he became a Communist also for a while, but left them as he did not like their ways. He started physical culture establishments in Saurashtra and Bombay.

For the last few years, he has been working with the Punjab Government and visiting schools and colleges there to keep them upto the mark. Lately, Sardar Partap Singh Kairon has agreed that he might go and tour other States. His speeches in schools and colleges are much appreciated, partly because of his background and partly because he attracts attention. His visits, therefore, to other States have done good. I am told he will be going to Himachal Pradesh on the 22nd of April for a tour there.<sup>446</sup> I suppose some intimation of his visit has been sent to your Government. I would suggest your meeting him and having a talk with him. I think it will be a good thing if he visits some of our border areas especially and speaks to the people there.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**191. To B. Patnaik: Coerced Collections of  
Defence Fund<sup>447</sup>**

April 14, 1963

My dear Biju,

A Communist Member of Parliament has sent me the enclosed notice sent by a Revenue Divisional Officer in Orissa to a person asking him to show cause why action under the Defence of India Rules should not be taken against him for non-payment of gold and money to the Defence Fund. It seems to me most undesirable and improper. We have repeatedly stated that contributions of

445. To the Lt. Governor of Himachal Pradesh; address: Rajniwas, Simla 4.

446. See item 189.

447. Letter to Chief Minister of Orissa.



money and gold for the Defence Fund are entirely voluntary and no pressure or coercion should be used. This notice appears to be a clear example of using the coercive apparatus of the State for this purpose.

Will you please have this matter enquired into and take such action as you consider necessary? In particular it should be clearly and publicly stated that no pressure should be used for making collections for the Defence Fund.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 192. In New Delhi: To Youth Camp<sup>448</sup>

How many of you do not understand Hindi?

आज मैंने आपका प्रोग्राम का परचा देखा, मजमून, उसमें बहुत कुछ लिखे थे, तो अब तो आप वहाँ से उसको पूरा करके आये हैं और भरे होंगे ख्यालात से [कि] और क्या करना है, क्या नहीं करना है। तो मैं ज्यादा भरने की कोशिश करूँ तो छलक जायेगा वो, भरा हुआ प्याला आपके दिमाग का। मैं आपसे कहूँ कि यह जो चीनी हमला हुआ यहाँ, इसका हमें धक्का लगा, यह हुआ, नाराज हम हुये, बहुत कुछ हुआ, लेकिन सब बातों को देख के मेरा ख्याल है कि हिन्दुस्तान के लिए यह मुफीद हुआ। मुफीद इस माने में, फायदेमंद इस माने में कि हम, हम सभी को जगा दिया, हम कुछ गफलत में पड़े थे और पड़े हैं अब भी बहुत कुछ, लेकिन फिर भी बहुत कुछ जगा दिया और आँखें हमारी जरा ज्यादा खुल गई [कि] क्या दुनिया का हाल है, हमारी दुनिया का, हिन्दुस्तान की। और यह नहीं है कि सब बड़े मसले हल हो गये, अब हम खाली थोड़े-थोड़े दिन बाद चुनाव में जा के गुल-शोर मचायें और कौन मिनिस्टर होता है, कौन नहीं होता है इसमें पड़ जायें, और बातें भी मुल्क को करने की होती हैं। यह तो ऊपरी बातें होती हैं और अगर असली बुनियादी बातों को हम भूल जायें तो ऊपरी बातों से हमारी ताकत मुल्क की नहीं बढ़ती है। मुश्किल यह है कि आजकल की हालत में हिन्दुस्तान की, ऊपरी बातें सियासत की उधर तवज्जोह लोगों की जाती है जैसे इलेक्शंस, चुनाव वगैरा हैं, चाहे वो पार्लियामेंट के हों या असेम्बलीज के हों या पंचायतों के हों, जो भी कुछ हों,

वो हैं एक जरूरी चीज मुल्क के इंतजाम में, लेकिन फिर भी याद रखना है कि बुनियादी चीज कुछ और होती है। अब यह हमारी खुश-नसीबी थी, भाग्य था कि हमारी जवानी में यह चीजें थी नहीं, तबियत को भड़काने के लिए, यह इलेक्शंस, असेम्बली और पार्लियामेंट, यह सब नहीं था। तो हमारे सामने और बातें थीं मुल्क में काम करने के लिए, उसी के

448. Speech, 30 April 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes TS No. 10104, 10105, NM No. 1812, 1815.

लिए हम जहाँ तक हो सकता था तैयार होते थे और काम से ही तैयार होते थे, तो उसकी अहमियत ज्यादा मालूम होती थी।

मुझे याद है, याद आया कि सन् 20 में जब गांधी जी पहले दफे जोरों से कांग्रेस में आये थे और कांग्रेस की शक्ल और रूप बदल दिया उन्होंने। तो अक्सर हमारे बुजुर्ग नेता और कुछ नौजवान लोग भी परेशान थे कि क्या कर रहे हैं गांधी जी, गांधी जी की कदर बहुत थी लेकिन कुछ समझ में उनको नहीं आता था कि हो क्या रहा है और नतीजा क्या होता है। एक आदमी, एक शख्स जिसका खुद दिल कुछ ठंडा हो या परेशान हो या मुरझाया हुआ हो, वो चारों तरफ परेशानी देखता है, जो आपके दिल में है वही आप बात बाहर देखेंगे, अक्सर यह होता है और परेशानी उनकी बहुत थी, वो कहें [कि] होगा क्या हिन्दुस्तान में, सब काम ठंडा हो जायेगा जो कुछ हुआ भी है। वाकिया यह है कि काम ठंडा होने के बजाए बहुत जोरों से, तेजी से, शान से बढ़ा, हालांकि कुछ लोग ना-खुश थे, उसको समझते नहीं थे, क्योंकि वह देखते थे बाहर, वो अपने दिल का हाल देखते थे, दिल की कमजोरी वो बाहर समझते हैं। आजकल भी काफी यह होता है कि अपने दिल की कमजोरी, अपने दिमाग में जो कुछ है वो बाहर करके उसको, प्रोजेक्ट करके बाहर देखते हैं। तो अब जो यह बात हुई है हिन्दुस्तान में, हिन्दुस्तान पे हमला हुआ वगैरा, जाहिर है, उसने हमारे ऊपर बोझ बढ़ाये, मुश्किलें बढ़ाई हमारी, और काफी दिक्कतें सामने हमारे आयीं, लेकिन वो चीज एक ऐसी हुई जिससे अगर जानदार मुल्क है तो उसकी जान बढ़ जाती है, अगर बे-जान मुल्क है तो कुछ भी करो नहीं जान आ सकती। लेकिन यह तो हम मानने को तैयार नहीं हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान बे-जान मुल्क है, जानदार है, कभी-कभी जो जान है मुल्क में वो दब जाती है, कभी आपस के झगड़ों में निकल जाती है, कभी परेशान हो जाते हैं। तो सवाल तो यह है कि इस मुल्क, जानदार मुल्क की जान को कैसे बढ़ायें और खेंच लें उन झगड़ों से, आरजी झगड़ों से, आपस के झगड़ों से, छोटे ख्यालों से, पड़ जाते हैं। और एक अपने सामने जो लक्ष्य रखें, जो ऑब्जेक्टिव रखें, वो एक अच्छा ऊँचा हो जैसा कि उस वक्त हमने रखा था, गांधी जी के जमाने में। उससे हम लोग भी जो छोटे, ठिगने आदमी थे कुछ लम्बे हो गये, क्योंकि याद रखिए आदमी और कौम उतनी बढ़ती है जितने बड़े कामों में वो लगती है, छोटे कामों में लगे वो छोटी रह जाती है। हम बड़े कामों में लगे थे, बड़े काम एक यही काफी बड़ा था हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी हमारे सामने थी, लेकिन उसके अलावा और बड़े काम थे। एक जो गांधी जी ने बातें सामने रखी थीं उससे सभों से हमारा सिर ऊँचा होता था, हमें एक अंदरूनी गुरुर था कि हम इन बड़े कामों में पड़े हैं, एक शान थी उसमें और जो भी कुछ करते थे उससे कुछ घबराहट नहीं होती थी क्योंकि हम उसको सब अपने काम के सिलसिले में सब होता जाता था। और हमें यकीन था कि हम सही रास्ते पर हैं और कामयाब होंगे, चाहे अब हों, चाहे दस बरस बाद हों, चाहे बीस बरस बाद हों, क्योंकि बड़ी बातों में जल्दी कामयाबी भी नहीं होती।

तो अब यह जो एक मौका हमारे सामने आया है, यह बड़ा, किस तरह से हम इससे फायदा उठायें? हमने देखा चीनी आक्रमण के बाद, हमने देखा कि मुल्क भर पर असर क्या हुआ है, मुल्क भर पे बहुत अच्छा असर हुआ है। एक, लोग अपने आपसे अपने आपस



के झगड़े कुछ भूलने लगे, कुछ अलग रख दिए, जान के। और ऊपर से नीचे तक, दक्षिण तक जहाँ बड़े-बड़े सवाल थे, नाराजगी भी थी कुछ दक्षिण में उत्तर भारत की वो भी भूल गये और हमारे सामने एक तस्वीर आई, एक मुल्क की, मुल्क की एकता की और जिसमें सभी लोग उस वक्त कम से कम एक दिल के हो गये। तो बड़ी बात थी, इससे मालूम हुआ कि असल में हमारे देश का दिल किधर है, कहाँ है, बावजूद ऊपर के झगड़ों के। अच्छी बात थी और एकदम से हमें असलियत के ऊपर से पर्दा हट गया। हमने देखा अपने मुल्क के दिल और दिमाग को, उससे दिल खुश हुआ, हमारी ताकत बढ़ी और इत्मीनान हुआ, जो कुछ आपस के झगड़े देख के कभी-कभी हम मुरझा जाते थे, कभी-कभी परेशानी होती थी, वो बातें हट गईं, एक बड़ी अच्छी बात हुई। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि यह जो हुआ चीनी आक्रमण यह एक माने में अच्छा हुआ। एक तरह से कहा जाये अच्छा खाली नहीं, लेकिन उसने एक नया जमाना हमारे लिए शुरू किया, जमाने तो रोज बदलते रहते हैं, लेकिन एक हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में, कहानी में, तमाशे में एक नया एक्ट शुरू हुआ और हमें मौका मिला उसमें, जैसे जो बड़े सवाल उठते हैं, बड़े काम होते हैं तो मौका मिलता है कौन उसमें हिस्सा ले, कौन उसमें कामयाबी से आगे बढ़े और बढ़ने से वो खुद बड़ा हो जाता है। यह छोटी बातें हैं, जैसे लोग झगड़ते हैं, अफसोस होता है [कि] हमारे कोई इलेक्शन का झगड़ा, कोई कांग्रेस के अन्दर कमेटी में कौन सदर हो, कौन यह हो, कोई पार्टी में कौन हो, छोटी बातें हैं, मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है, किसी को शौक हो होने का तो हो, लेकिन यह समझ लेना चाहिए कि आदमी का बढ़ना-घटना इन ऊपरी बातों से नहीं होता, वो अंदरूनी होता है। इस बात की पहले जरा आसानी थी क्योंकि ऊपरी बातें दिल को भड़काने की थी नहीं और असली बातें थीं, उसमें बढ़ते थे, कोई लोग गलती करते थे सब। तो अब एक मौका मिला है नौजवानों को खासकर और हिन्दुस्तान भर में कि इस मौके से फायदा उठायेँ और जोरों से सामना करें जो हमारी दिक्कतें हैं, कठिनाइयाँ हैं। कैसे करें? कुछ आपने अपने हफ्ते भर में, नौ रोज के कैम्प में कुछ बातें की होंगी, सुना होगा, कुछ आपको मालूम होगा क्योंकि बातें छिपी तो हैं नहीं, वो बातों को, उसके निस्वत में नहीं कहता, वो भी ऊपरी बातें हैं। असल बात यह है कि आपका दिमाग साफ हो, दिल साफ हो और हिम्मत हो। दिमाग साफ हो क्योंकि दिमाग अगर आपका साफ नहीं है और आपके दिमाग में एक परेशानी है [कि] क्या करें क्या न करें, यह ठीक है कि वो ठीक है, इस तरह की विचारधाराएँ हैं, आइडियोलोजीज हैं, कौन सही है तब आप इस पेच में पड़ के कुछ ज्यादा नहीं कर सकेंगे। तो कुछ दिमाग साफ होना चाहिए। मेरा मतलब यह नहीं है कि दिमाग ऐसा साफ हो कि कोई उसमें शक बाकी न रहे, जो भी दिमागी आदमी होता है कुछ उसके दिमाग में शक भी आते हैं, लेकिन मोटीतौर से आपको जानना चाहिए इस वक्त आपका काम क्या है और उसको जोरों से करना चाहिए। हमारा लक्ष्य क्या है [कि] मुल्क का और औरों के दिमाग साफ करने चाहियें और यही मतलब है, असली मतलब आपके कैम्प वगैरा करने का। तो इस बारे में आप सोचें कोई दुनिया को देख के कि दुनिया के सामने क्या सवाल हैं बड़े-बड़े, कुछ उसको पीछे बैकग्राउन्ड की तरह से रखना है, फिर कुछ हमारे, हमारे मुल्क के क्या सवाल हैं, असली चीज वही है। हमारा असली

मुल्क का सवाल तो था और है और रहेगा हमारी आर्थिक, सामाजिक उन्नति, तरक्की, आगे बढ़ना ताकि यह जो मुसीबत हमारे मुल्क पे है गरीबी की, बेरोजगारी की यह हट जाये। अब इसका यह एक लम्बा-चौड़ा सवाल है, कहने से सिर्फ होता नहीं, न रेजोल्यूशन करने से होता है, इसको तो, इसकी जड़ समझनी है गरीबी की, इसको हटाना है।

आजकल आप देखिये दुनिया में जो मुल्क खुशहाल हैं, कैसे हुए? तरह-तरह से हुए, चाहे अमेरिका है, बहुत खुशहाल मुल्क है, चाहे अंग्रेज हैं, चाहे फ्रांस है, चाहे जापान है, चाहे रूस है। रूस दूसरे किस्म का मुल्क है लेकिन सब करीब-करीब खुशहाल हो गये हैं और बढ़ती जाती है खुशहाली उनकी। क्या है उसके पीछे? आइडियोलोजीज वगैरा, आप बहस कर सकते हैं उसमें, मुनासिब है, लेकिन आप देखें गौर से [कि] वो इसलिए खुशहाल हुए कि उन्होंने नई दुनिया की जो खास चीज है—विज्ञान है, साइंस है, टेक्नोलोजी है, उसको पकड़ा और उससे नये तरीके ठीक समझ के, चाहे खेती हो उसमें तरक्की की, बेहद ज्यादा पैदा किया, चाहे कारखाने हों, चाहे जो कुछ हो, उसी सिलसिले में फौजें ज्यादा बड़ी हो गईं, फौजों के हथियार बढ़ गये, जो भी ताकतें हैं, हर तरह के बढ़े, उसके पीछे यह है। उसके पीछे वो नहीं रहा कि आप महज एक गुल-शोर मचाएँ और दुश्मन को गाली दें और यह करें, यह कोई ताकत की निशानी नहीं है, यह बुनियादी बात है। इसीलिए हमने पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरा को अपने सामने रख के हल्के-हल्के बुनियाद डालने की कोशिश की मुल्क की तरक्की की, क्योंकि उस बुनियाद के बगैर हम कुछ कर नहीं सकते, लड़ाई लड़ना हो तो उसके बगैर लड़ नहीं सकते, खाली हिम्मत काफी नहीं है। आपने देखा, इतिहास पढ़िये, कौन इससे ज्यादा बहादुर हो सकता है जैसे हमारे राजपूत थे या और भी लोग थे लेकिन हारे वो और बुरे हारे, क्योंकि वो खाली हिम्मत थी, अक्ल नहीं थी, न नई दुनिया की समझ थी। क्या थी? ऐसे भी आजकल हैं लोग जो कि लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें करते हैं, यह करो और वो करो, चीन को भगा दो, यह करो बगैर सिर-पैर समझे कि कैसे यह होता है, क्या हो। इससे काम नहीं चलता, हमेशा ही दुनिया अक्ल से और हिम्मत से और उनके जोड़ से चलती है, खाली अक्ल और हिम्मत न हो तो कहीं आपको ले नहीं जाती, खाली हिम्मत हो और अक्ल न हो तो वो भी कहीं नहीं आपको पहुँचाती, दोनों बातें समझनी हैं। अक्ल के माने हैं आजकल की दुनिया के इल्म सीखने, वगैरा। यह हमें सामने रखना है और अब जो मुसीबत आई हमारे ऊपर चीन के आक्रमण की उसमें खास काम करने हैं, लेकिन पहली बात को सामने रख के, क्योंकि जो कुछ ताकत हम में आयेगी, वो उसी जरिए से आयेगी, और कोई जरिया नहीं है। क्या है? हम हथियार चाहते हैं नये-नये, हम अमेरिका से, इंग्लैंड से या और मुल्कों से खरीदते हैं या माँगते हैं, क्या माने हैं उसके? माने यह हैं कि हम नये से नये साइंस की चीजें चाहते हैं, हम पैदा करते हैं कुछ, और ज्यादा करेंगे, लेकिन उसके बगैर हो नहीं सकता, हम तीर-कमान ले के नहीं लड़ सकते, हम बन्दूक भी ले के नहीं लड़ सकते, बन्दूक भी पुरानी चीज हो गई, मामूली बन्दूक, नये हथियार चाहियें, नये हवाई जहाज चाहियें, यह बुनियाद है, लेकिन यह तो हमें करना है और कर रहे हैं, लेकिन आपको हवा पैदा करनी चाहिए, खुद अपने दिल में होनी चाहिए एक समझ इन सवालों की दुनिया के, और उसको औरों को समझना चाहिए।



मेरा ख्याल है कि मैं किसानों से अक्सर बातें करता हूँ और मैं नहीं मानता कि किसान जाहिल लोग हैं, उनसे क्या ऐसा बड़ी बातें करें, मैं इसको नहीं मानता, कि किसान को भी समझाने की कोशिश करता हूँ कि दुनिया का क्या रंग है, क्या बातें हुई हैं। मुमकिन है सब बातें मेरी न समझें लेकिन बहुत कुछ समझ जाते हैं। मेरा आखिर में भरोसा हिन्दुस्तान में यहाँ की आम जनता पर है और मैं समझता हूँ वो बहुत अच्छी है, हाँ, बेवकूफी करती है, लड़ती है, सब कुछ है लेकिन अच्छी है और फिर भी तगड़ी है, कमर उसकी सीधी है और इसी तरह से आपको भी समझना है, अगर आप समझते हैं तब आपका ताल्लुक, सम्बन्ध उन लोगों से अच्छा होगा। कोई आदमी, कोई पढ़ा नहीं सकता, कोई पढ़ाने वाला अध्यापक हो, कोई टीचर हो, बच्चों को बेवकूफ समझ के पढ़ाने आयेगा, न बच्चे समझेंगे, न वो समझा पायेगा, यह उसकी बेवकूफी की निशानी है, वो पढ़ा नहीं सकता, इस तरह से समझाना चाहिए कि जो बातें आप कहते हैं वो समझें, वो समझेंगे अगर आप में समझाने का माद्दा हो। और इस तरह से उनमें एक उत्साह दिलाना, जोश दिलाना और यह समझाना कि कोई बात, कोई मुल्क बढ़ता नहीं है बगैर मेहनत के, परिश्रम के, कोई जादू नहीं है, न ज्योतिष है, न कुछ है, परिश्रम है, मेहनत है और मेहनत के पीछे समझ है और आजकल की दुनिया को समझना है, आजकल की ताकतों को। आजकल बड़ी ताकत है बिजली है, बड़ी ताकत। अब बिजली न हो तो एकदम से हमारे हाथ-पैर कट जाते हैं, बिजली खाली रोशनी के लिए नहीं, लेकिन बिजली से हजार काम हो सकते हैं। आजकल आप एटम-बम्ब का सुनते हैं, उससे और बे-इंतिहा ज्यादा ताकत की चीज है, अभी पूरी काम में नहीं आती वो, लेकिन एटोमिक एनर्जी पे काम, हल्के-हल्के दुनिया में चल रही है, सारी दुनिया है, हवाई जहाज हैं, जैट प्लेन्स हैं, एक बारह घंटे में यहाँ से लंदन पहुँचा देते हैं। अजीब दुनिया है, चाँद की तरफ जाते हैं सब, बदल रही है दुनिया, ऐसे मौके पर हम जिन्दा हैं, ऐसे मौके पर हमारे दिमागों को तेज होना चाहिए और खुला होना चाहिए, समझ सकें, गढ़े में फंसे रहें ऐसे नहीं।

हमारी खेती क्यों पिछड़ी हुई है? क्या वजह है कि और जगह ज्यादा पैदा करते हैं? इसलिए कि हमारा दिमाग और खेती करने के तरीके पिछड़े हैं, चले आते हैं हजार बरस हुए वही, हजार बरस हुए, बहुत बातें सीख सकते हैं लेकिन वो एक गढ़े में पड़ के, ढर्रे में पड़ के आदमी निकलता नहीं है। हमें करोड़ों आदमियों को निकालना है, उनके दिमागों को निकालना है, उनके काम करने के तरीके को निकालना है और उसी के साथ जोश देना है उन्हें, सही काम करें और उसी के साथ सही तरह से देखें उसको, महज एक अपनी खुदगर्जी से नहीं। कौम का फायदा कैसे-कैसे होता है, मुल्क का कैसे फायदा होता है? सहयोग से होता है, मिल के, एकता से होता है न कि अलग-अलग हम चलें, न वो बढ़ सकें, न हम बढ़ सकें। आखिर में तो आपको पहुँचना पड़ेगा कि दुनिया का फायदा इसमें होता है कि दुनिया भर के लोग मिल के चलें, सहयोग से। और वो बात है ही [कि] बहुत दूर चल नहीं सकती है ये दुनिया जिसमें एक-एक मुल्क दूसरे से लड़ता है। आजकल आप हवाई जहाज पर चलते हैं, बारह घंटे में आप बारह मुल्कों के ऊपर से चले जाते हैं, पच्चीस मुल्कों के ऊपर से, दुनिया छोटी हो गई है। यह तस्वीर रखनी है और समझनी है जिस नई दुनिया

में हम आ रहे हैं। खैर, लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें हैं लेकिन याद रखनी हैं, लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें क्योंकि लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें याद रखने से जरा हम भी, दिमाग भी कुछ लम्बा-चौड़ा हो जाता है। लेकिन फिर घूम के हमें क्या करना है उस पर आना है, हमारे मुल्क में क्या करना है और उसको समझाना है और उसमें विदेश नीति हमारी, फॉरिन पोलिसी [Foreign policy] क्या हो, कुछ थोड़ा सा वो भी समझाना है। मुझे बिल्कुल पसन्द नहीं, मैं चाहता हूँ कि हम बड़े जोरों से लड़ें चीन से, लेकिन मुझे बिल्कुल पसन्द नहीं है जो लोग बैठ के, एक अपाहिज की तरह से बैठ के चीनियों को गाली दें, बैठ के, कोसें बैठ के, यह कोई हिम्मत की बात थोड़ी है, उससे हमारी ताकत नहीं बढ़ती, न उनकी कमजोरी हो जाती है, हम हिम्मत से लड़े जा के, जो कुछ करना है लड़ाई में करना होता है, करेंगे हम, मुल्क की हिफाजत करेंगे सब, लेकिन वो दिमाग छोटा हो जाता है, कोसने वाला दिमाग, वो बहादुर आदमी का नहीं होता है। तो इस तरह से आप चलिए और अपने दिमाग को खुला रखिए, सीखते जाइए कुछ आप, नौ दिन में कोई आप आलिम-फाजिल तो नहीं हो गये जाहिर है, नौ दिन जरा लेक्चर-बाजी सुन के या आपस में बहस करके, उससे कुछ हो यह सकता है कि कुछ आपके दिमाग के दरवाजे, खिड़कियाँ खुल जायें, कुछ उसमें आ जाये। और बातें आप सीखिए, सीखते जाइए हर वक्त, हमेशा आपको जिन्दगी का सामना करना है, हमेशा एक विद्यार्थी की हैसियत से, एक सीखने वाले की, कुछ भी आपकी उम्र हो आप सीखने को तैयार हों। तो आप में कुछ जवानी रहेगी, आप में दिमाग की फुर्ती रहेगी, जहाँ दिमाग की खिड़कियाँ बन्द हो गईं सीखने से, आपकी उम्र कुछ भी हो आप बुढ़े होने लगेंगे। कुछ लोग हिन्दुस्तान में पैदायशी बुढ़े होते हैं इस माने में कि उनका दिमाग शुरु ही में बन्द होता है, कुछ सीखते ही नहीं वो और चाहे वो देखने में जवान मालूम हों या दूसरे देखने में बुर्जुग हों लेकिन उनका दिमाग ताजा हो। क्या निशानी होती है बुढ़ापे की? दिमाग की और जिस्म की एक लचक हो तो जवानी की निशानी है, लोच हो, लचक हो, बुढ़ापे में सख्त हो जाती हैं हड्डियाँ, दिमाग सख्त हो जाता है, खुला नहीं रहता और फिर जिस्म भी हो जाता है, जितना ज्यादा आपके जिस्म में लचक हो, फ्लैक्सीबिलिटी [flexibility] हो उतना ही आप जवान हैं, जितना दिमाग में हो और भी आप जवान हैं।

तो बस, और मैं आपसे क्या कहूँ, आपने कुछ फायदा उठाया दूर-दूर से आ के, अब आप आपस में मिलें और यह बात याद रखिए कि हिन्दुस्तान का फ्यूचर, हिन्दुस्तान के भविष्य की बुनियादी बात है हिन्दुस्तान की एकता, आप जानते हैं इस बात को लेकिन फिर भी लोगों को समझाइये, एक ऐसी छोटी-छोटी बातों पे झगड़ा करते हैं। अभी देखिए यहाँ हमारे लोकसभा में दो-तीन रोज हुए बड़ी बहस थी जबान पर, लैंगविज [language] पर बड़ी बहस हुई है, और लोग, और कुछ लोग जिनको ज्यादा समझना चाहिए, बदतमीजी भी की वहाँ, गुल-शोर मचाया। यह एक नई बात हमारे यहाँ आ रही है कि एक निहायत बदतमीजी के तरीके हमारे पार्लियामेंट में, असेम्बलीज में बाज लोग करते हैं। बिल्कुल, यानी तमाशा है, गुंडापन करते हैं, यह तो हमारी डेमोक्रेसी को, हमारे सब प्रजातंत्र को, जनतंत्र को तोड़ देने की चीज है। खैर, मैं समझता हूँ उस पर हम हावी आ जायेंगे। और एक साहब उठे, कहने लगे कि हम नहीं होने देंगे, हम यहाँ से हटेंगे ही नहीं, हम नहीं



पार्लियामेंट का काम करने देंगे। अब आप बताइये इस तरह से कोई काम होता है? अब उनको जो वहाँ से हटाया गया, उठा के हटाया गया तो और गुल मचाया बाज लोगों ने। यह तरीके, यह बातें अच्छी नहीं हैं, हमें अपने जनतंत्र को मजबूत करना है ठीक तरीकों से, हमें इज्जत करनी है, कोई आदमी दूसरी राय का हो, उसको बोलने का मौका देना है, लेकिन बोलने के मौके ये नहीं हैं कि वो हावी हो जाये, वो हमें बोलने न दे और गुल-शोर मचाये और बदतमीजी करे और गुंडाबाजी करे, यह तो कोई तरीका नहीं है। यह सब बातें हैं और याद रखिए चीनी हमला हमें नहीं दबायेगा, हमारा सबमें खतरनाक और बड़ा दुश्मन है हमारी कमजोरियाँ, हमारा आपस में लड़ना, हमारी जहालत, उस पे हम हावी हो जायें तो कौन हमें रोक सकता है, कौन दबा सकता है। इस तरह से देखिए और कांग्रेस की शान, कांग्रेस बढ़ी इत्ती, किसलिए? क्योंकि हम एक शानदार संस्था थे, हमारे लीडर बहुत बड़े आदमी थे और उन्होंने हमें अच्छे उसूल समझाये थे [कि] कैसे बर्ताव करें, क्या कहें, क्या न कहें और उससे हमारी शान बहुत हो गयी, दुनिया में फैली।

आजकल हिन्दुस्तान की बड़ी कदर होती है दुनिया में, क्यों होती है? बुनियादी तौर से गांधी जी की वजह से होती है, और कुछ यह भी होती है जब से हम आजाद हुए, स्वराज मिला, उस वक्त से हमारी शोहरत है कि हम अमन-पसंद थे, शांतिप्रिय थे, शांति का, अमन का झंडा ले के हम फिरते थे, उसकी भी कदर है। तीसरे इसलिए कि हमने जो कुछ किया यह सब पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरा, चाहे पूरे कामयाब हम न हों लेकिन हम एक तरफ देख रहे थे, उधर जा रहे थे और एक बुनियाद डाल के जाते थे मुल्क की तरक्की की। इसलिए कदर होती है क्योंकि वो जानते हैं कि अगर कोई कौम ऐसा करे और करती जाये तो यकीनन वो आगे बढ़ती है और बढ़ेगी। हम बढ़े, और बढ़ेंगे और ज्यादा, यह हुल्लड़बाजी से तो नहीं हमारी कदर बढ़ी वहाँ। यह बातें आप समझिए और आप लोगों को मौका मिला है इस नये हिन्दुस्तान के जमाने में, युग में, आप जोरों से अपनी हिम्मत दिखायें, जवानी दिखायें, जवानी दिखायें, अक्ल दिखायें, उससे फायदा उठायें। ऐसे मौके जब आते हैं उसी मौकों में तो लोग और मुल्क बढ़ते हैं, महज खामोशी से पड़े रहने से न आदमी बढ़ता है न मुल्क बढ़ता है।

जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins:

I saw your programme which had a number of items. Your minds must be full of ideas about what needs to be done. So if I try to give you any more ideas, they are likely to spill over [Laughter]. I would like to tell you that though the Chinese aggression has been a great shock to us and filled us with anger, taking everything into account, I think it has done India some good. It has jolted us into a new awakening. We had been slipping into lethargy and this incident on the borders has jolted us out of it. We have become aware of what is going on in India and the world. That does not mean that all our problems have been solved

or that we can confine ourselves to electioneering and the mad rush for power and position. A nation has various responsibilities. Elections are superficial things. If we forget the basic realities, India cannot become a truly strong power. The problem is that in the present conditions in India, people's attention is drawn more towards politics and other superficial things like elections to Parliament, assemblies and panchayats or whatever it is. They are no doubt an important part of the administration of a country. But we must remember that the basic reality is something different. It is our good fortune that we did not have elections to assemblies and Parliament to inflame us in our youth. There were other things to be done and we prepared ourselves as best as we could for them. The work that we did moulded us from our youth and we were able to appreciate its importance.

I am reminded of the time when Mahatma Gandhi joined the Congress for the first time in 1920 and transformed it completely. Many of our older leaders and some of the younger ones too were perturbed by what Gandhiji was doing. There was great respect for Gandhiji but most people were unable to understand what was happening. Those who are dispirited or perturbed are bound to see problems everywhere, for what is in your heart is reflected elsewhere. So people were often puzzled and perturbed and full of pessimism about what was happening in India. The fact is that instead of everything coming to a standstill, the movement gathered momentum rapidly, though the people who were displeased with the developments could not see that. They were projecting their own weaknesses, mental and emotional weaknesses. This happens very often even now.

India has had to face external aggression. It is obvious that our burdens have increased enormously as a result. But a challenge like this brings forth the best in a nation full of vitality. A lifeless nation will go under on the slightest pretext. We are not prepared to accept that India is lifeless or lacks vitality. It is occasionally suppressed by divisive forces which operate in the country. So the problem is to somehow mould the country out of its divisive ruts and narrow-mindedness, and to keep a higher goal or objective before us, as we did in the time of Gandhiji. In his shadow, insignificant mortals like us grew in stature. You must bear in mind the fact that an individual or nation grows by taking on great challenges and is dwarfed by petty preoccupation. At the time of our freedom struggle, we were engaged in a great task. Gandhiji taught us to hold our heads high and feel proud to be participating in great tasks. There was no room for panic or fear because it was all in a day's work. We were convinced that we were on the right path and that we would succeed some time or the other even if it took years to do so. Success is not easy in great challenges.



How should we turn the Chinese aggression to our advantage? We have seen the way the nation reacted to the border crisis. For one thing, the people forgot or put aside their petty quarrels and preoccupations. The whole country from the north to the south was filled with a deep anger and there emerged the picture of a nation united against a common threat. At least for the time being everyone in the country was united in a common purpose. It was a great thing for it showed to the world that in spite of superficial differences, India was one. The heart and mind of the nation lay bare for the whole world to see. We drew strength and confidence from this. The divisive tendencies which had filled us with despair in the past were relegated to the background.

It is because of all this that I say that the Chinese aggression has been a good thing for India. In a sense, it has inaugurated a new chapter in the history of India. A new act has begun in the drama of our nation and we have been given a fresh opportunity to do great things and face new challenges, participation in great tasks lends stature to individuals and nations. It is sad when people fight among themselves for petty positions and power as to who should be the President of the Congress Committee or something else. I have no objection to people wanting to occupy these posts. But we must bear in mind that an individual's stature does not depend on these superficial things but in his true inner worth. In the past, things were slightly easier for us because we did not have these things to tempt us. We were engaged in a great task and so we grew, in spite of our mistakes.

Once again, we are being given the opportunity to prove ourselves by facing the difficulties with courage. You must have heard during the last eight or nine days of camping about what we need to do. I do not want to go into all that. What really counts is that your thinking should be clear. Without that, you cannot go very far with your search for the right ideology. There must be no confusion in your minds. I do not mean that you should have no doubts at all about anything. Any thinking individual is bound to have some doubts. But you should have a broad idea of what your duty is and then do it with all your energy. We must be clear about our goals. This is the real meaning of holding such camps. You must learn to think about the problems of India against a background of the situation in the world. The basic problem in our country is one of economic and social progress, and to get rid of poverty and unemployment. It is an enormous problem which cannot be solved by passing resolutions or talking about it. We have to get to the root of the problem.

How did the West become so affluent? The United States of America, England, France, Japan and the Soviet Union are all extremely wealthy. The Soviet Union follows a different ideology. But all of them are very affluent and are becoming more so. Debates about various ideologies are all right in

their own place. But if you go into the matter carefully you will find that their affluence stems from the fact that they have imbibed all that modern science and technology have to offer and managed to increase production enormously. In the same way, they have become extremely powerful militarily too.

We must understand that making a noise or abusing our enemies is not a sign of real strength. We have tried to lay the foundations of progress through the Five Year Plans for without a strong foundation we cannot go far. Even to fight a war, we have to be economically strong. Bravery is not enough. If you read history, you will find that there were no braver warriors than the Rajputs and yet they lost. It was because they had only valour but no intelligence or grasp of what was happening in the world. Even now, people often say meaningless things, that we should throw out the Chinese and what not. The situation calls for bravery and intelligence. One without the other is futile. We must imbibe the knowledge that the modern world has to offer. It is our duty to fight against the Chinese and defend our borders. But we can become strong only by learning modern science and technology. Why do we buy new weapons from the United States, England and other countries? It is because we want the latest techniques of fighting a war. We cannot fight with bows and arrows or ordinary guns which have become outdated now. We need new weapons and aeroplanes, etc., above all, we must create a climate and desire for scientific training.

I often talk to the farmers about these things. I am not prepared to accept that they are stupid or incapable of understanding these bigger things. I try to explain to them what the modern world is like. It is possible that they may not understand everything that I say but by and large they do. I have great faith in common people of India, I feel that they are very good, in spite of their follies and quarrels. They are strong and straightforward. If you can understand this, you can establish good relations with the people. A teacher who thinks his pupils are stupid cannot ever teach them. It is a sign of his stupidity. So you must believe that the people will understand what you are trying to tell them if you have the capacity to explain well. They have to be taught that a nation cannot progress except through hard work and effort and an understanding of the modern world and methods of working. There is no magic formula for it.

Take electricity for instance. We will be pretty helpless without it. It is not for providing light alone but can be used for innumerable things. You hear about the atom bomb. Atomic energy is even more powerful than electricity. It is not being very widely used but will gradually spread. There are jet planes which can take you from here to London in twelve hours. Man is trying to land on the moon. It is a strange world in which we are living today and it is extremely important that our minds should be open to new ideas and influences and not remain in a rut.



Why are we backward in agriculture? Why is it that in other countries, the production far exceeds ours? It is because we continue to adhere to outdated methods of agriculture, which have come down for thousands of years. People's thinking has been in a rut for centuries. It is not easy to get out of it. But we have to take millions of people out of this rut and teach them new methods of working. Not only they but the entire nation stands to benefit by the cooperation, unity and effort of the people. Ultimately we will have to reach a stage of international cooperation and unity. If countries continue to war against one another, we cannot go very far. The boundaries of the world are rapidly shrinking when you can overfly many countries in a matter of a few hours. You must keep this picture in mind and understand the world that we are entering into.

Well, these are essential things which ought to be kept in mind. But we come back to the internal situation and what we need to do. We must try to explain our foreign policy to the people. I want that we should face the Chinese with courage and spirit. But I simply do not like the idea of anyone sitting like disabled people and abusing the Chinese. It cannot contribute in any way to our strength or weaken the Chinese. We must do everything we can to defend the country. But abuse is not becoming in a brave man.

Therefore, I want you to be broadminded. You cannot have learnt everything in these nine days. But the lectures that you have heard and the debates must have helped to open the windows of your minds and clarify your thoughts. You must continue to learn all your life and go through life as a student. No matter what your age is, you should be prepared to learn. Only then will you be mentally young and alive. Once you close your minds, you will age rapidly. Some people in India are born old in this respect for their minds are closed right from the beginning. They refuse to learn anything even if they look young physically. On the other hand, there may be old people with minds which are alive. What is the sign of old age? In youth, the mind and body are young and flexible while with age, they become stiff. So the greater the flexibility of mind and body, the youthful you will remain.

Well, I shall not say anything more. You have assembled here together from all over the country and must have benefitted from the meeting. Please remember that the future of India depends on unity. Everyone knows that but you must explain it to people who are constantly at loggerheads over petty trifles. Recently there was a debate in the Lok Sabha over the question of languages. People got very heated and made a noise and behaved badly. This is a new trend which is creeping up in our Parliament and assemblies, of uncivilised behaviour and hooliganism. This is something which will destroy democracy. Well, I think we will be able to overcome it. One individual got up and said that they will not leave the House or allow the proceedings to go on. They had to be

physically removed. Such things are not becoming. We must learn to function as a democracy by respecting the others' points of view and giving people the opportunity to speak. It is nothing but uncivilised hooliganism to shout and prevent people from speaking. Please remember that such methods will not help us to win the war. Our weaknesses and tendency to fight with one another are our greatest enemies. If we are able to overcome them, no power on earth can suppress us. The Congress has grown into a great organisation because we have had great leaders who taught us the rules of behavior and good conduct which has earned us great respect in the world.

India is held in great respect in the world for various reasons, basically, it is due to Gandhiji and to some extent by the reputation that we have earned, since the days of our freedom struggle, as a peace loving nation. Thirdly, we are laying the foundations for the future progress of the country by our Five Year Plans. The world respects us for this too because it is aware that a nation which does these things is bound to progress. We cannot allow hooliganism to mar all that. You must understand that you are being given the opportunity to prove your worth, your courage, daring and intelligence. You must take advantage of this opportunity to go far. Individuals and nations can rapidly grow in stature in times of crises. Sitting idle will take us nowhere.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

### **(i) Social Groups**

#### **193. To Jamal Moideen: India Third Largest Muslim Population<sup>449</sup>**

February 17, 1963

Dear Shri Jamal Moideen,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th February and also the copy of your letter of the 14th December 1957. I have read them with interest.

We have repeatedly said, and so have our Ambassadors, that fifty million Muslims live in this country. I believe India is the third country in the world

449. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Congress; address: Jamaliala, Madras 12.



which has such a large Muslim population. The other two are Indonesia and Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### 194. In New Delhi: At Ladakhi Bodh Vihar<sup>450</sup>

श्री बकूला जी, आदरणीय भिक्षुगण, बहिनों और भाइयों,  
करीब करीब तीन बरस हुए जब पहले बार बकूला जी ने मुझे से कहा था कि वे चाहते हैं कि यहां एक लददाखी बौद्ध विहार बनाया जायें। मुझे यह विचार पसन्द आया, लेकिन फिर भी आप जानते हैं इस किस्म के कामों में एक शुरू करने में पूरा करने में कुछ देर लगती हैं, दिक्कतें होती हैं। तो आज यह पूरा हो गया और हम सब यहां जमा हुए हैं इसको जाबते से इसका आरम्भ करने, तो मुझे खुशी हैं। आपने भी इसको कुछ देखा मैंने इसको जब बन रहा था तो कुछ देखा था आज बनने के बाद पहली बार आया हूं और देखा सुन्दर पाया जैसे कि आपने भी, आपकी भी शायद राय हो और एक दिल्ली के लिए एक नयी चीज हुई थी जो दिल्ली की शोभा बढ़ाती है। खाली शोभ बढ़ाने की बात नहीं है लेकिन ज्यादा गहरी बात है कि दिल्ली में यह एक जगह है बौद्ध धर्म की और बौद्ध लोगों के लिए विशेषकर बनी, चाहे वह लददाखी कहलाये लेकिन है तो सभी की और एक निशानी रही जो कि हरेक के लिए यहां एक गौतम बुद्ध का संदेशा देगी। यह सही है कि इसकी वजह बनाने की तो यह थी कि यह शरण दे वहां से जो शरणार्थी आये हैं और लोग जो आते जाते हैं, बहुत लोग आते जाते हैं।

आप जानते हैं कि पिछले दो तीन बरस से बहुत लोग तिब्बत से आये यहां शरणार्थी, वहां से निकाले हुए, या वहां ऐसी हालात पैदा हुई कि वो नहीं रह सके और वहां काफी कठिनाई हो गयी उन लोगों को जो बौद्ध धर्म मानते हैं। बौद्ध धर्म दबाया गया मानते हैं और बहुत सारे आये और उन्होंने उनका हमने स्वागत किया और अब भी ठीक मुझे याद नहीं, लेकिन करीब चालीस हजार तिब्बत के लोग भारत में इधर उधर हैं, बस गये हैं और अच्छा काम कर रहे हैं और एक तरह से एक छोटा सा तिब्बत का अंश भारत का उन्होंने बनाया है जहां जहां हैं। यह ठीक है, हम नहीं चाहते थे कि उनको हम किसी तरह बदल दें, यह अपने तिब्बती रहें, अपनी संस्कृति का पालन करें और उसी के साथ यहां रहेगे तो यहां भी कुछ सीखेंगे, कुछ नयी दुनिया को समझेंगे, दोनों को फायदा होगा।

मैंने आपसे कहा कि उनको हमने यहां स्वागत किया हां, ठीक है, लेकिन ज्यादा गहरी बात तो यह है कि उन्होंने यहां भगवान गौतम बुद्ध के देश में आ के उनका शरण पाया

450. Speech, 24 February 1963, inaugurating the Ladakhi Bodh Vihar. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 11265, NM No. 1956.

यहां और यह उनके लिए भी बहुत अच्छा हुआ और हमारे लिए भी अच्छा हुआ दोनों इससे लाभ उठाये। तिब्बत में अगर बौद्ध धर्म दबाया गया, तो फिर से बौद्ध धर्म भगवान बुद्ध की जो संदेशा था, करुणा को मैत्री का, प्रज्ञा का वो फिर से यहां सुनाई दिया, कहीं हम भूल तो नहीं गये थे, था ही यहां भारत के जमीन में, वो बसा हुआ है और फिर भी, फिर से दुबारा उधर ध्यान लोगों को गया। अच्छा है यह हमारे देश के लिए और दुनिया के लिए।

आजकल दुनियां में आप जानते हैं अजीब हाल है अजीब द्वेष फैला हैं, लड़ाई की तैयारियां हैं। हमारी दुनिया में, हमारे देश में भी इसी लददाख प्रदेश में हमला हुआ हैं, लड़ाई हुई है और लड़ाई की सम्भावना हमेशा रहती है, क्योंकि अगर हमला हुआ है तो उसकी रहती है, क्योंकि हमले के विरोध में कोशिश की जाती है तो हटाने की। तो ऐसे समय पर और भी आवश्यक हो गया कि हम भगवान बुद्ध के संदेश को याद रखें और प्रज्ञा करुणा और मैत्री का। क्योंकि मैं समझता हूं इसी से दुनिया के जो बड़ें बड़ें प्रश्न है वो आखिर में हल होंगे, उपरी लड़ाई हो, उपरी सब कुछ हो दुनिया के दस्तूर हैं वो होवेगा, लेकिन उसके पीछे क्या है, किस तरह से हम इन गांठा को खोलेंगे। यह बड़ा प्रश्न है। इस लिए मुझे और भी खुशी है कि यहां यह एक निशानी बौद्ध धर्म की और उसके संदेश की यह बनी

और जो लोग यहां आयेंगे लददाख से तो आयेगे, या तिब्बत के भी लोग भी कुछ आये, यहां, उनके लिए भी एक रहने की कुछ जगह बन गई, बहुत सारे शरणार्थी इस समय यहां है, जो इधर नेफा की ओर से आये हैं। उनका भी बहुत कुछ वापिस चले गए, फिर भी हैं उनके बच्चे हैं, उनका भी बहुत कुछ प्रबन्ध हमारा कर्तव्य है करना पूरी तौर से और वो बड़े और सीखे-पढ़े, अच्छे बड़े और फिर अपने देश की सेवा पूरी तौर से कर सकें।

एक बात और आप देखेंगे जो लोग यहां आये हैं भिक्षु वगैरह उनमें बहुत सारे लोग कलाकार है और बहुत अच्छी तस्वीरें बनाते हैं कुछ अन्दर रखी भी हुई हैं। तो यह एक कला का भी केन्द्र हो समता है और होगा मुझे विश्वास है और इस तरह से, हर तरह से दिल्ली के लिए यह एक अच्छी चीज है, दिल्ली के रहने वालों के लिए और मैं आशा करता हूं कि दिल्ली के रहने वाले इसका प्रेम से स्वागत करेंगे, और इससे लाभ उठायेगे।

तो अब मैं नहीं जानता मुझे क्या कहना है, इसके खोलने के लिए, आरम्भ करने के लिए लेकिन हर सूरत से हम सब मिल कर यहां मौजूद हुए हैं इसलिए, तो समझा जाये कि अब जाब्ता से यह इसका आरम्भ हुआ। (तालियाँ)

[Translation begins]

Shri Bakulaji,<sup>451</sup> Respected Bhikhus, Sisters and Brothers,  
Almost three years ago, when Bakulaji first mentioned his idea of putting up a

451. Kushak Bakula.



Ladakhi Bodh Vihar here, I liked it very much. But as you know it takes time to start and complete such tasks. There are always problems. I am happy that it has been completed and we are all gathered together to formally inaugurate it. All of you have seen the Vihar. I had seen it when it was in the process of being built and today, I have seen it for the first time since it was completed. It is very beautiful as you will agree and something that enhances the beauty of Delhi. It is not merely that. Its significance lies deeper for a special place has been built for the Buddhists and it will become a meeting ground for Buddhism in Delhi. Though it is called Ladakhi, it belongs to everyone and will be a symbol of the Buddha's message. It is true that it has been built to give shelter to the refugees who are here and others who keep coming and going.

As you know, for the last two or three years, a number of refugees have come from Tibet. They were thrown out from there or conditions were created in which they could not continue to live there. Those who follow Buddhism had to undergo great difficulties. Buddhism was severely repressed. So, the refugees poured into India and we welcomed them. I do not remember exactly but nearly forty thousand Tibetans are in India at the moment and have been settled in various places. They are doing good work and have managed to create a small Tibet on Indian soil wherever they are. That is proper for we do not wish to change them in any way. They should retain their national character and culture. At the same time, they will learn something new by living here.

I told you that we welcomed them here which is true. But what is really significant is that they have found asylum in the land of Gautama Buddha which is a good thing for all of us. We must try to benefit by it. Buddhism was suppressed in Tibet. But the message of Gautama Buddha, of compassion, friendship and wisdom, has rung out once again from India. We had not forgotten it. It has always been part of the Indian ethos. Yet recent events have focused people's attention once again on its significance which is a good thing for India and the world.

As you know, a strange atmosphere of bitterness prevails in the world and preparation for war goes on apace. In India too, there was an attack on Ladakh and a war ensued. The possibility of war is always there because when the enemy attacks, the other side has to defend itself and try to throw the enemy out. So, at a time like this, it has become even more essential that we should remember the Buddha's message of compassion, friendship and love. I think that ultimately the great problems of the world can be solved by something other than war though wars have always been fought in the history of the world. So I am happy that a symbol of Buddhism and the message it has for the world, has been built here. It will offer refuge to those who come down from Ladakh and Tibet and NEFA and elsewhere. Many of them have gone back. But large

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

numbers still remain. It is our duty to look after them and particularly their children so that they can be educated and grow up to serve their country well.

You will find that among the Buddhist monks who have come here, there are a number of good artists and painters. Their works can be seen here. So, it can become a centre for the arts as well. I am convinced that this is a good thing for Delhi in every way and I hope that the people of Delhi will welcome it and benefit from it.

Now I do not know what I am supposed to say to declare the building open. But since we are all gathered together here, it may be deemed to have been formally inaugurated [Applause].

Translation ends]

### **195. To S.H. Butani: Meeting Sindhis<sup>452</sup>**

March 2, 1963

Dear Miss Butani,

I have your letter of the 26th February.<sup>453</sup>

I am surprised to learn that I am supposed to be scared of Sindhis or even that I am anti-Sindhi. Why should I be scared of Sindhis or anyone else? I am not normally scared of any people, especially my countrymen.

I would like to go to your camp, but it is not an easy matter for me to find time. I usually go to Bombay for a day or two and these are full up. On this occasion also, the two days I shall spend there are completely occupied. If I have the chance to go there in the future, I shall certainly take advantage of it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

452. Letter to a resident of Bombay; address: 87-5 Agra Road, Mulund Colony, Bombay

83. PMS, File No. 8/237/63-PMP.

453. See appendix 23.



## **196. To B.P. Chaliha: Deporting Pakistanis from Assam<sup>454</sup>**

March 16, 1963

My dear Chaliha,

I have your letter of March 12th about the infiltration of Pakistanis into Assam.<sup>455</sup>

In your letter, you have suggested that physical deportation should be resumed as early as possible. You had hoped that this could be done at the conclusion of the fourth round of talks between India and Pakistan. You will have noticed, however, that this fourth round is going to be followed by a fifth round after about a month's time or a little over. In these circumstances, it would be undesirable to resume physical deportation. As a matter of fact, one of the subjects for discussion at the next round of talks to be held in Karachi is this question of infiltration of Pakistanis into Assam. I suggest to you, therefore, not to take any steps at present to resume physical deportation.<sup>456</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## **197. In the Rajya Sabha: No Passport for M.S. Golwalkar<sup>457</sup>**

A. B. Vajpayee<sup>458</sup>: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Shri M.S. Golwalkar, Chief of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh has been refused a passport for visiting Burma; and
- (b) if so, what are the reasons therefore?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Dinesh Singh):

- (a) Yes, sir.
- (b) It will not be in the public interest to disclose the reasons.

454. Letter to the Chief Minister of Assam.

455. See appendix 35.

456. See SWJN/SS/80/item 35.

457. Written Answers, 18 March 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, volume XLII, Nos. 12-22, 5th to 20th March, 1963, p.3173.

458. Jana Sangh.

### **198. For the Regional Tribal Conference<sup>459</sup>**

I send my good wishes to the Regional Tribal Conference to be held at Mannanoor in Mahabubnagar district.

I think that it is most important that we should pay particular attention to our tribal people and help in every way in their advancement. I have a special affection for our tribal people, and I am sure that, given the opportunity, they will advance rapidly.

To help them is not merely a question of some projects, although these are important. What is particularly necessary is a band of devoted social workers who should give themselves to this fine cause.

### **199. To P. Kodanda Rao: Reservations<sup>460</sup>**

April 3, 1963

Dear Shri Kodanda Rao,

I have your letter of March 19th

We gave a good deal of thought to the question of reservation of posts for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We agreed with the principle that both for recruitment and, more especially, for promotions, merit should be the criterion. In the lowest grades, however we felt that some encouragement should be given to these Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Merit seldom comes in for consideration in regard to these castes and tribes and it is desirable that we should encourage them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

459. Message, 19 March 1963.

460. Letter to scholar and volunteer of the Servants of India Society; address: "Aloha", 4 Sir Krishna Rao Road, Basavangudi, Bangalore 4. PMO, File No. 33(76)/62-64-PMS, Sr. No. 23-A.



## 200. In the Lok Sabha: Hindus in East Pakistan<sup>461</sup>

Mr Speaker: Now, the next calling-attention-notice.

D.C. Sharma <sup>462</sup>: I had sent also a short notice question on this matter.

Hem Barua<sup>463</sup>: I call the attention of the Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:

“The reported harassment of members of minority community in East Pakistan resulting in their migration into Assam as disclosed by the Finance Minister of Assam.”

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Dinesh Singh): The details of the information communicated by the Finance Minister of Assam<sup>464</sup> in the State Assembly on March 26 are that 14 Hajong families consisting of men, women and children totaling 64 persons, arrived in Shillong on 23rd march, 1963. State Government officers questioned four leading persons from amongst families and they have reported that these Hajong families were residents of villages named Radhanagar, Govindpur, Simakata and Panchgaon within the precinct of Kalmakanda Police Station the district of Mymensingh in East Pakistan. They are Pakistani nationals and entered Assam without any travel documents. The reasons given by them for migrating are sense of insecurity, fear of personal molestation and economic depression in East Pakistan. They also stated that they were attracted by vacant reserve land near Village Kumarikata under Tamulpur Police Station in Kamrup District in Assam where some of their relations had been living for some time. They had crossed the border via Lengura Camp in East Pakistan and then proceeded to Maheshkhola in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills about 15 days ago and some had crossed the border about a month ago. They are all labourers and while at Balat, they had earned their livelihood by working on a daily basis on the road which is now under construction by the Public Works Department with the intention of finally setting with their families in Kumarikata. It was also learnt that

461. Reply to Calling Attention Motion, 3 April 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XVI, March 29-April 11, 1963, pp.7446-49.

462. Congress.

463. PSP.

464. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed.

about 200 persons also from these villages in East Pakistan had similarly crossed over into India without travel documents and were also waiting to go to Kumarikata. These 64 persons have been housed temporarily at the Marwari Dharmasala in Shillong.

The State Government have also learnt that 30 persons consisting of 7 Hajong and one Namasudra family have arrived at Zamaduar, Balat and Rajapur in the Bholapeta area respectively. Furthermore, another batch of 30 persons consisting of 9 Hajong families residents of Gilagora and Durgapur Police Station precincts, have crossed over and are now staying at Samaduar, Betgora near Rengur Baratgora in Bholapeta and Balat areas. They are all working as daily paid labourers.

The State Finance Minister also disclosed that during the last two months reports have been received of increase in harassment of the members of the minority community in East Pakistan particularly in the Mymensingh District.

A strong protest has been lodged by the Chief Secretary,<sup>465</sup> Assam Government, with his counterpart, Dacca, emphasising that 166 persons have already crossed over into Assam due to harassment and lack of protection by the local Pakistani authorities. The East Pakistan Government have been requested to restore immediately conditions of peace and harmony amongst the minority community in these areas and to arrange to take back these families as early as possible.

As a matter of policy, so as to discourage migration from East Pakistan, we do not, at a rule render any financial assistance to unauthorised migrants. On humanitarian grounds we have sent Rs 10,000 to the Chief Minister of Assam from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund to assist those among refugees who are really destitute.

Hem Barua: In view of the fact that the Pakistan Minister for Information has recently said that India has adopted "Hitlerite" methods to oppress Muslims in India, may I know whether Government have told Pakistan that the Muslims in India are absolutely safe and it is Pakistan that is oppressing the minority community in their country, which is evidenced by this migration in violation of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact?

Dinesh Singh: Yes. This is also obvious from the statement I have made.

465. A.N. Kidwai.



Hem Barua: No, it has not been replied to. He says it is obvious. I put a specific question.

Speaker: The first point is that this is a violation of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact and whether this fact has been brought to their notice.

Hem Barua: Muslims are safe here.

Speaker: The second is that it is not the minorities in India which are suffering or discriminated against but rather in Pakistan that it is being done.

The Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): I do not know; I rather doubt if mention was made of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact in our reply. But the facts appear to be that ever since some illegal immigrants into Assam from East Pakistan were sent back by the Assam Government, the people there in those areas, the authorities there have reacted by bringing great pressure to bear on some Hindus who are living there, which has resulted in this kind of thing.

## **201. For Lal Bahadur Shastri: Uniting Muslim Families<sup>466</sup>**

A Muslim lady came to see me this morning with her daughter. She gave me the enclosed papers. Possibly you have received these directly.

2. I should like you to have this case examined. It seems to me that we should not take a rigid view about some member of a family which lives and has lived in India. Normally we are not in favour of splitting up families in this way. Even if the question of nationality cannot be decided in his favour at present, it might be desirable to allow him to stay on here for more time. Later, if there is nothing against him, the nationality question might also be decided in his favour.

466. Note, 8 April 1963, for the Home Minister.

**202. To K. Kamaraj: Acquisition of Church Land<sup>467</sup>**

April 30, 1963

My dear Kamaraj,

I enclose a letter from Violet Alva, the Deputy Chairman of our Rajya Sabha. Also, a letter to her from the Bishop of Madras. This relates to an acquisition of Indian Church Trustees property apparently without compensation. I do not understand this. It appears to be peculiarly unfortunate that this is being done for a private school which is connected with the daughter of a Minister. On the face of it, all this does not seem desirable. I hope you will kindly look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**(j) Andhra Pradesh**

**203. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Power Plant<sup>468</sup>**

February 5, 1963

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

Your letter of the 2nd February. I understand that the Heavy Power Equipment Plant might still be taken up as the Czech firm have intimated that they would be able to give all the technical know-how. Therefore, the probability is that the project will not be dropped. In any event, there is every intention of locating some project at Ramachandrapuram in Andhra.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

467. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madras.

468. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. PMO, File No. 17(441)/60-66-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 30-A.



**204. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Woes of Bus Operators<sup>469</sup>**

February 23, 1963

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

This evening I met a delegation of some Muslim gentlemen who apparently are bus operators in Kurnool District. They gave me a memorandum which I enclose.

They told me that they had been prepared to accept the recommendations of the committee appointed for the purpose. This committee had placed the Kurnool District low down in the list and had given priority to other Districts. Accordingly, they had bought a number of buses recently, having had to borrow money for the purpose which they have to pay back in monthly instalments.

The Andhra Pradesh Government has, however, changed the order and has taken up Kurnool now. This will cause them great loss. They would not be able to pay back the money borrowed.

I think there is something in their representation worth considering. They ask for this measure to be postponed by a year. Perhaps you will consider this.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**205. Panchayati Raj in Andhra Pradesh<sup>470</sup>**

Andhra Pradesh was one of the two earliest States in India to launch Panchayati Raj. I am glad that the State Panchayat Parishad is bringing out a monthly magazine in Telugu, named *Panchayat*, which will be sent to all the Panchayats and secondary schools in the State. I send my good wishes for this venture.

More and more I have felt the great importance of this tremendous experiment of Panchayati Raj. By this we are strengthening India at the very roots and preparing vast numbers of men and women to shoulder responsibility and to be self-reliant. I hope and believe that success will attend the efforts of the Panchayats in Andhra Pradesh.

469. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

470. Message, 16 March 1963, forwarded to M. Chenna Reddy, Minister in Andhra Pradesh. PMO, File No. 17(398)/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

**206. To Mahmood Hassan Khan: Hyderabad Visit<sup>471</sup>**

April 3, 1963

My dear Mahmood Hasan Khan,

Thank you for your letter and your invitation. I have not yet decided when to go to Hyderabad, but I hope to go there probably sometime in May. Usually I go to such places for a day only, and the day is a very crowded one with engagements. I would be glad to have lunch or dinner with you, but I cannot be certain about this so long as I do not know what my engagements there will be.

With all good wishes,

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**207. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Visit to Andhra Pradesh<sup>472</sup>**

13th April, 1963

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

Your letter of the 12th April, I have found it very difficult to fix up any tour programme for myself during the next month or two. There are a number of uncertain elements which prevent me from finalising any programme. However, I shall be able to visit Andhra Pradesh in June next. Will that be a suitable time?

I do not like asking for a helicopter for my tour. It rather adds to the burdens of the Defence Ministry. However, when the time comes and my tour has been more or less fixed, we shall see about it.

You need not trouble to come to Delhi just to discuss details of the programme. As I am not myself sure yet, this would not be profitable at this stage. If, of course, you are coming to Delhi for some other purposes, we shall meet.

Yours sincerely,  
J. Nehru

471. Letter to the Maharajkumar of Mahmoodabad, Mukarram Dowlah Palace, Pathergatti, Hyderabad. PMO, File No. 8(252)63-P.M.P., Sr. No. 14-A.

472. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. PMO, File No. 8(252) 63-PMP, Sr. No. 20-A.



(k) Bihar

## 208. To Swami Harinarayanand: Bharat Sevak Samaj<sup>473</sup>

13 फरवरी 1963  
24 माघ, 1884 शक

प्रिय स्वामी जी,

आपका 30 जनवरी का पत्र मुझे मिला। मैं पटना बहुत आना चाहता हूं लेकिन अभी कुछ फंसा हुआ हूं और तारीख निश्चित नहीं हुई।

मैंने मुख्य मंत्री जी को लिखा है जाने के बारे में। जब मैं वहां जाऊंगा तो अवश्य मुझे एक आम जलसे में बोलना पड़ेगा। एक ही दिन के लिये जाऊंगा। उस आम जलसे के इलावा एक दूसरी बड़ी सभा करना उसी दिन की ठीक नहीं होगा। इसलिये वहां की भारत सेवक समाज का भी खुला अधिवेशन उस दिन होना ठीक मालूम नहीं देता। यह हो सकता है कि मैं भारत सेवक समाज के कार्य-कर्ताओं से अलग मिल लूं।

मैंने मुख्य मंत्री श्री बिनोदानन्द झा को यही लिखा है और उनसे पुछा है कि तारीख को वहां जाना ठीक होगा।

आपका  
[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:

Dear Swami ji,

I received your letter of 30 January. I really want to come to Patna, but am stuck in Delhi with some urgent work. Hence, I am unable to fix a date for the visit.

I have written to the Chief Minister about my visit.<sup>474</sup> When I come there, I have to address a public meeting. I will go for a day only. Holding another large meeting the same day would not be appropriate. Hence, holding the open session of the Bharat Sevak Samaj that same day does not look good. But it can be arranged that I meet the office bearers and volunteers of the Bharat Sevak Samaj separately, the same day.

I have written to the Chief Minister Binodanand Jha the same thing and have asked for a date that would be suitable.

Yours,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends]

473. Letter to the President, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Patna.

474. See also item 164.

**209. To Binodanand Jha: Pilferage of Wheat Stocks<sup>475</sup>**

February 21, 1963

My dear Binodanandji,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from one Subedar Dasrath Singh, Digha Ghat, Patna.<sup>476</sup> In this letter he draws attention to wholesale looting and pilferage of wheat from the Central Government godown at Digha Ghat. This is a very serious matter, and I suggest that you take immediate steps to enquire into it and to post an armed guard to protect the godown.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**210. To Binodanand Jha: Scandal at Patna Medical College<sup>477</sup>**

February 21, 1963

My dear Binodanandji,

I have received a letter from a person who signs himself as Williams. There is no address to the letter except that it comes from Patna. I enclose a copy of the letter.

The story told in this letter is a very bad and disgraceful one. Naturally we cannot accept a statement like this without further enquiry but the matter is serious enough to deserve some kind of an enquiry. I would suggest to you to have this done. You may yourself talk to the Principal of the Patna Medical College. I think you might also ask some Intelligence man who is good, to enquire into this allegation.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

475. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

476. Letter of 19 February 1963 from a JCO, Grenadier Regiment, posted at Digha Ghat, not reproduced; copy available in the NMML.

477. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.



## 211. To Binodanand Jha: Bureaucratisation of Cooperatives<sup>478</sup>

March 6, 1963

My dear Binodanand ji,

Thakur Jugal Kishore Sinha<sup>479</sup> came to see me this evening and spoke to me about the Cooperative Movement in Bihar. He said that this was largely officially run against the instructions of the Cooperation Ministry at the Centre and the general rules that are supposed to be applicable to Cooperatives. He gave me a paper which I enclose.

I do not know very much of the Cooperative Movement in Bihar now. But previously I had been informed that there was too much official control over it by Ministers and officials. As you must know, we have been laying great stress on officials not controlling our cooperatives. The very essence of a cooperative is lack of official or outside control. I am sorry, therefore, that these charges continue to be made about the Bihar Cooperative Movement. It will not make much progress if it functions under official control, and it will not produce the sense of self-reliance which it is supposed to do.

In this morning's paper, I find that Shri S.K. Dey, our Minister of Cooperation in the Central Government, made the same complaint in the Lok Sabha. He did not mention Bihar, but he said that a number of Ministers in some States were hindering the growth of the cooperative movement. In spite of constant efforts to see that neither Ministers nor officials should occupy executive positions in the Cooperative Movement, still this was happening in some States.

I hope you will kindly look into this matter and draw the attention of your Minister in charge of Cooperation in the Bihar Government. It does not seem to me proper that the real basis of cooperation should be ignored and the definite instructions sent from the Centre should not be followed.<sup>480</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

478. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

479. (1908-1983); Congressman from Bihar; member of the first Lok Sabha; active in the cooperative movement in Bihar.

480. See also item 215.

## 212. To Binodanand Jha: Persecution<sup>481</sup>

March 6, 1963

My dear Binodanand ji,

I enclose another letter which Thakur Jugal Kishore Sinha gave me today.<sup>482</sup> This apparently refers to some trouble he has got into. I do not, of course, know anything about the case other than what is contained in his letter.

It is not clear to me how a Director can be held responsible for the fault of a person who has misbehaved in this matter and embezzled some money. But apart from this, when the matter was referred to the Advocate-General of Bihar and he gave a certain decision in the matter, that decision should presumably be accepted.

I cannot naturally give any final opinion about this. My knowledge is based only on the letter I received. But I do get an impression that there is an element of victimisation in this, and it is always bad for a Government to act in this way.

I should like you to look into this matter and advise the Minister concerned in regard to it.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 213. For B.N. Mullik: Conspiracy in Bihar<sup>483</sup>

Shri Binodanand Jha, Chief Minister of Bihar, gave me this evening a photostat copy of a letter in Hindi presumed to have been written by Shri Ram Lakhan Singh Yadav, who is a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Bihar and belongs to the Congress Party. Together with this photostat copy of the letter he gave me an English translation of it. Both of these are enclosed.

2. The photostat copy was given to the Chief Minister by a DIG of the CID in Bihar of the name of Akhori, who is said to possess the original letter in Hindi from which the photostat was made.

3. The letter discusses ways and means of murdering the Chief Minister and refers to a regular conspiracy for this purpose. I am told that a handwriting

481. Letter to Chief Minister of Bihar.

482. See item 211.

483. Note, 6 March 1963, for the Director of the Intelligence Bureau. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Patna.



expert has stated that the signature in the letter is confirmed by a reference to other signatures of the same person.

4. The Chief Minister would, however, like this matter to be verified by the Central Intelligence Department before he decides to take any action in regard to it. Will you kindly have this done?

6. As I have said above, the alleged writer of the letter belongs to the Congress Party in the Bihar Legislature. But when the election of the Leader took place, he was in the minority opposing the election of Shri Binodanand Jha.

## 214. To Binodanand Jha: Dissidence within Congress<sup>484</sup>

March 6, 1963

My dear Binodanand ji,

A group of members of your Assembly came to see me this evening and told me that some Congress Members of the Bihar Legislature Party have been acting both publicly and privately against our policies and more particularly against the Bihar Government. They gave me a representation signed by them. I enclose this.

It seems to me that the charges made by them are serious and involve a grave breach of discipline by members of the Party. I think that we should enquire into this matter and, if the charges are found to be correct, take some action against these persons.

I do not know what method of enquiry you have in regard to Party matters. Normally such allegations are put before a meeting of the Executive of the Party and then the persons charged called upon to give their explanations. If necessary, later, a small body is appointed to go into these charges and report to the Executive.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

484. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Patna.

## 215. To Binodanand Jha: Officials Running Cooperatives<sup>485</sup>

March 18, 1963

My dear Binodanandji,

When in Patna, I wrote to you about the Cooperative Movement in Bihar and how it was far too much run by official agencies, against our definite advice.<sup>486</sup> I also sent you some representation of Thakur Jugal Kishore Sinha and asked you to be good enough to look into the matter. The main point about this was that the Advocate-General had given an arbitration award in Jugal Kishore Sinha's favour, but the Minister of Cooperation of Bihar proposed to contest this award.

Naturally, I have not wholly gone into this question, but it seemed to me that it required full consideration. It seems, on the face of it, rather improper for the Advocate-General's award to be passed by or contested by the Government.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(l) Goa

## 216. To Laura D'Souza: Observe Congress Discipline<sup>487</sup>

March 25, 1963

Dear Laura,

I have received your letter of March 21. In these Congress organisational matters of the elections I have very little to do.<sup>488</sup> The Congress President<sup>489</sup> deals with them according to our rules. I am, therefore, sending your letter to him.<sup>490</sup>

485. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

486. See items 211 and 212.

487. Letter to a Congress leader; address: Atras da Facenda, Panjim, Goa.

488. The Congress Party in Goa, established in September 1962, was divided into three factions, led by Laura D'Souza, V.N. Lawande and P. Kakodkar. Though Kakodkar was elected the ad hoc president of the Goa PCC, the other two wanted a proper PCC election prior to the Lok Sabha bye-elections.

489. D. Sanjivayya.

490. See item 217.



In any event, it is not, I think, right to undertake a hunger strike for such a purpose. I have, therefore, sent a telegram to you today advising to give up the hunger strike. I hope you will do so.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 217. To D. Sanjivayya: Laura D'Souza's Fast<sup>491</sup>

March 25, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

I am sending you a letter I have received from Dr Mrs Laura D'Souza of Goa. She complains of the elections recently held there. I do not know what the facts are except for the statement made by Mrs D'Souza. I understand that Shri Purshottam Kakodkar<sup>492</sup> will be coming to Delhi soon and perhaps you can ask him what his version is.<sup>493</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 218. To D. Sanjivayya: Goa Elections<sup>494</sup>

April 1, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

I enclose a letter which I have just received from Shri Purushottam Kakodkar.<sup>495</sup>

491. Letter to the Congress President. NMML, AICC Papers, F.No. D-65/1963, Box 27.

492. Goa PCC President.

493. See item 216.

494. Letter to the Congress President NMML, AICC Papers, F.No. CD-65/1963, Box 27.

495. President of the Ad Hoc Committee, Goa Pradesh Congress Committee. See letter of 29 March 1963, not reproduced, but available in NMML, AICC Papers, F. No. CD-65/1963, Box 27. Its concluding sentence is "Smt. Laura D'Sousa has been behaving very improperly, nevertheless I have not taken any action against her behaviour. Now the Pradesh Committee or the Working Committee may take it." See item 216.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I suppose you will be consulting Shri Radha Raman about the events that took place in Goa during the recent elections. He was chiefly responsible for the decisions taken and the arrangements made there.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**(m) Kashmir**

### **219. To Jagjivan Ram: Roads in Jammu and Kashmir<sup>496</sup>**

February 6, 1963

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

I imagine you know that the Jammu & Kashmir Government are anxious to have a proper road built from Riyasi-salal to Siot with a bridge over the Chenab River. This has become important because they are developing this area which contains coal, bauxite and limestone. There is going to be a cement factory there also. Thermal power is going to be produced there and for this purpose machinery has to be taken. The Punjab State has agreed to take coal etc. from that region. The need for a road and bridge is rather urgent.<sup>497</sup>

I suggest that you might consider this matter in consultation with the Ministry of Mines and Fuel and D.P. Dhar, Minister of Jammu & Kashmir State.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

496. Letter to the Minister of Transport and Communications. PMO, File No. 17(444)/61-70-PMS, Sr. No. 18-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

497. Response from Jagjivan Ram, 19 February 1963, extracts only:

“2. We are considering the possibility of bridging the Chenab on this route to provide a shorter road from Udhampur to Bagot (via Riasi) on a request from the Army. Bagot and Siot are already connected as both lie on the Jammu-Poonch Road.

3. Necessary preliminary surveys for the bridge have been carried out. A site near Pabbar (about 4 miles south of Riasi) has been selected and a project for the bridge and approach roads is under preparation. It will be placed before the Planning Commission for a decision in regard to the Central financial aid.” PMO, File No. 17(444)/61-70-PMS, Sr. No. 19-A.



## 220. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Mridula Sarabhai's Externment from Kashmir<sup>498</sup>

February 12, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I enclose a note from Mridula Sarabhai. Her externment from Jammu & Kashmir ends in a few days and she was anxious to avoid its extension for a further period. I think that considering all the circumstances, it would be better not to extend this period of externment. I do not know what Bakhshi<sup>499</sup> intends doing.

Mridula has gone for a few days to Vinobaji.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 221. In the Rajya Sabha: USIS on Kashmir<sup>500</sup>

A. M Tariq<sup>501</sup>: Will the Prime Minister be please to state:

- (a) whether Government have officially received a copy of USIS release on Kashmir issued in Delhi on 22nd January, 1963; and
- (b) if so, what action Government have taken in the matter?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Dinesh Singh): (a) and (b). Government did not officially receive a copy of the USIS release. There was, however, a Press release by the USIS on December 20th, 1962, which came to the notice of Government. Some parts of this release were considered factually not correct and otherwise rather improper. The matter was taken up verbally with the USIS authorities, who stated that the release did not represent the official views of the U.S. Government.

498. Letter to the Home Minister.

499. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

500. Written Answers, 18 March 1963, Rajya Sabha Debates, Volume. XLII, Nos. 12-22, 5th to 20th March, 1963, p.3177.

501. Congress.

## 222. To Tara Devi: Taking Care of Rajendra Singh's Children<sup>502</sup>

अप्रैल 7, 1963

प्रिय महारानी साहिबा,  
आपका पत्र मुझे मिला। आपको याद होगा कि मैंने पहले भी आपको लिखा था कि ब्रिगेडियर राजेन्द्र सिंह के बच्चों के बारे में मैंने बक्शी गुलाम मुहम्मद साहब से ज़िक्र किया है, और उन्होंने कहा है कि वह उनका इन्तजाम पूरी तौर से करेंगे। इन्तफाक से आज वह मुझे से मिलने आये थे, तो मैंने उनको आपका ख़त दिखाया। उन्होंने कहा कि अभी वह ब्रिगेडियर राजेन्द्र सिंह की लड़की से मिले थे और वह कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि माकूल इन्तज़ाम सब बच्चों का हो जाये।

अगर बाद में कुछ ख़ास ज़रूरत हुई तो मैं भी कुछ कोशिश करूंगा।  
मैं आशा करता हूं कि आपकी तबीयत ठीक होगी।

आपका  
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

April 7, 1963

My dear Maharani Sahiba,  
I received your letter. You may recollect that I had written to you earlier about my talks with Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad regarding Brigadier Rajendra Singh's children. He had assured me that he would arrange everything possible for them. Fortunately, he came to see me today and I showed him your letter. He told me that he had met the daughter of Brigadier Rajendra Singh recently and he is trying his best to do whatever possible for the children.

Later, if need be, I shall also try to do something.

I hope that you are keeping well.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

502. Letter to Maharani Tara Devi; address: 37/48 Nyay Marg, Chanakya Puri, New Delhi.



## 223. To A.K. Gopalan: Closure of Mineral Plants in Kerala<sup>503</sup>

February 2, 1963

My dear Gopalan,

You wrote to me a few days ago, on the 24th January about the crisis in the mineral sands industry in Kerala. Although I have been following the developments there, I thought I had better refer your letter to the Atomic Energy Department for their comments. I have received these comments and am now writing to you on the basis of the information and comments received from the Atomic Energy Department.

The present crisis is due partly to the circumstances beyond our control and partly to conditions created by those within the industry. The emergence of new and cheaper sources of ilmenite or substitutes in other countries, the existence of certain natural impurities like chromium and vanadium in Indian ilmenite and the recent technological developments in the manufacture of titanium dioxide pigment, are reasons that would fall under the former category, while the responsibility for the high and ever increasing cost of production must rest squarely on labour. I must also add that the astonishing royalty of 75% which the State Government has insisted on charging till now has not made matters easier. I understand that the number of workers employed in the two plants at Chavara, a legacy in the process of taking over, are far in excess of—probably three times—the normal requirements of units of similar capacity run on modern lines. I also learn that the privileges enjoyed by labour in the matter of leave, overtime allowance, attendance bonus, incentive bonus, mechanisation allowance etc, are unheard of elsewhere and that whenever attempts were made to rationalise these and bring them down to any reasonable level, the cooperation from the labour leaders was entirely lacking, when forthcoming, was tardy.

It is not a pleasant task to close down an industry and throw labour out of employment, particularly when the industry has been earning valuable foreign exchange in the past. But it would be meaningless to continue in production when stocks have accumulated beyond reasonable proportions and there is no demand for the mineral.

You have suggested that Plants I and II of Travancore Minerals Ltd. at Chavara should be allowed to continue in operation on a production-cum-experimental basis. As I have stated earlier, there is no justification for further

503. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, CPI.

production of ilmenite just now, as we have nearly 2 lakh tons in stock. As regards the plants being run on an experimental basis with a view to evolving new physical processes for eliminating impurities from Indian ilmenite the Department of Atomic Energy, under whose administrative control Travancore Minerals Ltd. functions, have examined the possibility and have come to the conclusion that as the impurities occur in the structure of the ilmenite crystals themselves, they cannot be separated by any physical process. There seems to be no purpose therefore in continuing the plants in operation on an experimental basis. The Department of Atomic Energy are, however, trying to evolve a cheap, commercial, chemical process for the elimination of impurities. They have also requested the National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur, to tackle this problem independently.

You have raised the question of full retrenchment benefits being given to the workers rendered unemployed by the recent closure of Plant No. II of Travancore Minerals Ltd, at Chavara on the same basis as was given to the workers of a section of this plant, which was closed down in September last. I understand that the terminal benefits that were given in September last and those that were given recently when Plant No. II was shut down are according to the provisions of the law and that apart from the fact that nothing more is due to the workers legally, the financial position of the company would also not permit any such gesture. Incidentally, the wind table sections of Plants I and II at Chavara were closed down in September last, primarily with a view to bring down the cost of production and there was no guarantee, express or implied, that the rest of the plants would be kept in operation indefinitely.

Unfortunately, a stage has now been reached where the closure of the remaining plant (Plant No. I) of Travancore Minerals Ltd. at Chavara is inescapable. The workers affected by the closure will be given terminal benefits legally due to them. But to give them the benefits that you suggest would virtually convert the Travancore Minerals Ltd into a charitable institution. You will agree with me that though public sector undertakings have obligations of a national and social character, they cannot be regarded as social services completely absolved from economic or commercial justification.

The question of sending a sales promotion team to various countries has already been considered and recently a Director of Travancore Minerals Ltd. was in Japan to investigate the market there. A team may be sent to UK, USA, and Europe at the appropriate time. However, due to the acute foreign exchange position, the size of the team will necessarily have to be very small. Without attempting to pre-judge its composition, I doubt if the inclusion of non-officials would in any way enhance its effectiveness. You have also suggested that the mineral companies in Chavara should be permitted to process monazite and



extract thorium. The production of thorium is a sophisticated chemical process, not a physical one, for which the machinery at Chavara is completely useless. Moreover, there is already a public sector undertaking (Indian Rare Earths Ltd., at Alwaye) which functions effectively quite close to Chavara. It is, therefore, neither necessary nor desirable to set up another establishment in the area. Besides, marketing of thorium nitrate is itself presenting some problems.

I am surprised that the suggestion to lift the ban on the export of monazite should have emanated from you since monazite is raw material for rare earths and thorium nitrate, both of which are valuable foreign exchange earners. To lift the ban on the export of monazite will have the effect of cutting the ground from below our exports of rare earths and thorium nitrate, while monazite itself will earn much less foreign exchange. The net result will be a diminution rather than an increase in our foreign exchange earnings. However, the question of expanding the capacity for the manufacture of titanium dioxide in Kerala is under the active consideration of the Government of India.

We recently reduced the selling price of both grades of ilmenite considerably and we have harnessed the resources of the State Trading Corporation to assist Department of Atomic Energy in the marketing of this mineral in foreign countries. An intensive sales promotion campaign has also been launched. If these and the experiments that are now being conducted to eliminate the impurities in Indian ilmenite are successful, it should still be possible to recapture the lost market or develop new markets. When this happens, the intention is to set up a modern factory in or near Chavara, to process ilmenite and other associated minerals occurring in the beach sands there and to enter the world market on a more competitive basis than has hitherto been possible with outmoded equipment and labour intensive organisations. Till then, it will not be possible to undertake the beneficiation of only the associated minerals like Zircon and Sillimanite as the process will be very uneconomical.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**224. To H.J. Bhabha: Kerala Factories<sup>504</sup>**

11th February 1963

My dear Homi,

You wrote to me on the 31st January about a letter that A.K. Gopalan<sup>505</sup> had sent me and which I had forwarded to you. I sent a reply to Gopalan on the lines of your letter.

This morning Damodara Menon,<sup>506</sup> a Minister of the Kerala Government, came to see me and I told him of what I had written to Gopalan about ilmenite. He informed me that Hopkins and Williams<sup>507</sup> who used to run previously the ilmenite factories in Kerala owed the State Government twenty-five lakhs of rupees on royalties. The State Government had attached their existing stocks and plants and land because of the non-payment of these royalties. Hopkins and Williams had made an offer that the Kerala Government should take over these stocks and plant and land in settlement of their dues. This seems to me a worthwhile offer which might be accepted. But I have suggested to Damodara Menon that he should consult you about it. Also, that if the existing plant is taken over, the Atomic Energy Commission should be put incharge of it.

Then there is the question of the expansion of the titanium dioxide plant. This apparently is past history. The British Titanium had first agreed to expand it and invest a lot of money in it. Later, they backed out on it because they realised that this would be a competitive concern which would injure their own interests. Later on, the Tatas made a proposal about the expansion. To some extent this is still pending. But owing to the Emergency it has been postponed.<sup>508</sup>

I have advised Damodara Menon to consult you about this matter also.<sup>509</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

504. Letter to the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

505. CPI MP; see item 223.

506. K.A. Damodara Menon.

507. Hopkins and Williams Travancore Ltd, a London based company, established in 1920, exported ilmenite from Manavalakurichi and Chavara from 1922 till 1956.

508. See SWJN/SS/80/items 108,109,110 and 112.

509. See also item 225.



**225. To Manubhai Shah: Kerala Factories<sup>510</sup>**

11th February 1963

My dear Manubhai,

Damodara Menon saw me this morning and spoke to me about his troubles about ilmenite, titanium dioxide, etc.<sup>511</sup> Some little time ago, A.K. Gopalan had written to me about ilmenite and I sent him a long reply. This reply was based on what Bhabha had advised me. I gave a copy of my reply to Damodara Menon and I am now enclosing another copy for you.

Damodara Menon told me about the royalties due to the Kerala Government from Hopkins and Williams amounting to about twenty-five lakhs of rupees. Apparently, they had offered all the existing stocks of ilmenite plus the plant plus the land on which the factory is situated to the Kerala Government in order to settle this demand for royalties. In view of all the circumstances the offer seems to me worth accepting. But I have suggested to Damodara Menon to consult Bhabha about it.

In this matter of ilmenite as well as titanium dioxide, I think we should proceed in full consultation with the Atomic Energy Commission. The factories must necessarily be under the direct control of the Atomic Energy people, but in the disposal of the ilmenite produced, the State Trading Corporation can obviously be of help.

There is also the question of the expansion of the titanium dioxide plant which is owned by the Kerala Government. The British Titanium first offered to invest a large sum of money in this expansion, but then they backed out. I gather the Tatas subsequently offered to take it up. But for the present they have shown no eagerness about it. It might perhaps be a good thing for Tatas to interest themselves in this expansion, but in this matter also I have suggested to Damodara Menon to consult Bhabha.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

510. Letter to the Minister of International Trade.

511. See item 224.

## 226. To G.L. Nanda: Gopalan on Kerala Agriculture<sup>512</sup>

March 3, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a letter from A.K. Gopalan<sup>513</sup> about Kerala agrarian affairs. In this letter it is stated that Shriman Narayan<sup>514</sup> informed the Panel on Agriculture that a draft of an amending Bill was sent to the Cabinet. I do not remember any such draft coming up.

I do not know the exact position, but from Gopalan's letter the matter appears to be rather urgent. What do you propose to do about it or to recommend to the Cabinet?

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 227. Travancore Titanium<sup>515</sup>

[Note, 27 April 1963, for Kesho Ram, the PPS, begins]

Will you please find out what has been done to the Travancore Titanium Limited? Is it being transferred to Messrs Tata Chemicals Ltd., and, if so, on what basis and terms?

Jawaharlal Nehru  
27.4.1963

PPS

[Note, 27 April 1963, for Kesho Ram, the PPS, ends]

[Note, 27 May 1963, for Nehru from Kesho Ram, begins]

P.M. had recorded the above minute on receipt of a letter from Shri M.N. Govindan Nair, MP, regarding reports appearing in the press that the control of the Travancore Titanium Products Ltd., Trivandrum, was being transferred to M/s Tata Chemicals Ltd. As desired by PM, I referred this matter to the

512. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

513. Lok Sabha Member, CPI.

514. Gandhian author and politician.

515. Notings, 27 April 1963.



Secretary, Ministry of Commerce & Industry and enquired about the actual position. His reply has since been received and is placed below for PM's information.

2. Besides Shri Govindan Nair's letter, we also received a couple of representations from the Trivandrum District Trade Union Council, Trivandrum, and the All India Trade Union Congress, New Delhi, voicing their protests against the reported move to transfer the factory to Tatas and expressing anxiety at the consequent possibility of a large number of workers being thrown out of employment. After PM has seen, I shall briefly write to Shri Govindan Nair as well as to the Trade Unions, mentioned above, telling them that the control of the factory is not proposed to be transferred to private hands but that only the participation of Tatas is being sought to implement the expansion programme in the interests of the project itself and the Kerala State. I shall add that as the installed capacity of the factory is contemplated to be increased considerably, there is no chance of the workers being rendered jobless.

K. Ram  
27.5.1963

PM

[Note, 27 May 1963, by Kesho Ram for Nehru, ends]

[Seen and signed by Nehru on 27 May 1963]

## **228. To R. Sankar: Eviction of Farmers<sup>516</sup>**

April 30, 1963

My dear Sankar,

I have received a telegram, copy of which I enclose. I do not know the facts, but it does seem odd to me that poor agriculturists should be evicted without any compensation. Also, that the usufructs from their respective property, after eviction, should not be given to them. I hope you will kindly look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

516. Letter to the Chief Minister of Kerala.

**(o) Madhya Pradesh**

**229. For Madhya Pradesh Congress Committee<sup>517</sup>**

I am glad that an ad hoc committee has been formed by the Congress President for Madhya Pradesh with Shri Rameshwardayal Totla as its Convener. Madhya Pradesh is not only a potentially rich province but has also been a stronghold of the Congress organisation. Because it came into being by the amalgamation of various areas and many Princely States, it took some time for it to be integrated into one State unit. Unfortunately, internal troubles in the State organisation and the formation of rival groups within it harmed the organisation and weakened it. This even led to the Congress President suspending the Madhya Pradesh Congress Committee.<sup>518</sup> Since then unfortunately the Congress organisational work has been at a low ebb.

The time has now come to revive this Congress work all over the State and make the Congress organisation there a living and active body working for the good of the people.

We are passing through grave crises all over India. This is primarily due to the Chinese aggression on our northern frontiers. To meet this aggression, the entire country has risen wonderfully and pledged itself to counter it. This is good and heartening, but it is not enough for public meetings to be held and pledges to be taken, good as they are, but it requires organised and disciplined work so as to strengthen the Congress organisation and the country.

It must always be remembered that the Congress stands for certain principles and, is not merely an organisation to run elections. We must, therefore, adhere to those principles and work for them with all our strength. While the immediate task before us is to strengthen our country in order to meet the aggression on our frontiers, that very task requires the fulfilment of our Third Five Year Plan. Strength comes to the country by agricultural and industrial progress. Recently, the Community Development movement has laid down a programme for all the rural areas in the country. This is important, and special attention should be paid to the fulfilment of this programme.

But above all it must always be remembered that the basis of all strength is unity among our people. We must always strive for this unity among various religious groups, provinces and different linguistic areas. Madhya Pradesh has

517. Message, 3 February 1963, forwarded to Rameshwardayal Totla, Convener, Ad Hoc Executive Committee for the Madhya Pradesh Congress Committee. Totla had a meeting with Nehru on 2 February 1963. NMML, Engagement Diary, 1963.

518. See SWJN/SS/77/pp. 398-402; and appendix 65 of the same volume.



no linguistic problem or any kind of controversy with other States. To that extent it is fortunate, but it has had a difficult problem in the shape of continuing dacoities. These must be put an end to by the cooperation of all our people with the Government. The Congress must help in this.

Before the Congress in Madhya Pradesh can be an effective instrument to carry out the national will, it must organise itself fully and act in a disciplined manner. It must not permit rival groups within it to continue and spend their energy against each other. This must be the first task of the new ad hoc committee. We must all pull together for we have a great task before us which can only be accomplished by united effort. We have also to fight against all disruptive tendencies, whatever they may be.

I send my good wishes to the ad hoc committee and through it to all Congressmen in Madhya Pradesh. I hope the committee will succeed in the tasks that face it.

## **230. For the Madhya Pradesh Congress<sup>519</sup>**

### **PM's Message to MP Congress**

New Delhi, Feb. 7 – In a message of good wishes to the ad hoc Congress committee for Madhya Pradesh announced last weekend, Prime Minister Nehru asked Congressmen to strive for unity among various religious groups, provinces and different linguistic areas.

“Above all”, he said, “it must always be remembered that the basis of all strength is unity among our people”.

Pandit Nehru said: “We are passing through a grave crisis all over India. This is primarily due to Chinese aggression on our northern frontiers. To meet this aggression, the entire country has risen wonderfully and pledged itself to counter it. This is good and heartening, but it is not enough for public meetings to be held and pledges to be taken, good as they are, but it requires organised and disciplined work so as to strengthen the Congress organisation and the country”. PTI.

519. Report of message, reproduced from the *National Herald*, 8 February 1963 p. 4.

**231. To Rameswar Dayal Totla: Good Work of Adhoc Committee<sup>520</sup>**

13 फरवरी 1963

प्रिय रामेश्वर दयाल जी,

आपका 11 फरवरी का पत्र मुझे मिला। यह मालूम होकर कि आपका काम अच्छी तरह से शुरू हुआ मुझे खुशी हुई।

एडहोक कमेटी का जो आपने लिखा है उस में कुछ नाम शायद कांग्रेस के सभापति बढ़ाना बाद में स्वीकार कर लें। मेरा इरादा है भोपाल आने का। मैंने इसके बारे में मुख्य मंत्री जी को लिखा है उनके जवाब आने पर तारीख निश्चय करूंगा।

मेरी शुभ कामनाएं आपके साथ हैं।

आपका  
[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:

13 February 1963

Dear Rameswar Dayal ji,

I got your letter of 11 February. I was happy to hear that your work has started well.

Some of the names that you have proposed for the ad hoc committee, might be considered for acceptance by the Congress President later. I intend to come to Bhopal. I have written to the Chief Minister<sup>521</sup> about it and will decide on a date after receiving his reply.

My best wishes,

Yours,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends]

520. To the coordinator, Madhya Pradesh Congress Committee, Bhopal.

521. B.A. Mandloi.



**232. To B.A. Mandloi: Visit Programme<sup>522</sup>**

February 28, 1963

My dear Mandloi,

I understand that it is fixed now that I visit Bhopal on the 13th March and go on the 14th to Raipur. The programme you sent me previously will, I take it, hold. You might, however, please send me another fairly detailed programme. I shall try to reach Bhopal at about 9.30 in the morning.

The Begum of Bhopal<sup>523</sup> saw me the other day and was very anxious that I should stay with her when I go to Bhopal. She is an old friend and I do not wish to disappoint her. Even if I formally stay with her, I shall be at your disposal for the whole day. I hope that you and the Governor will agree to my staying with her.<sup>524</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**233. To Sajeda Sultan: Bhopal Visit<sup>525</sup>**

February 28, 1963

My dear Sajeda,

I have your letter of the 26th February. Since you wrote that letter, I think you have been informed that I shall now be going to Bhopal on the 13th March, arriving there about 9.30 a.m. I shall leave early next morning for Raipur.

You know that I would greatly like to accept your invitation and to stay with you during my brief visit to Bhopal. But in this matter, it is the usual custom for me to stay either with the Chief Minister or the Governor. So, their agreement is necessary. I have written to the Chief Minister on the subject and I hope he will agree.

522. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. PMO, File No. 8(239)-63-P.M.P., Sr. No. 38-A.

523. Sajeda Sultan.

524. See items 233 and 236.

525. Letter to the Begum of Bhopal. PMO, File No. 8(239)63-P.M.P., Sr. No. 39-A.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Even though I stay with you, I shall be busy the whole day with various engagements, and perhaps the Governor and the Chief Minister might want me to go to them for some meal.<sup>526</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru.

### **234. To D. P. Mishra: Bye-elections in Madhya Pradesh<sup>527</sup>**

February 28, 1963

My dear Dwarka Prasadji,  
Your letter of the 28th February.

I wholly agree with you that we should make every effort to win these seats in the bye-elections. I am afraid, however, that I shall not be able to tour about in these places. Normally I do not go for bye-elections anywhere, more especially now. I shall have no time in March or early April to accept any new engagements like this.

As for the selection of candidates, this should be carefully done. I do not normally interfere very much in such selections. All I can do is to take a little interest when the matter comes up before the Central parliamentary Board.

I shall be going on the 13th March to Bhopal for a day and on the 14th to Raipur.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **235. To Vidya Charan Shukla: Corruption Charges<sup>528</sup>**

March 1, 1963

Dear Vidya Charan,

I have received a complaint about you, which I give below:

“I want to stress about the activities of Shri V.C. Shukla...He is making full use of his position as an MP, a member of the Railway Users Council, and a member of the Estimates Committee, to get the best from the railway for his firm, of which he is the sole President, namely, Messrs Allwyn Cooper & Co,

526. See items 232 and 236.

527. Letter to Congressman from Madhya Pradesh.

528. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 19 Janpath, New Delhi.



Shikar & Big Game Hunters. He has told several times to the railway officers at Nagpur, Raipur and other places that if foreigners and his guests do not get what they want, their names would be sent to the Railway Board. Similarly, he pushes his way in the Madhya Pradesh Forest Department, so much so that he and his shikaris shoot animals with torch at night, breaking game laws etc., but no one can touch him. His charges for a shoot of ten days are Rs 20,000, half in foreign currency and half in Indian money. Where does the foreign currency go? Why cannot he return the foreign currency to the Government of India? All the money is locked up in Europe. Last time he went all over the world as a guest of Air India International by telling them that his foreign guests would travel by Air India International, which they never did."

Yours sincerely,  
J. Nehru

### 236. To H.V. Pataskar: Guest of Sajeda Sultan<sup>529</sup>

March 2, 1963

My dear Pataskar,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th February. I have now decided to visit Bhopal and Raipur on the 13th and 14th March. I shall go to Bhopal on the 13th morning and stay there till the 14th morning, when I go to Bhilai. The Chief Minister has drawn up my programme.

I would be happy to stay with you in Bhopal, but I have been pressed very much by Sajeda Sultan, Begum of Bhopal, who is very anxious that I should stay with her on this occasion. She is an old friend and her late husband was an officer of the External Affairs Ministry. I should like to please her in this matter. Of course, for the entire day I am there, I shall be at the disposal of the Chief Minister and you for such engagements as are fixed.<sup>530</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

529. Letter to the Governor of Madhya Pradesh. PMO, File No. S (239)-63-PMP, Sl. No. 40-A.

530. See items 232 and 233.

### **237. For the Madhya Pradesh Bye-Elections<sup>531</sup>**

I send my good wishes for the success of the Congress candidates in the by-elections that are going to take place in Madhya Pradesh. The Parliamentary Board has chosen their names after due care. These candidates stand for Congress policies and principles and I trust that voters will, by voting for Congress candidates, express their full faith in these Congress principles and policies.

The choice of Shri Dwarka Prasad Mishra was made after full consideration and I hope that he will be successful in this bye-election.

### **238. To D. Sanjivayya: Making Ministry more Inclusive<sup>532</sup>**

April 7, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

I enclose two letters that I have received from Rameshwardayal Totla, Convener, Ad hoc Congress Committee of Madhya Pradesh.

He refers to the desirability of the Chief Minister adding some representatives of the minority community and Harijans and Adivasis to the Government, presumably as Deputy Ministers. Mandloi<sup>533</sup> also spoke to me about this. I think this would be a good thing.

I also think that the Ad hoc Committee might be increased somewhat. Some good men were left out of it.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **239. To B.A. Mandloi: Sharing Rihand Power<sup>534</sup>**

27th April 1963

My dear Mandloi,

The Chief Minister of UP, Shri C.B. Gupta, has sent me a long letter giving me a detailed account of various discussions that have taken place at different

531. Telegram, 6 April 1963, sent to To Rameshwar Dayal Totla, the convenor of the Madhya Pradesh PCC, Bhopal.

532. Letter to the Congress President.

533. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

534. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. MHA, File No. 21/1/63-SR, (R), pp. 22/c.



levels between representatives of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in regard to the sharing of power from Rihand. Unfortunately, in spite of these discussions, no agreement has been arrived at. From his letter it appears that the Madhya Pradesh Government have taken up a rigid attitude and have not agreed to the various proposals jointly made in this behalf by various officials on both sides. This may or may not be true. But the fact remains that no agreement has been arrived at and that it is highly desirable that this should be done. Obviously, it is preferable for the two Governments to arrive at a settlement. But if this is not possible, then the matter should be referred to somebody else, presumably in the Central Government. It cannot be left undecided as that comes in the way of work.

I hope you will agree to some such proposal. If you agree to some such proposal, if you agree I shall suggest some name of a competent and impartial person who can go into this matter and give his decision after fully considering every aspect of it. Another development appears to be that our Government has asked the Uttar Pradesh Government to stop further work at the Mata Tila Power Station because the question of sharing power by Madhya Pradesh from the Mata Tila Power Station has not been decided. This again is unfortunate because whatever the decision may be, this work has to be continued and this Power Station established. It is rather, if I may say so, a petty way of exercising pressure tactics and thus stopping the carrying on of an important and essential work. This matter, if you agree, can also be referred to some competent person for decision.

Please let me know.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(p) Madras

## 240. To S. Radhakrishnan: Rajamannar Statue<sup>535</sup>

March 12, 1963

My dear President,

Thank you for your letter of March 12th and the cutting from *The Economist*.

It is not usual, though it is sometimes done, to put up a statue or a bust of a living man. However, if you feel like it, you can certainly unveil the bust

535. Letter to the President.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

of Chief Justice Rajamannar.<sup>536</sup> But I would suggest that you should not go to Madras only for this purpose. If you go to Madras otherwise also, then this may be one of your engagements.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### (q) Maharashtra

#### **241. To H.D. Karaka: Bombay Visit Causing Inconvenience<sup>537</sup>**

March 9, 1963

Dear Shri Karaka,  
I have your letter of the 2nd March. I have forwarded it to the Chief Minister Maharashtra.<sup>538</sup>

I am sorry that my visit to Bombay should cause any inconvenience to the residents there.

Yours sincerely  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **242. To M.S. Kannamwar: Bombay Visit Causing Inconvenience<sup>539</sup>**

March 9, 1963

My dear Kannamwar  
I have received a letter from Bombay which I enclose in original. You will deal with it as you think proper. So far as I am concerned, I do not wish to upset the life of Bombay in any way.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

536. Chief Justice of Madras High Court 1948-1961.

537. Letter; address: 127 Cumballa Hill, Bombay 26.

538. See item 242.

539. Letter to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. PMS, File No. 8/237/63-PMP.



(r) Northeast

**243. To Liladhar Kotoki: Assam's Needs<sup>540</sup>**

February 2, 1963

Dear Liladharji,

Thank you for your letter of January 29. We are fully conscious of the needs of Assam and I am sure that full attention is being paid to them. I do not quite know how far we will be able to meet all the needs now, but we are trying to do our best.

I am sending your letter to the Planning Commission.<sup>541</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**244. To Y.B. Chavan: Clemency to Assam Regiment Mutineers<sup>542</sup>**

9th February 1963

My dear Chavan,

You will remember my writing to you about some kind of a mutiny that occurred in the Assam Regiment in the J&K State a year or two ago. The Regiment was disbanded and the people in it were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Among these people were a number of Lushais or Mizos.

The Governor of Assam<sup>543</sup> has referred to this case in the course of a letter he has written to me. I quote below an extract from his letter:

“There is one measure which the Government of India can take to cash in on the good effects of the recent tour of the Chief Minister. Some two or three years ago, some men of the Assam Regiment indulged in a mutiny and were duly sentenced. They have put in a petition to the President for clemency. The case will be known to the Ministry of Defence. I do not know the details of the case, nor am I in a position to make specific

540. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 50 South Avenue, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 17(487)/61-66-PMS, Sr. No. 3-A.

541. See also item 255.

542. Letter to the Defence Minister.

543. Vishnu Sahay.

recommendations; but I do suggest that if possible, some clemency may be shown now and that care should be taken to associate it with the Chief Minister. If Government feel that they can reasonably show some more clemency in this case, then the order should not be communicated before it is communicated to the Chief Minister. We can then make it appear that it was his recommendation which has brought the boon to these people and that will be a help to us here in countering the separatist movement.”

I would like you to get our Army authorities to consider this matter. It has been pending for some time. On the whole, it seems to me desirable for some clemency to be shown.<sup>544</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## **245. To Vishnu Sahay: Assam Regiment Mutineers<sup>545</sup>**

9th February, 1963

My dear Vishnu Sahay,  
Your letter of February 6th.

I am glad that the Chief Minister<sup>546</sup> paid a visit to the Mizo District and that his tour was successful. I entirely agree with you about setting up a separate development board for the Mizo District.

You refer to the case of mutiny of the Assam Regiment in the J&K State. This matter has come up before me and I wrote to the Defence Minister on the subject.<sup>547</sup> I shall write to him again and send him a quotation from your letter on the subject.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

544. See also items 245 and 248.

545. Letter to the Governor of Assam.

546. B.P. Chaliha.

547. See items 244 and 248.



## 246. To Vishnu Sahay: Controlling Naga Insurgency<sup>548</sup>

February 16, 1963

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

Your letter of February 12 about certain proposals in regard to Nagaland. I agree that some effective steps be taken. On the whole, what you have suggested appears to me right.

In this morning's newspaper I read of another ambush or raid by the hostiles on our people which resulted in some of our men being killed and their weapons taken away. I am sure that we must take some steps to put an end to this kind of thing.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 247. Border Roads in Mizo District<sup>549</sup>

I have read the note of the Secretary, Border Roads Development Board, in which it is stated that roads in Mizo district have been given a low priority. And yet, the Governor of Assam attaches great importance to these roads. Probably from the military point of view, they might not be so important. But from other points of view, they are important. The matter, therefore, should be considered afresh, and the Governor should be addressed on the subject.

As a matter of fact, some of the roads to which priority is given, appear to be in the Mizo district. I think the best course would be for the Governor to be sent the full programme and his comments asked for.

## 248. To Y.B. Chavan: Leniency to Mizo Mutineers<sup>550</sup>

March 1, 1963

My dear Chavan,

I have written to you previously, perhaps more than once, about the case of the Mizos who were sentenced in Jammu & Kashmir State for misbehaviour, and their company was disbanded.<sup>551</sup> This was, I think, the 2nd Battalion of the

548. Letter to the Governor of Assam.

549. Note, 19 February 1963, for the Cabinet Secretary.

550. Letter to the Defence Minister.

551. See items 244 and 245.

Assam Regiment. I believe you wrote to me that these people cannot be taken back into the Army. Is it, however, possible to consider their release?

I am writing to you because the Chief Minister of Assam<sup>552</sup> again drew my attention to this matter. The Mizo District is a difficult one for us, and there is a growing demand there for complete independence. It is on the border of Burma. Many of these Mizos or Lushais, as they are sometimes called, are in the Burmese Army as well as ours.

Chaliha, the Chief Minister, writes to me that there is a good deal of dissatisfaction among the Mizo people about this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 249. To Michael Scott: Naga Insurgency<sup>553</sup>

March 1, 1963

Dear Mr Scott,  
Your letter of February 27.

As I told you, I had referred Mr Phizo's letter and his request to the Governor of Assam and asked him to consult the Naga members of the Executive Council and let me have their advice. I have not heard from him in reply yet.

There is no truth in the report in the English press that the Government of India is planning to launch a massive land and air attack on the Naga rebels. We had some two or three months ago withdrawn a great part of our Armed Forces from Nagaland. As a result of this, the hostile Nagas started misbehaving in many ways. There were many attacks on our people there. The father of one of my Parliamentary Secretaries, who is a Naga, was kidnapped. We have been pressed by the Naga leaders there to take some effective action. As a result of this we have sent some small forces to Nagaland. Another reason for doing so is that Kaito,<sup>554</sup> the present leader of the hostile Nagas, is returning from Pakistan with his group with a large number of modern automatic arms.

552. B.P. Chaliha.

553. Letter to representative of Naga insurgents; address: Quaker Centre, 27 Rajpur Road, Delhi.

554. Kaito Sukhai (1933-1968); underground Naga rebel leader.



About your visiting Nagaland to talk to the Naga hostiles, I rather doubt if this will be an appropriate time in view of what I have mentioned above. The Chief Minister of Assam,<sup>555</sup> whom I believe you met, was also of this opinion.<sup>556</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 250. In the Lok Sabha: Naga Insurgents entering India<sup>557</sup>

Hem Barua<sup>558</sup>: Sir, I call the attention of the Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:

“The reported entry of Naga hostiles into India through Manipur.”

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, early in February, reports were received that armed hostile Naga groups were moving in the Chin Hills of Burma. Precautionary measures were taken in the Manipur area by the GOC, Nagaland.

One armed band numbering approximately 100 crossed into south-west Manipur from Burma on 19th February. Our security forces intercepted it on 25th February and, after exchanging fire, recovered 500 rounds of rifle ammunition and some explosives. There were no casualties. This Naga Party then fled and is being pursued over difficult terrain by our security forces.

A second party whose strength is estimated at a little over hundred, crossed into south-east Manipur, but, in the face of patrolling by our security forces, rapidly returned to Burmese territory. The Burmese are reported to have reinforced their security posts in the area and our own forces are on the alert against any re-entry.

The Nagas in question are believed to be the same as those who had escaped through Cachar to Pakistan in May, 1962. There is no confirmation, however, that Kaito<sup>559</sup> is leading them on their return.

555. B. P. Chaliha.

556. See also item 251.

557. Responding to Calling Attention Motion, 2 March 1963. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XIII, 18th February to 2nd March 1963, pp. 1730-34.

558. PSP.

559. Naga rebel leader.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Hem Barua: In view of the fact that Reverend Michael Scott proposes to meet Mr Kaito on a peace mission during his Peking March, may I know whether Government propose to encourage him to do so or to allow the law of the land to operate against Mr Kaito and his followers for indulging in treasonable activities?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The laws of the land will no doubt operate. There has been no obstruction to the laws operating against Kaito, except that he has been lately in non-Indian territory. As for Reverend Scott, I do not know if he is going to Nagaland.

Hem Barua: He will go to Peking through Nagaland.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. This peace march is a lengthy affair lasting altogether, I am told, about a year and a half. There is no proposal of his going to Nagaland, so far as I know.

Hem Barua: There was a statement made by Reverend Michael Scott himself to the effect that he is going to meet Mr Kaito during his march to Peking through Nagaland.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That may be his intention, but I do not think that he is likely to do so.

Hem Barua: If he does, do the Government propose to encourage him to do so? That was my question and that has not been answered.

Speaker: That has been answered.

Hem Barua: No, Sir. If he proposes to do so, I want to know whether the Government would bless this effort of Reverend Scott?

Speaker: The answer has come, namely, that might be his intention but he is not marching through Nagaland.

P.K. Deo<sup>560</sup>: From the Prime Minister's statement, it is obvious that there is a nest in Burma, which has been harbouring these hostile Nagas. May I know if our Ambassador in Burma has been using his good offices with the

560. Swatantra Party.



Burmese Government to comb the entire area by India and Burma jointly, through joint police efforts?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not aware of any nest anywhere; it is a moving column. It is different from a nest. Ever since we have heard of it, as I have said, we informed the Burmese Government through our Ambassador<sup>561</sup> and I understand they have taken some steps there.

Bade<sup>562</sup>: Is it a fact that two battalions of SAF<sup>563</sup> from Madhya Pradesh were sent for fighting these Naga hostiles, that they were entrapped by the Naga hostiles and there were nine casualties? It is reported in the newspapers that our Home Minister had visited that place and there were nine casualties in that attack. Is it a fact?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I do not quite understand the hon. Member's question.

Speaker: Nor do I. Would he kindly repeat his question.

Bade: Is it a fact that two battalions were sent from Madhya Pradesh and they were entrapped by the Naga hostiles resulting in nine casualties and the Home Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Shri Govind Narayan Singh, visited that place? It is reported in today's papers.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not got all this information. I think, probably some armed police were sent there—possibly from Madhya Pradesh also—from various places. (Interruption).

Speaker: He wants to know whether they were entrapped and some were killed.

Jawaharlal Nehru: They were sent there.

Bade: The Home Minister of Madhya Pradesh went there.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I know nothing about the Home Minister of Madhya Pradesh going there. He might have gone there, I do not know.

561. R.S. Mani.

562. Jana Sangh.

563. Special Armed Forces.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (Ram Subhag Singh): He had gone there and he has returned also.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. I can enquire if the hon. Member wants.

ओंकार लाल बेरवा: क्या यह सच है कि अभी हाल में नागा विद्रोही नेता फिजो ने कोई चिट्ठी नागालैंड के मुख्य प्रशासक डाक्टर आओ को लिखी थी? उस चिट्ठी का क्या ब्योरा था?

अध्यक्ष माहोदय: यह तो अलहदा सवाल है उसका इससे क्या मतलब है?

[Translation begins:

Onkar Lal Berwa:<sup>564</sup> Is it true that recently the rebel Naga leader Phizo had written a letter to the Chief Executive Councillor Doctor Ao? <sup>565</sup> What was the letter about?

Speaker: This is a different question.

Translation ends]

P.R. Chakraverti<sup>566</sup>: In view of the assuring statement of Michael Scott, host of Phizo in London, may we presume that the changed attitude of Phizo is followed by the return of hostile Nagas to the land where they rightly belong?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not quite know what conclusion he draws from Mr Scott's statements here about the changed attitude of Mr Phizo. If Mr Phizo changes his attitude, it is good.

Hem Barua: He has written to you. Has he not written to you?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, he has sent a letter through Mr Michael Scott.<sup>567</sup>

564. Jana Sangh.

565. P. Shilu Ao, Chief Executive Councillor.

566. Congress.

567. See also item 251.



## 251. Responding to Phizo<sup>568</sup>

[Note, 7 March 1963, by R. Yusuf Ali, for the JS (E), R.G. Rajwade, begins]

May the reply please be indicated? PM had already touched on this issue in his recent statement in Parliament.<sup>569</sup>

R. Yusuf Ali  
7.3.63

JS(E)

[Note, 7 March 1963, by R. Yusuf Ali, for the JS (E), R.G. Rajwade, ends]

[Note, 7 March 1963, by R.G. Rajwade, for M.J. Desai, the FS, begins]

PM has already made a reference to the letter from Phizo in his recent statement in Parliament. After that, there has been much speculation in the press and Rev. Michael Scott has also been talking to the correspondent of the London *Times* whose dispatch has already appeared. This Question has been inspired by all that has happened earlier.

2. Any further disclosures about the request for interview, PM's reaction and reply to Phizo: even yes or no, would not appear to be indicated at this stage. Any reply would have unhealthy repercussions on the stature and dignity of our friend Shilu Ao and his team. The question should not be accepted.

R.G. Rajwade  
7.3.63

FS

[Note, 7 March 1963, by R.G. Rajwade, for M.J. Desai, the FS, ends]

[Note, 7 March 1963, by M.J. Desai for Nehru, begins]

Please see Advance Notice of Starred Question No. 5698 proposed to be put by Shri S. M. Banerjee and Shri Daji.

2. Rev. Michael Scott brought a letter from Mr Phizo addressed to Prime Minister. Prime Minister does not propose to enter into any correspondence with Mr Phizo but has indicated to Rev. Michael Scott that it is for Mr Phizo

568. Noting. MHA (Ministry of External Affairs), File No. NII/125(14)63, p.1.

569. See item 250.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

to advise the Naga hostiles to give up all violent activities and cooperate with the people of Nagaland in the task of reconstruction and development that the Nagaland State authorities have undertaken.<sup>570</sup>

3. While communicating the above facts to Mr Speaker, we may request him not to admit the question as the raising of this matter, whatever the nature of the replies, would further encourage the hostile activities of the Naga underground and also interfere with the working of the security forces in the enforcement of law and order in Nagaland.

M.J. Desai  
7.3.63

PM

[Note, 7 March 1963, by M.J. Desai for Nehru, ends]

[Note, 7 March 1963, by Nehru, begins]

I agree

J. Nehru  
7/3/63

[Note, 7 March 1963, by Nehru, ends]

### **252. In the Rajya Sabha: Return of Nagas from Pakistan<sup>571</sup>**

B.D. Khobragade<sup>572</sup>: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether it is a fact that some Naga hostiles and their leaders have returned to Nagaland from Pakistan;
- (b) Whether it is a fact that they have stated subversive activities; and
- (c) If so, what action is being taken to check these activities?

570. See item 249.

571. Written Answers, 19 March 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLII, Nos. 12-22, 5th to 20th March 1963, p.3389.

572. RPI.



The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru):

- (a) Two parties of Naga hostiles numbering approximately a hundred each entered Manipur from Burma during February, 1963. Unconfirmed reports indicate that they may be the same as those who had earlier escaped to Pakistan in 1962. There is no confirmation yet that there are among them Kaito<sup>573</sup> and his colleagues who went to Pakistan in 1962 and subsequently visited the UK.
- (b) One of these two bands retreated to Burma in the face of our patrols. The other is moving in western Manipur and trying to evade our security forces there.
- (c) Our security forces in Manipur have been alerted and had two skirmishes with the band in western Manipur. They recovered some 500 rounds of rifle ammunition and some explosives from them. On each occasion, the hostile party took evasive action and is being pursued over difficult terrain by our security forces.

The Burmese authorities are reported to have reinforced their posts on their side of the border, and our own forces are also on the alert against future re-entry by any other band.

### 253. On Developing Hill Regions<sup>574</sup>

The development of the hill areas deserves our urgent attention, particularly in the context of the new threat to our northern borders. Certain necessary pre-conditions for economic progress in these areas, such as communications, schools and dispensaries, happily now exist, thanks to the developmental work undertaken in recent years. The economic growth of these areas is inextricably bound up with their agriculture. How soon these areas emerge from their present state of backwardness will, therefore, depend on how quickly their traditional economy can be transformed into a scientific pattern of agriculture suited to the soil and climatic conditions of these areas.

There is a vast scope here for our experts in forestry, soil conservation, horticulture and animal husbandry. Research workers must find solutions for the special problem of agriculture in high-altitude area of scanty rainfall. Scientific research in relation to the particular conditions in these hill areas will

573. Kaito Sukhai.

574. Message, 19 March 1963. PMO, File No. 31/111/60-64-65-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 58-B. Sent at the request of Ram Subhag Singh, Minister of Agriculture. PMO, File No. 31/111/60-64-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 58-A.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

no doubt help and should be encouraged. The people in the hills who are by nature resourceful and hardworking, must be enabled to join in the mainstream of economic progress in the country.

I hope the Special Issue of the *Indian Farming*, devoted to problems of hill agriculture, will be useful as an introduction to the forthcoming Seminar on the same subject and that the Seminar itself will succeed in evolving an effective programme of agricultural development for these regions.<sup>575</sup>

### 254. To G.L. Nanda: Mizo District Plan<sup>576</sup>

March 19, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a letter from Bimalaprosad Chaliha.<sup>577</sup> I am afraid it will be difficult to send Professor Mahalanobis to the Mizo district in Assam. But it would be desirable to send one or two competent persons to look into this matter. The Mizo district is important from various points of view.

I suggest that you might write to Chaliha about it.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 255. To Liladhar Kotoki: Assam Development<sup>578</sup>

March 25, 1963

Dear Liladharji,

Thank you for your letter of March 24. You can rest assured that we have the question of Assam very much before us and we want to help it to the best of our ability. You may have heard that we have decided to replace the meter-gauge railway line there with a broad-gauge railway line. This will involve making

575. Following the Chinese invasion, Ram Subhag Singh had advocated settling farmers in the Northeast, see SWJN/SS/79/items 297,298, and 299 and appendices 47 and 49.

576. Letter to Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission.

577. B.P. Chaliha, Chief Minister of Assam.

578. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 50 South Avenue, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 17(487)/61-66-PMS, Sr. No. 7-A.



bridges etc. and is a major undertaking. But I am sure, it will bring many good results for Assam.<sup>579</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 256. In the Lok Sabha: NEFA Administration<sup>580</sup>

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr Speaker, Sir I am grateful to you for allowing me to speak at a somewhat early stage of this debate. I listened very carefully to the speech of the hon. mover. There are many things he said whereby he built up a colossus of which he knocked down a great deal. Many things he said have little application to NEFA. For instance, he talked about missionaries and the like and then he himself says there are no missionaries in NEFA and that he was talking about some other places, may be, Nagaland ... (Interruptions). He talked about my being against building of roads. That is an extraordinary statement considering that we have been concentrating on building roads and airfields there as much as possible.

Hem Barua<sup>581</sup>: I refer only to the Tusker project.<sup>582</sup> The people built the roads in the wrong way. That was the trouble.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think this question raises a number of aspects to be considered. To say that NEFA should not be segregated and that opportunities should be given to get it integrated, emotionally and otherwise, with India is a completely right statement. But how is that to be brought about? And what was done in the past few years? And has that helped the process or hindered? It is no good what the British did. I am not concerned with the British period. The British practically ignored all this area. They did nothing at all there, except when there were some troubles, they sent some soldiers to put it down. This matter has been brought up here, I take it, because the area of NEFA has been highlighted by the Chinese invasion. That is true. As a matter of fact, I would venture to say that this very Chinese invasion has, to some extent, proved the

579. See also item 243.

580. Reply to Resolution regarding Administrative Policy in NEFA, 29 March 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XVI, Third Series, March 29-April 11, 1963, pp. 7065-7069.

581. PSP.

582. See SWJN/SS/80/items 41 and 56.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

rightness or the policy pursued in NEFA. I am not going into the defence aspect of it; that is a separate aspect. But even when the Chinese were invading, even in Bomdila and roundabout, the tribal people including their girls were giving voluntary help to our armed forces by carrying loads and other things there. In Tawang, they refused even to participate in certain festivities organised by the Chinese. Of course, some did participate in some places.

Hem Barua: There were pictures, in the *Illustrated Weekly*, of their participation.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not quite hear what the hon. Member said. Of course, in some places they did participate; when the occupying armed forces were there, it was difficult to refuse to do so. But the whole outcome of this Chinese invasion and their occupation for a month or two of the NEFA territory indicated that the process of drawing the NEFA people towards the rest of India had gone pretty fast. To that extent, I said it was a success.

It is wrong to say that we want to keep the people of NEFA as a museum specimen. That has never been our policy. Our policy has been based on the fact with anyone, more especially the tribal people that to win them over, one has to proceed on well thought out plans, to affect their minds and emotions. Normally what has happened everywhere in the world is this; wherever there were in a sense less advanced people I use the word “advanced” with some hesitation but I use it in the normal sense, that is, people who were used to somewhat primitive habits of life, wherever they have come in touch with others more advanced, they have suffered very greatly. Instead of being integrated they have often been almost destroyed. That has been the case in the South Sea Islands, and everywhere. Therefore, one has to proceed with great care. One of the major efforts that were made right from the beginning during the last twelve to thirteen years of Independence was to give a great deal of thought to this problem, NEFA especially, because we wanted to bring it nearer to India, to develop it and to integrate it in thought and mind and heart. For that reason, we discovered soon after that a special type of officer was needed. The hon. Member opposite talked about having no special service for NEFA. I am surprised that he said so.

Hem Barua: I did not say that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Somebody said so; I do not know.

Hem Barua: I said there should be an interchange of officers of NEFA with the officers in Assam.



Jawaharlal Nehru: A good officer in Assam can certainly go there. But our experience, if I may say so, the bitter experience of Nagaland, does not point that way, because the officers who were sent to Nagaland, good officers otherwise, were not particularly suited for that purpose. They irritated the Nagas tremendously, and normally, they did something which is fatal to do with these people anywhere, that is, to adopt a superior attitude.

Many years ago, before independence, in NEFA, I think, a British officer went there with some armed forces. He said something which was rather contemptuous of the tribal customs in NEFA, not anything very much, but something supercilious. That night, the whole platoon or whatever it was and the British officer were murdered.

Hem Barua: That was in 1911. Williamson was murdered.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I said so, long before independence. There is nothing worse in dealing with the tribal than to presume and to show that you are superior and they are inferior.

Mahavir Tyagi<sup>583</sup>:let Mr Hem Barua go there.

Hem Barua: I am ready to go.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member may be ready to go; he may be very suitable and on the other hand, he may be very unsuitable too; I do not know which.

Hem Barua: Give me a trial. I will be suitable, because my face resembles theirs almost and I do not have a sharp nose.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We are all at one that we have to integrate them and we have to bring them nearer in thinking and emotions to the rest of India. What is the process of doing so? It is not a sudden process; it may be drawn out over some time.

People talk about throwing open NEFA to all the others in India. The first persons who go there are petty shop keepers intent on making money. The hon. Member was rather sarcastic at the expense of the colourful clothing of the tribal people there. It is not the colourful clothing only, but we wish to encourage spinning and weaving there, instead of going in for these shoddy things that our petty shopkeepers took from here, which did not last, which were not pretty to

583. Congress.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

look at, which had no artistic merit, and which made them give up their own home industries. We are trying to develop the village industry all over India and much more so in an area like that, where it is still flourishing and is certainly far more artistic than any of the clothes that the hon. Member wears or I wear.

Hem Barua: We are in the same boat.

Mahavir Tyagi: He did not keep Parliament informed of all that.

Hem Barua: I remember a Negro song ...

Speaker: Order, order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So, our policy was to win their minds and hearts and above all, not to make them feel that we pretend to be superior to them. That is very important. That is why we found that the officers to be sent there had to be very particularly chosen.

Hem Barua: They are not.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I beg to differ from the hon. Member. They were chosen and by and large they have proved quite an extraordinary and excellent lot. Indeed, some of them behaved with exemplary presence of mind and courage during the Chinese invasion. I cannot speak suddenly about everyone but they are, by and large, a very fine lot, because they are chosen. Few people want to go there, because they have to live a rather isolated life in the wilds without cinema house, theatres and amusements. It is not an amusing thing, unless you are bent that way. So, we created that service.

As for roads, that is our chief occupation. We had to open them out and we continued the permit system in the inner line for two reasons. The principal reason was because the people went there and dispossessed the tribal of their lands. One thing that is most vital in dealing with tribal peoples is to respect their land customs. There have been in recent times three committees, I think, which have visited this area. There was the Dhebar Committee, which was quoted by the hon. Member. There was the Renuka Ray Committee and there was a Home Ministry Committee to evaluate the work of multipurpose tribal blocks.

Hem Barua: Dr Elwin Committee.

Jawaharlal Nehru: All these committees laid the greatest stress on this. They said, do not allow anyone to touch their land. It is vital. The last-mentioned



committee asked many questions to them about developmental schemes. They were interested in those schemes. But always they asked: “What about our land” Repeatedly everyone asked this question: “What about our land? Is anybody going to take it?” They were afraid of that, because they had seen some such things happening. In spite of all our efforts sometimes this has happened and their land has been taken away. They have been won over by some hard cash; someone from the rest of India or the plains has gone and taken their land. Land is the most sensitive thing in a tribal mind. Naturally, we cannot afford to do that. If we allowed people to go from here and to buy up their land, it would be fatal, most disastrous, and instead of integrating them we will turn them into a position where they will be disliking us, disliking the rest of India, where they will be thinking that the rest of India is bent on swallowing them up and swallowing their land. Thereby we would be creating a feeling which would not only be wrong but excessively harmful. That is the main reason why people should not go there and open petty shops leading to their giving up their village industries.

Hem Barua: Could not these things be achieved without shutting them off? Could not these be achieved by other measures?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We sent, as I said, our selected officers. Then we found that the officers were all right, they were carefully selected, they were very good, but the staff which went with them, normally, were not so chosen. I am talking about the clerical staff. We get into difficulties with the clerical staff. Then we said the clerical staff also should be carefully chosen. We had some difficulties about women, again a matter which raises great trouble there. If a person meddles with the women there, it raises trouble. Some people did it, some odd people, not many I am glad to say, and that created a lot of trouble. Therefore, inspite of the fact that large numbers of people went from India—people for road making, engineers and the armed people—there were relatively few instances of meddling, because even to the army we had given clear instructions. When the army was sent there before the Chinese aggression, I wrote a special letter to the army commanders going there pointing this out that they must not behave there as they might otherwise, they must be particularly careful with the women folk. They must be particularly careful in dealing with them, they should not behave pretending to be superiors but they should behave with courtesy and in a friendly way, they must always have it in mind that we have to win over their minds, and we were carrying on large scale development works there.

I will give some few figures. Take the case of schools. There were two primary schools in the whole of the NEFA area at the time of independence. This

number has now risen to 159. NEFA has 20 middle schools and 6 high schools. Increasing numbers of NEFA students are studying in degree course all over the country including Assam of course and have done well. The recent matriculation results of the Gauhati University showed 81.5 percentage for NEFA students compared with the overall Gauhati University average of 44.9, nearly double that. So, given the opportunity they do well. To say that we prevent people, we cut them off and segregate them completely, is not quite correct. It is true, we do not favour, if I may say so with all humility, political parties going there and forming groups. These people will get hopelessly confused. That is a different matter. But otherwise, we do not favour shops, we do not favour large groups going there. But as it happens now, large numbers of soldiers have gone there, large number of engineers have gone there with their underlings and others. Crowds of people have gone there, apart from individuals who have gone to see what is happening there. Then, again, now there are 91 health units in NEFA; BCG<sup>584</sup> teams have been operating widely and leprosy eradication centers have established. The teams raised under the national smallpox eradication programme have gone there. 21,600 people were vaccinated and during the last few years malaria has declined rapidly, and so on. Then, road building is progressing fairly rapidly; we are accelerating its progress. This could only be done with efficient planning and adequate inducements to the people to help these development schemes.

One thing may surprise some people. We have not encouraged, as I said, these shops to grow, but we have encouraged cooperatives.

Hem Barua: While we do not allow our shops to grow the Chinese have their shops in Bomdilla. I do not want them to be allowed to go there.

Mahavir Tyagi: Why should they not have their own shops?

Hem Barua: How could they get in there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, I could not spot the relevant paper. The progress of the cooperative movement has been very satisfactory there. The cooperative societies are rapidly increasing and it is hoped to hand over to them most of the normal functions of commerce in the area. The intention is, indeed, to develop NEFA as much as possible through cooperatives and public enterprise. It is very easy, as hon. Members will realise, to exploit these people there. They are simple folk, honest; occasionally of course, they are excited and driven

584. Bacille Calmette Guerin. Vaccination against Tuberculosis.



to violence but, generally, not so. We do not want them to get exploited and thereby become bitter. It was to curb this exploitation essentially that the old inner line was kept up. Another reason, which does not apply so much to Indians but to others, is to keep the foreign undesirable elements from going there. We found people going there not in large number but as individuals pretending to be specialists, specialists in botany and horticulture and all the rest of it, and subsequently indulged in espionage.

Hari Vishnu Kamath<sup>585</sup>: Chinese do it very much.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not remember any Chinese going there from this side. Probably, they creep in from the other side.

Hem Barua: Yes, from the other side.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Cottage industries have grown there and community development programme has shown good results, because it has fitted in more or less with their community sense and natural traditions. If you go even to Bomdilla, where I went about two years ago, it is a very attractive place, it has grown with a high school campus, hospitals and the rest of it. I had been there two or three times and the changes I have noticed have been very heartening. For the cottage industries 1,150 trainees have passed through a scheme of training and 390 are under training now. 21 minor industrial units are now functioning in independent production. Then, we bring a large number of them for Bharat Darshan Tour for our Republic Day and they go about all over India. That does not indicate any segregation. They are getting to know India, appreciate India and allow others to get to know them.

The only basic difference, apart from possibly some other points which the hon. Member might have in mind, between him and me is not in the ideals of integration but in bringing this about in a gradual way so as to affect their minds and hearts, to win them over, and not to upset their life without giving something in their place. That is a real difficulty.

Hem Barua: I said “a phased programme of integration”.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Leave it to them to decide many things and not impose it upon them. It is most important that they should not have an impression of being sat over. It is very irritating, conditioned as they are. Most of these tribal

585. PSP.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

folks live in a sense, a very free life, not in the political sense but in the social sense. They live in the jungles. They live a free life and modern life is not at all free. Hon. Member's life or my life is not at all free. We are conditioned by all kinds of rules and regulations.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Quite so.

Jawaharlal Nehru: If these rules and regulations are put down or are forced upon them, they react to them. That is why we want them to develop according to their own sense and traditions. Of course, who can keep them from modern developments? As soon as roads are made, as roads are made, as I said somewhere the hon. Member quoted as if I was against roads, which is not right because we are all for roads from every point of view, that is the first thing that one has to do to develop an area roads, schools, hospitals, cottage industries, co-operatives – these are the basic things on which we have to develop and give them proper people, officers etc. to guide them.

The hon. Member said something about denying the people all the benefits of science and technology. I was a little surprised to hear that.

Hem Barua: I said that if that means denying them the benefit of science and technology, this will be bad.

Jawaharlal Nehru: As a matter of fact, we are teaching science in the schools that we have opened. He mentioned the question of language. Shri Borooah<sup>586</sup> behind me also said something about the language question.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Barua in front and Barooah behind.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is the most tricky question as hon. Member should know. The language question has given trouble in Assam more than once. But we have favoured, on the whole, Assamese thereon the whole, I said. Normally, the practice there is that their original primary teaching is done in their local languages; then comes Assamese, also comes. Hindi also comes. But so as not to put too great a burden on them we have not insisted on their learning all together Hindi and Assamese. But Hindi also comes. But they are very anxious and keen on learning English. That is taught to them specially for the science classes.

586. P.C. Borooah, Congress.



To talk about technology being introduced there is rather a far cry. I think, it is yet to be introduced in Assam in the real sense of the word. Making a factory or a bridge is not technology.

Hem Barua: It is sad commentary on you.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We are technologically backward people all over India. We are going through an industrial revolution. No doubt, it is coming rapidly, in some areas faster than in others.

For the hon. Member to say that we should give them freedom, I do not understand that. The result of what he said would be freedom for people to go from outside and sit on their backs and exploit them. That is dangerous.

Hem Barua: I said positively about elimination of exploitation from whatever source. This must be a pre-condition.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I will endeavour to read out to you something from the Home Ministry's committee that went there in spite of the inner line etc. I am sorry, this does not refer to NEFA but to all Tribals. It said:

“Throughout vast areas of Tribals in India the last hundred years present a melancholy history of encroachment, alienation and exploitation. Even today it is doubtful how far the legislative measures that have been taken in most of the States with large Tribal populations have been really effective.”

“Ingenious agents of exploitation have all too often found loopholes to nullify their effectiveness.”

I think therefore that the position is not static. The position is a changing one. I have no doubt that it will go on widening its scope and NEFA will become more and more intimately in touch with the rest of India.

But, please do not imagine that because NEFA is a vast area, it is easily cultivable. The cultivable area is rather limited. There may be some parts which can still be cultivated. There was a proposal made by my colleague in our Ministry of Agriculture of colonising NEFA by a very large number of people taken from outside.<sup>587</sup> As he put it, it seemed to me not very attractive because

587. By Ram Subhag Singh, Minister of Agriculture. See SWJN/SS/79/items 297,298,299 and appendices 47 and 49 in the same volume. See also SWJN/SS/80/appendix 23 and item 353.

of the reaction of the people there. If colonists are sent there, naturally they are given and they would like to have good land, not land which is not cultivable. That is the very land which the people will require where they can develop and farm. We propose to experiment with small areas and some good farmers, relatively small numbers to begin with and see how it progresses, because any major upset will be harmful.

When colonists go or any outsiders settle down there, one thing that has been noticed almost immediately is, they inevitably begin to lend money to the tribal people. The Dhebar Commission has given some starting facts and figures about this lending process of money by outsiders who come there. It is not possible to check this money-lending habit of these people.

Also, in regard to land in NEFA there is no record of land rights. Because, they go on the community basis. It will create difficulties and much apprehension in the Tribals' mind if we started making a record. They will think that we will take away their land immediately. That is a basic question.

At the present moment, there is constant inter communication between Assam and the people of NEFA apart from, as I said, the vast number of Assam Rifles, Army people and their families and others who have gone there, officials and their staff. Nevertheless, we have tried to limit people from going there especially since the emergency arose. Even apart from the emergency, I would beg of this House to consider that any major change in the practices now being undertaken there would be undesirable for the reasons I have given. Small changes are continually happening. As they develop, they come out and people go in. But any major change would have an upsetting effect on their lives. More so during these days of emergency, even to think about it is exceedingly risky. To make them dissatisfied, to make them suspicious, apart from other bad effects, would add to the problems of defence. It will be wrong to do that. Thus, we are really trying to bring about emotional integration, and any kind of unregulated influx in to NEFA will come in the way of that and create resentment there and create difficulties.

And I would venture to say that the development work carried out in NEFA is an outstanding example of what can be done. It may be that it might be done a little better here and there, but, generally, the criticism of it is probably ill-informed, and it does not follow from any actual information.

Our officers there, it should be remembered, during the last few years—now they are getting a little more in touch because roads are built in the heart of virgin forests, cut off from the world, and they did well, and they won the goodwill of the people as a whole. The owners of the tribal shops, stay in Along, pay frequent visits to the plains to replenish their shops.



The techniques evolved for building and road construction have also been very satisfactory, particularly suited for those places.

I would venture to say that the record of the NEFA Administration has been rather good and I say so with all modesty because my ministry is connected with it, but in spite of that fact, it is a good record.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: By and large.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Everything is “by and large”.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Generally speaking.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We do not deal in absolutes.

Hem Barua: In the ultimate analysis.

Jawaharlal Nehru: And I would submit that this should be allowed to continue with such changes as circumstances require, and no major upset should be made because that will be bad for the people there, and bad more particularly from the point of view of the Emergency.

Speaker: Would the House like to continue the discussion on this resolution now?

Several Hon Members: No.

Mahavir Tyagi: I just want to put a question. I must say that the speech of the hon. Prime Minister has been most convincing. But does the hon. Prime Minister realise that publicity has been failing him because most of what he said today is not known to the House? The House did not know what progress has been made because that was never put before the House.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think that something about this is given in the External Affairs Ministry's annual report. Of course, I do not call that adequate publicity.

L.M. Singhvi <sup>588</sup>: It is very meagre.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Probably Shri Tyagi has not read it.

588. Independent.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I shall take the hint that the hon. Member Shri Tyagi has given and would see that it is adequately publicised.

## **257. To Hokishe Sema: Will Always Consult Nagaland Government<sup>589</sup>**

April 1, 1963

Dear Shri Hokishe Sema,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th March which I was glad to read. We have been appreciating the efforts made by you and your government to bring about peace and progress in Nagaland. I fully agree with you that these efforts are bound to succeed. We have gone as far as we possibly could in the formation of Nagaland. The future lies in the hands of the Nagas themselves and this is as it should be.

I sent a message to Phizo in answer to his letter to me through the Reverend Michael Scott, not because of any exaggerated notion of Phizo's importance in the circumstances, or because we were at all panicky about the condition there. We are sure that we shall be able to deal with it adequately. I sent my message to him simply because I have seldom refused to meet any person whoever he might be. But in sending my message to him, I said that I could only meet him if previously law and order was fully restored in Nagaland and further that the existing structure in Nagaland was accepted; we could not change it. I also informed Michael Scott that whatever steps we would take would be in consultation with and with the approval of the present government of Nagaland. On no account could we bypass that government. I said so because I was anxious that the prestige of your government should be kept up and further that we should act according to your wishes.

You will thus notice that I did not act in any way which might be deemed derogatory to your government. Whatever we may do in regard to Nagaland will be done after consulting your government.

I send you my good wishes.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

589. Letter to Executive Councillor, Government of Nagaland, Kohima.



## 258. Meeting with Michael Scott<sup>590</sup>

Reverend Michael Scott came to see me this afternoon and told me that he had a letter for me from Phizo<sup>591</sup> which he gave me. He also read out to me from a document he had the statement of Phizo addressed to the Nagas generally. This statement said that because of the great suffering for their love for freedom and their cause the Nagas had to face enormous difficulties and all that, but it would be desirable to end this period and to come to some peaceful arrangement. Therefore, he suggested a cease-fire from April 14th, 6 a.m. The Government of India would also, on their part, declare a cease-fire.

2. I told Mr Scott, first of all, what I had told him previously, that in any matter connected with Nagaland we could only proceed in consultation with and with the agreement of the present Government of Nagaland. As it happened, Mr Shilu Ao<sup>592</sup> and perhaps other members of the Naga Government were coming here tonight and I suggested to him to see them.

3. I further pointed out that this idea of putting the Government of India on the same level as the Naga National Council was a little absurd as if the two were two countries dealing with each other. As I had said previously, all hostile activities should stop in Nagaland and there should be peace and order there before I could think of meeting Mr Phizo. Of course, if all these hostile activities ceased, there would naturally be toning down of the activities of our forces against the hostile Nagas. As a matter of fact, the position in Nagaland had improved greatly some months ago, but when, after the Chinese aggression, we had sent away some of our forces from Nagaland, advantage was taken of this by the hostiles who behaved badly and committed numerous raids, kidnappings, etc. and it was because of this that we had to take action.

4. Mr Scott said that according to his information very severe action had been taken and the Naga prisoners had been very badly treated and beaten in the prisons. Also, that a blockade had been built and large numbers of Nagas found it difficult to get supplies and were therefore on the point of starvation.

5. I told Mr Scott that only recently I had received a letter from one of the Executive Councillors of Nagaland in which he had expressed in strong language how the activities of Phizo and the hostiles were creating trouble there and that this must be put down. He had disagreed with the proposal that Mr Scott should go to Nagaland to meet the hostiles. However, it would be a

590. Note, 3 April 1963, for M.J. Desai, the FS.

591. A.Z. Phizo, Naga leader.

592. Chief Executive Councillor, Nagaland.

good thing if Mr Scott met Shilu Ao and others and discussed the matter with them directly.

6. Mr Scott went on laying stress on the extreme desirability of putting an end to this trouble in Nagaland. His belief was that Phizo wanted to do it and that we should give him an opportunity to do so by allowing his message to be taken there by Mr Scott.

7. Will you please meet Shilu Ao and his colleagues as soon as they come and tell them of this, and suggest that they should meet Mr Scott? Probably, Mr Scott will telephone to you tomorrow about this matter. Mr Scott's address in Delhi is: C/o Shri Ramadhar, 35, Hanuman Road, New Delhi.

8. I am enclosing the letter Phizo sent me through Mr Scott.

## **259. In the Lok Sabha: Naga Raid<sup>593</sup>**

Hem Barua:<sup>594</sup>

N.R. Laskar:<sup>595</sup>

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a party of Naga hostiles raided the Teachers' Colony at Kohima Head quarters station of Nagaland on the 20th March, 1963; and
- (b) if so, the extent of damage caused to life and property as also the nature of the attack?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (S.C. Jamir):

- (a) Yes. The actual time of the raid was 10.00 p.m. of 19th March.
- (b) Cash, wrist watches and clothing worth Rs. 1,200 were stolen. No one was injured.

Hem Barua: May I know if it is a fact that our Government's periodic flirtations with Mr Phizo, a fugitive from Indian justice at present in London, and with Rev. Scott, are working as a psychological stimulus to

593. Oral Answers, 8 April 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XVI, Third Series, March 29-April 11, 1963, pp.8404-07.

594. PSP.

595. Congress.



the hostile Naga as evidenced from this particular incident and, if so, may I know what steps Government have taken to reappraise the situation in the light of the facts and forces?

Speaker: I have listened to him. May I just remind him of an incident? When an English politician was here, a Member of the House of Commons, he told me that their politicians, when they talk, talk only politics, but when Indian politicians talk, they talk mostly of philosophy and not of politics.

Nath Pai:<sup>596</sup> This has no relevance to this question, because this incident has been continuing, and it is continuing for sometime, because they have got arms. So, whenever they like, they will do it.

Hem Barua: It has relevance because this happened in the capital of Nagaland State in broad daylight. This shows that they have intensified their activities. I wanted to know whether our flirtations with Mr Phizo—not the past but the present flirtations—and Rev. Michael Scott are working as a psychological stimulus for these hostile Naga to intensify their activities as evidenced from this incident.

Speaker: That will be a matter of opinion only.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): I do not know how the two can be connected. The hon. Member refers to flirtations. There is no flirtation with any one, because if we receive letters,<sup>597</sup> we send answer to them. As I have told this House, undoubtedly, for two or three months, the situation in Nagaland had a little worsened. There were more such kidnappings and attacks, partly due to the forces having been withdrawn from there largely, and now the situation is getting under control. As for having a reappraisal of the situation we are constantly doing that.

N.R. Laskar: May I know whether the affected persons are all from Nagaland, or from various other parts of the country and if so, to which part of the country do they belong?

S.C. Jamir: They are persons from our side.

596. PSP.

597. See item 258.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

P.C. Borooah:<sup>598</sup> May I know if, since the announcement of the Prime Minister's willingness to see Mr Phizo, the hostile activities are on the increase?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir; there has been nothing; it all happened previous to that.

Hem Barua: May I know if it is a fact the hostile Naga have secured active support and cooperation in arms and ammunition from Pakistan and from China and they are showing a pro-Chinese leaning of late? If so, may I know what steps Government have taken to counteract this dangerous portent in the frontier?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say whether it is a fact that they are drawing their arms from Pakistan or China. They have obtained some new arms recently, maybe from some other country. As to what Government is doing, Government is dealing with the situation; I cannot give particulars as to how Government deals with a number of hostiles.

Kapur Singh:<sup>599</sup> May I know whether these particular Nagas are under instigation of Phizo or the Chinese or some other foreign powers? May I know whether it is known?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Phizo is not a foreign power, so far as I am aware.

Hem Barua: He is a foreign citizen.

Jawaharlal Nehru: How can I answer that question about their being instigated privately? Publicly I have no such definite information.

Speaker: He added at the end "Is it known. He wants to know if Government have any information.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no particular information about any instigation. May be that some people recently came from Pakistan. Some Naga had gone there and they might have received encouragement there. They might have received some supplies of arms also.

598. Congress.

599. Swatantra Party.



## 260. In the Lok Sabha: Naga Attacks on Railways<sup>600</sup>

Speaker: I have received notices of two adjournment motions and Calling Attention Notices from as many as 21 hon. Members, on the reported news regarding the blasting of railway line and firing on the train by Naga hostiles resulting in the death of six persons and injury to 27 persons. Before deciding upon the admissibility, may I know the facts if they can be stated.

Hem Barua<sup>601</sup>: Sir, before the hon. Minister is allowed to make a statement, I would just like to bring it to your notice, in all humility, that we have submitted an adjournment motion because we consider it a very serious matter and a very great failure on the part of the Government. If you allow us to speak on this, we shall be able to pinpoint this failure of the Government. The Government deserves to be censured.

Speaker: That question arises afterwards, and the hon. Member knows it. He has given me the adjournment motion and also the source of his information. It has appeared in the papers. He has quoted from *The Statesman*. Therefore, whatever facts he has learnt from the Press are there. I am now just trying to find out what the facts of the Government are, and then I will decide whether I should admit the adjournment motion or not.

Hem Barua: I am sorry, Sir, I misunderstood you.

S.M. Banerjee<sup>602</sup>: Will you allow us, Sir, to speak on the admissibility of the adjournment motion and say why we want that this should be admitted? These two things are connected. One is about the Naga hostiles affairs and the other thing, according to me it has a greater political significance, is the refusal to Mr Scott to go to the Nagaland.

Speaker: The question of Mr. Scott is not now in dispute. So far as this adjournment motion is concerned, I want to know the facts before deciding upon the admissibility.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, I do not know what my colleague in the

600. Responding to Adjournment Motions, 11 April 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XVI, Third Series, March 29-April 11, 1963, pp.9180-9188.

601. PSP.

602. Independent.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Railways is going to say; perhaps he can supplement what I propose to say. I want to give you and the House the information we have received from the Government of Assam this morning. Information has been received from the Government of Assam that 150 feet of railway track between Rangaphar Siding and Dhansiri Station was blown up by dynamite by Naga hostiles, leading to the derailment of the engine and four bogeys of the 62 down passenger train at approximately 2200 hours on the night of the 9th. Immediately after derailment occurred, about 200 armed Naga hostiles raided the passenger train, killing 5 and injuring 27 passengers. The train was fully ransacked by the Naga hostiles before they decamped.

22 of the injured requiring attention have been taken to Lumding and the 5 dead taken to Manipur Road Station.

In order to put track under repair, diversion of approximately 2,500 feet will be necessary. Police and civilian officials have been rushed to the spot and the site of the incident is being guarded by elements of Assam Rifles.

This is all the information we have received about it from the Assam Government. We are trying to get further information.

Speaker: Does the Railway Minister want to say something.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Railways (Shahnawaz Khan): Sir, I have nothing to say.

[Omitted: Exchanges on procedure]

L.M. Singhvi<sup>603</sup>: I would like to know as to whether there are any definite instructions for providing such trains with adequate escort; if there are such instructions, whether this train was provided with such an escort and if this was so, how much was the escort?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give a precise answer. I shall enquire about it and let the House know.

Shahnawaz Khan: The train was escorted.

L.M. Singhvi: Adequately?

603. Independent.



Shahnawaz Khan: They stopped many of the Naga hostiles from approaching the train.

Hem Barua: In view of the fact that this is not the first incident of this kind on that particular sector of the NEF Railway—this is possibly the fourteenth or the fifteenth incident of this nature—and we have been demanding in this House that particular sector where there are jungles and where the Naga hostiles take shelter and do the mischief ...(Interruption)

Speaker: He should conclude now.

Hem Barua: On this particular sector there is jungle. The jungle should be cleared. That was our demand. May I know what steps have the Government taken for so long to give protection to the passengers in this particular and limited sector of the NEF Railway line? Do they mean to leave these people in this strategic area, in the hands of the Naga hostiles perpetually?

Shahnawaz Khan: The steps that are being taken are regular patrolling of the track.

Hem Barua: You have never done that. (Interruption)

Speaker: Order, order.

Hem Barua: It is all false. They have not done it.

Speaker: What the implication is that there is forest in that particular area and proposals had been made so that that might be cleared and enough protection be afforded to the passengers when the train passes through that area. The question is whether anything has been done in that respect.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a normal practice for patrols to go. I cannot say how frequently they go. Trains are escorted. It is obvious that whatever the practice has been, it was inadequate. Obviously otherwise this would not have occurred. I shall enquire further into the details as to how often patrolling took place, what are the steps that were taken and what are the steps that will be taken in future. I shall let the House know all these things.

Hem Barua: Government says, this was inadequate. May I have the assurance from the Prime Minister that he is going to give minimum

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

security to the people there, in the strategic area. I say, minimum security. I shall be satisfied with that, or leave the Assam border to anarchy.

Speaker: Order, order. Shri Banerjee.

S.M. Banerjee: I would like to know this from the hon. Prime Minister. In today's paper there is a statement by Mr. Scott that his visit to Nagaland has been barred and exactly the same news has appeared that Naga hostiles have started hostilities. I want to know whether the Government would like to make some investigation into it.

L.M. Singhvi: I want to raise a point of order. In case this question can be allowed, certainly the Calling Attention in respect of this very matter which was tabled before you could also be allowed.

S.M. Bajerjee: My submission is only this. I generally table Calling Attention notices. But today I purposely tabled an adjournment motion because it was agitating my mind. It may be a sad coincident.

Speaker: He has put the question whether there is any coincidence in that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think so. Judging from any point of view, it is highly unlikely there can be any coincidence in this matter. This thing occurred night before last.

Hem Barua: 9th April.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Night before last. I do not think there can be any coincidence physically or any intentions to bring it about.

Hem Barua: I just wanted to inform the Prime Minister that this Mr Phizo's image is being built up because of our Prime Minister's association with Mr Michael Scott.

Speaker: Order, order. Dr Singhvi.

L.M. Singhvi: We would like to know, in view of the reports appearing in the press that Rev. Michael Scott has said that the Prime Minister has not found it possible to accept these terms. What these terms were and in what respect they were rejected by the Prime Minister.



Jawaharlal Nehru: When Mr Michael Scott came here previously, he brought some kind of a message from Mr Phizo that he desired that peace should return to Nagaland and that he would like to come here and discuss this matter with me. At that time too, it was suggested that Mr Michael Scott might go to Nagaland to see some of the presumably hostile people and convey to them the message of Mr Phizo. To that we replied, first of all that we could take no steps in regard to Nagaland without consulting, without the approval of the present administration of Nagaland, that is, the Executive Council headed by Mr Shilu Ao. They are responsible. We have to consult them and we cannot act without their consent. Naturally others too; we have to consult the Governor and others. As a result of the consultation, we have told Mr Michael Scott that the Administration was not willing for him to go there and that while I am always prepared to meet anybody, we could not offer any facilities for such a meeting till peace and order were completely restored in Nagaland. Then, Mr. Michael Scott went back.

A few days ago, he came back and said that Mr Phizo was prepared to issue some kind of a notification, proclamation, whatever it was, for a ceasefire, and wanted the Government of India also to issue a ceasefire from that date. I pointed out to him, there was no question of ceasefire as between two countries, we were interested in establishment of peace there completely and all stoppage of all acts of violence by the hostiles and it was up to them to do it. I was not informed that Mr Phizo was in a position to bring that about. Then Mr Scott, again expressed his wish to go there to meet some people and explain to them that Mr Phizo wanted this to be done. Again I asked him to see Mr Shilu Ao who was and is in Delhi and one or two of his Executive Councillors who are also here and discuss it with him and that he must act according to the counsel of the Naga leaders of the administration there.

Such a meeting took place, a lengthy meeting. Mr Shilu Ao apparently told him quite clearly that his interference in this matter was not desirable and that he did not think at this stage his going there would be right. That is the position.

Hem Barua: Mr Michael Scott has shifted the responsibility to our Prime Minister. He has made a statement like this. (Interruption)

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have told the House exactly what took place. We have on the advice chiefly, apart from our own wishes in the matter which are quite clear, of Mr Shilu Ao, the Chief of the Executive Council and his colleagues who are here, conveyed it to him that we do not consider it desirable for him to go there.

## 261. In the Rajya Sabha: Letter from Phizo<sup>604</sup>

A.B. Vajpayee<sup>605</sup>: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether he has received any letter from A.Z. Phizo; and
- (b) if so, the contents thereof?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi N. Menon):

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) A general idea of the contents of the letter was given by Prime Minister in his statement during the debate in the Lok Sabha on 11th April, 1963.

A.B. Vajpayee: May I know whether any reply has been sent to Mr Phizo?

Lakshmi N. Menon: No, Sir.

A.B. Vajpayee: May I know whether ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I explain, Sir? No formal reply was sent to him but a message was sent to him through our High Commissioner in London<sup>606</sup> to the effect that—we pointed out policy—the violent activities of the hostile elements there must be put a stop to and that Mr Phizo might well apply himself to this. After all those are stopped and arms are surrendered, then the next stage would arise. We would try to rehabilitate those people who require rehabilitation and other matters can be considered.

A.B. Vajpayee: Sir, Mr Phizo is wanted for murder. He has been indulging in treasonable activities. May I know how the hon. Prime Minister can think of sending a message to such a person? Does it not amount to putting a premium on treason?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Prime Minister replies to almost every letter even if it comes from undesirable people.

604. Oral Answers, 30 April 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Volume XLIII, Nos.1-8, 22 April-30 April 1963, pp. 1324-1327.

605. Jana Sangh

606. M.C. Chagla.



A.B. Vajpayee: It is not a question of the person being desirable or undesirable. May I know what sort of effect the Prime minister's message is likely to produce on the rebels?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I imagine it produced good effect.

A.D. Mani<sup>607</sup>: Sir, in the message sent to Mr Phizo, did the High Commission make it clear that Government deplored the manner in which Mr Phizo has been seeking to evade the law? He is wanted on a charge of murder and criminal offences. At least, was a formal expression of resentment conveyed to Mr Phizo?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not in the particular form hon. Member has said but as far as I remember we expressed ourselves strongly against the undesirable activities of the hostile Naga and wanted those to stop.

Niren Ghosh<sup>608</sup>: As far as we know, this letter from Mr Phizo was delivered to the Prime Minister by the Rev. Michael Scott and there were reports in the Press that after this, Rev. Michael Scott went to Nagaland and conducted some sort of negotiation with the administrative authorities there. If so, were the negotiations actually conducted there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Scott did not go to Nagaland. He desired to go there but he was informed that anything relating to Nagaland must be approved of by the Executive Council there. Mr Shilu Ao did not approve of his going there at this stage. We informed him of this and he did not go there.

Faridul Haq Ansari<sup>609</sup>: May I know whether Mr Phizo has replied to the message sent to him through our High Commission in London?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think any reply has come. I am slightly confused because Mr Michael Scott came subsequently and we had a talk. I do not think he conveyed any formal reply to me.

Bhupesh Gupta<sup>610</sup>: May I know, Sir, whether there has been any contact or talk between the officers of the Indian High Commission in London and

607. Independent.

608. CPI.

609. Member from UP.

610. CPI.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Mr Phizo along the lines of the Prime Minister's approach in this matter and whether, in this connection, Mr Phizo was asked to issue any statement calling upon his supporters in that area to stop hostile activities with the assurance that after that statement had been made certain other steps would be taken?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have already stated, Sir, that we informed Mr Phizo and Mr Michael Scott who happened to bring his letter that the first step is that these undesirable activities of the hostiles must stop completely and Mr Phizo insofar as he can do it, should take steps to this end. Thereafter, Mr Phizo did suggest issuing some kind of statement. That statement was not issued because we saw a draft of this and we did not approve of it. So, I do not think, so far as I know, that statement was issued.

(s) Orissa

### **262. To Biren Mitra: Locating MIG Factory in Orissa<sup>611</sup>**

March 18, 1963

Dear Biren Mitra,

I received your telegram about the location of the factory to make the MIGs or part of them. I have every sympathy with Orissa in this matter. But the ultimate location will depend upon the report of the Russian experts. Even if the decision is that the MIG factory may be kept at one place only and that not in Orissa, we shall put up an ordnance factory at Koraput.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **263. To Rabindra Mohan Das: Orissa Development<sup>612</sup>**

April 29, 1963

Dear Shri Rabindra Mohan Das,

I received your letter of the 28th April today. I am sorry I was not able to meet you at Digha. As you know, I stayed there only for part of a day and all my

611. Letter to the Deputy Chief Minister of Orissa.

612. Letter to the Chairman of the PSP, Utkal, Balasore. PMO, File No. 17(487)/61-66-PMS, Sr. No. 10-A.



time was taken up with either the conference, private meetings or interviews. I finished my day's programme near mid-night last night. Because of this, it was difficult to arrange any meeting with you.

I have received the representation you have sent. There is no doubt that Orissa is economically backward and at the same time is potentially a rich area. I believe that the present Government of Orissa has several schemes, some of them major ones, for the development of Orissa. I know that these matters have come up before the Planning Commission here, which has viewed them with favour.

Most of your suggestions are for the Orissa Government to deal with. I am, therefore, sending your memorandum to the Chief Minister of Orissa.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(t) Pondicherry

## 264. Grievances of Pondicherry Councillors<sup>613</sup>

I am sending you a letter from M. Goubert.<sup>614</sup> Kindly consider what he says in it. I understand that Pondicherry Councillors are coming to see me tomorrow. Possibly, M. Goubert will also be with them.

(u) Punjab

## 265. To Partap Singh Kairon: Amritsar Visit<sup>615</sup>

9th February 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

I have your letter of February 8th.<sup>616</sup> As suggested by you, I shall go to Amritsar on the morning of the 3rd March. I can also address a meeting of the State Citizens Council then.

613. Note, 6 February 1963, for M.J. Desai, the Foreign Secretary. MHA, (MEA, File No. 31(10) POND/62, Vol. I, p.9/n.

614. Édouard Goubert (1894–1979); Councillor and founder member of French Indian Socialist Party. See appendix 5.

615. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab. PMS, File No. 8/236/63-PMP.

616. See appendix 10.-

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I should like to return to Delhi the same evening, if that is possible.

What time would you like me to reach Amritsar? Would about 10:30 a.m. or 11 a.m. suit you?

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **266. To Partap Singh Kairon: PCC Excitement<sup>617</sup>**

February 14, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

I do not quite know what is happening in the Punjab about the PCC Presidential election. But what I read in the papers distresses me. I do not know any other facts, but the mere fact of so much excitement being caused over this matter is most unfortunate. The papers say that you dashed up to see Rao Birendra Singh<sup>618</sup> in this connection. That too is odd.

I hope I shall be seeing you here soon at the NDC meeting.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **267. To Y.B. Chavan: Manali-Leh Road<sup>619</sup>**

February 14, 1963

My dear Chavan,

I have received a letter from Sardar Partap Singh Kairon with a note attached. I am sending it to you for what it is worth.

There is nothing very much new in it. Among other things, it is suggested that a road should be built via Manali to Leh. We have examined this proposal many times and found it not to be feasible. Apart from other difficulties, this road is likely to be closed by snow and winter conditions for many months every year.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

617. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

618. (1921-2009); Defence Adviser to the Government of Punjab.

619. Letter to the Defence Minister.



**268. To Partap Singh Kairon: PCC Election and Communist Detenus<sup>620</sup>**

February 15, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose two letters I have just received. One of these is from Diwan Chand Sharma and the other from Ram Narayan Chaudhry. I hope you will give them consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

[PS]

Letter dated 13th February 1963, from Shri Diwan Chand Sharma re: bye-election of the Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee.

Letter dated 11th February 1963, from Shri R.N. Chaudhry re: Communist detenus in Hissar Dist. Jail.

**269. To Darbara Singh: Congress Factionalism<sup>621</sup>**

February 16, 1963

My dear Darbara Singh,

I enclose, in original, a letter I have received from Amritsar.

I am much distressed at the way groupism is coming in the Punjab Congress<sup>622</sup> and there is so much hard canvassing for the Presidentship of the Pradesh Congress.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

620. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

621. Letter to Planning and Development Minister, Punjab.

622. See also item 266.

**270. To Daljit Singh: Sikh MPs<sup>623</sup>**

March 2, 1963

Dear Shri Daljit Singh,  
Your letter of the 2nd March.

I understand that the Sikh Members of Parliament met to consider this matter of election and they came to some decisions there for reasons which they considered adequate. I do not wish to come in the way of their decisions especially in this matter which is not directly political. All I have said is that canvassing should be avoided.

I do not see why in such a minor matter there should be such difference of opinion.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**271. To Kartar Singh: Punjabi Suba Linguistic or Communal<sup>624</sup>**

March 10, 1963

Dear Gyani Kartar Singh,  
I have your letter of 7th March enclosing a cutting from a newspaper. I do not think I have ever given any assurance to Sant Fateh Singh<sup>625</sup> about the formation of Punjabi Suba on a purely linguistic basis. I may have stressed the fact that the demand for Punjabi Suba was essentially a communal demand.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

623. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 186 South Avenue, New Delhi.

624. Letter to Punjab MLA; address 11 MLA Flats, Chandigarh.

625. (1911-1972); leader of the Punjabi Suba movement.



**272. To Partap Singh Kairon: Status of Deputy Speaker<sup>626</sup>**

April 1, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose a letter I have received from Shanno Devi who I understand is a Deputy Speaker in your Assembly. She has sent me a copy of a letter she has addressed to you. All the suggestions she has made may not perhaps be feasible, but I do think something should be done for the Deputy Speaker. Long ago I wrote that their position should be equated with that of a Deputy Minister. That is what we have done at the Centre.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**273. To D. Sanjivayya: Problems in Hissar Congress<sup>627</sup>**

10th April 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

A deputation from the Hissar District of the Punjab headed by Shri Rameshwar Dass Jain, President of the Mandal Congress Committee, Hissar Town, came to see me today. They gave me a memorandum and some other papers containing their complaints. I have sent their memorandum to the Chief Minister of the Punjab. I enclose a copy of my letter to the Chief Minister.<sup>628</sup>

After the Hissar group had gone from me they sent me a bundle of papers. I find that these contain a letter to you as well as other papers concerning the Congress organisation. I am sending these to you.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

626. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

627. Letter to the Congress President.

628. See item 274.

**274. To Partap Singh Kairon: Grievances in  
Hissar Congress<sup>629</sup>**

10th April 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

Some old Congressmen from Hissar District came to see me today. They gave me a memorandum which I enclose.<sup>630</sup>

They complained that a large number of bogus members of the Congress had been enrolled in that area. Lists of names have been made up from the municipal lists. Further, that reactionary and opposition groups and individuals were being encouraged. Ministers who go there stay with or otherwise show favour to these opposition people. The Chairman of the Zila Parishad, who has always opposed the Congress, is favoured by the authorities. Further, that certain blackmarket cases have been withdrawn by the authorities and this has created a bad impression.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**275. To Darbara Singh: Visit to Panchayat Bhavan at  
Chandigarh<sup>631</sup>**

April 14, 1963

My dear Darbara Singh,

Your letter of April 5 about the Panchayat Bhavan at Chandigarh. You invite me to go there some time in June. I shall be glad to visit Chandigarh for this purpose. But it is rather difficult for me to fix any date at present as I am very vague about my programme for the future. You may, however, suggest approximate dates, and I shall then see which one suits me.

I enclose a message as desired by you.<sup>632</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

629. Letter to Chief Minister of Punjab.

630. See also item 273.

631. Letter to the Planning and Development Minister, Punjab. PMS, File No. 8/253/63-PMP (Public Section)

632. See item 276.



## 276. For the Chandigarh Panchayat Bhavan<sup>633</sup>

I am glad to learn that a Panchayat Bhavan has been constructed at Chandigarh to serve the needs of Panchayats. Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads. I have been much attracted to the Panchayati Raj organisation ever since this was started in India, and I think that it is performing a very basic purpose in giving opportunities to our people in rural areas to look after their own affairs and development and thus to build up a basic structure of self government from the roots upward. I am sure that a progressive and enterprising State like the Punjab will make this a success. I send my good wishes.<sup>634</sup>

## 277. To Partap Singh Kairon: Inauguration Bhakra Dam<sup>635</sup>

April 14, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,  
Your letter of April 5. In this you suggest that I should give you two days some time in October next for the dedication ceremony of the Bhakra Dam and also to inaugurate the Agriculture University at Ludhiana. I would certainly be glad to participate in the final ceremonies of Bhakra Dam. Also, I would gladly go to Ludhiana. But October is a long way off, and it is always a little difficult for me to fix engagements too far in advance. I would suggest your fixing provisionally any dates you like in October, and I shall note these down and try to fit in my programme accordingly.

Darbara Singh has written to me inviting me to go to Chandigarh sometime in June to inaugurate the Panchayat Bhavan there. He has asked me for a date. Again, I have some difficulty in fixing a date at present, but I would gladly go to Chandigarh for this purpose.<sup>636</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

633. Message, 14 April 1963.

634. See also item 275.

635. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

636. See items 275 and 276.

**278. To Partap Singh Kairon: Durlabh Singh's  
*Indian Observer*<sup>637</sup>**

April 15, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

There is a weekly paper here called the *Indian Observer*, edited by, I think, Durlabh Singh. Occasionally, it is brought to my notice. As far as I have seen it, it has seemed to me very undesirable. The editor, Durlabh Singh, has apparently stated that he received Rs 1,20,000 from the Punjab Government last year. I do not know how far this is true. Hence, I am referring this matter to you.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**279. To Partap Singh Kairon: Improving the Congress<sup>638</sup>**

April 18, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

I had a visit from Harcharan Singh, an Advocate of Chandigarh. You must know him. He used to be Revenue Minister of PEPSU at one time. He told me that many old workers, especially of PEPSU, were eager to do some work to further Congress ideas and policies in the public. He was especially thinking, I think, of PEPSU. All he wanted apparently was some indication from you that you would welcome this and, in some ways, encourage it. I told him to see you about it and he promised to do so.

He also mentioned to me that it would be very desirable for the Punjab Government to release two of their prisoners, namely, Hazara Singh Gill and Mohan Singh Tur. I think you wrote to me about them some time ago and explained why you did not think it suitable to release them now. I pass this on to you. You will do as you think best.

Another person whom you probably know came to see me today. He was Rajendra Singh Bhatia, of the *Quami Ekta*. He spoke about some people who had come to see me a few days ago. They were Giani Bhupinder Singh and Giani Bakshap Singh or some such name. He thought that these people would like to cooperate with you if they were given a chance and suggested that you might send for them.

637. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

638. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.



He further said that Giani Kartar Singh was thinking of creating some trouble.

Perhaps you might meet Rajendra Singh Bhatia when you have the chance.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**(v) Rajasthan**

**280. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Congress Dacoits<sup>639</sup>**

April 1, 1963

My dear Sukhadia,

The newspapers announced the other day that some Congressmen had recently been arrested in Rajasthan for their association with dacoits. Among the names mentioned were Ramratan Kochar, Sohanlal Musaraf and Anup Chand Kochar.

I hope you will have a thorough enquiry into these and like matters. If there are any others suspected of this kind of thing, they should be proceeded against. We should take stern action in such matters.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**(w) Sikkim**

**281. To Tashi Namgyal: Marriage of Maharajkumar<sup>640</sup>**

February 5, 1963

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

I am grateful to you for your sending me an invitation, in your letter of January 31st, to attend the marriage ceremony of your son, the Maharajakumar, with Miss Hope Cooke. I would have gladly attended on this auspicious occasion and personally offered you and the bride and bridegroom my congratulations and good wishes. Indeed, it is always a pleasure to me to visit Sikkim.

639. Letter to Chief Minister of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

640. Letter to the Maharaja of Sikkim.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

But I fear it may not be possible for me to do so. Apart from the heavy work that I have to deal with, our Parliament will be meeting then, and it is very difficult for me to leave Delhi during the sessions of Parliament. I hope Your Highness will appreciate my difficulty and excuse my absence. I send you all my good wishes on this occasion. May I also send my good wishes and blessings to the bride and bridegroom.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(x) Uttar Pradesh

### 282. To C.B. Gupta: Ruining Lucknow Botanical Gardens<sup>641</sup>

12th February 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Kailash Kaul, the Director of the National Botanical Gardens in Lucknow.<sup>642</sup>

I think it would be a pity to spoil these botanical gardens which have become important in many ways and which attract many people, especially from abroad. This is quite apart from the actual advantage to Lucknow from them. Surely, flood protection should not mean the cutting down of trees which are particularly useful even from the point of view of floods.

I would request you to prevent this being done. National Botanical Gardens are a great asset to a country and to a city and to spoil them would be sad indeed, apart from one of our national concerns suffering.<sup>643</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

641. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. PMO, File No. 17(540)/63-69-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

642. See appendix 12.

643. C.B. Gupta replied on 15 March that he would try to “accommodate the wishes expressed by Dr Kaul as far as practicable.” File No. 17(540)/63-69-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.



**283. To C.B. Gupta: Nehru Gram Bharati at Allahabad<sup>644</sup>**

February 19, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

I suppose you know something about the Nehru Gram Bharati which has been established by the Motilal Nehru Smarak Nidhi at Allahabad. This is a Rural Institute which it is proposed to develop adequately. The Union Ministry of Education has promised to give a grant of Rs 12 lakhs to it provided the UP Government can give Rs 4 lakhs.

I hope your Government will be able to give this Rs 4 lakhs. Otherwise, the considerable donation from the Union Government will not be available.

Rural Institutes of the kind envisaged are, I think, most important from the point of view of developing our rural areas and training young men for agricultural pursuits.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**284. To Ram Subhag Singh: Reclaiming Alkaline Land in UP<sup>645</sup>**

March 2, 1963

My dear Ram Subhag

I enclose a letter from Dr K.N. Kaul, Director of our National Botanical Gardens at Lucknow. There is no doubt that there is plenty of land available in the UP, which has not been used because it is alkaline. But such alkaline land can easily be reclaimed and used for cultivation, as has been shown at the Banthra Farm near Lucknow.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

644. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

645. Letter to the Minister of State in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. PMO, File No. 31/127/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 1-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

**285. To Kailas Nath Kaul: Land for Mechanised Farms<sup>646</sup>**

March 3, 1963

My dear Kailas,

I sent your letter about the availability of land in UP for establishing large sized mechanised farms, to the Agriculture Ministry here.<sup>647</sup> They informed me that there will be no objection to you and General Mahadeo Singh<sup>648</sup> carrying out an aerial survey and then reporting to them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**286. To D. Sanjivayya: Failure in UP<sup>649</sup>**

March 10, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

I enclose a letter that I have received or rather a copy of a letter. You must have already received it.

This exhibits an extraordinary state of affairs. The action we took in the Working Committee was at the instance of the Chief Minister of the UP<sup>650</sup> and I was under the impression that all formalities had been observed. I think you should write to the Chief Minister and ask him for an explanation.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

646. Letter to the Director of the National Botanical Gardens. PMO, File No. 31/127/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 4-A.

647. See item 284.

648. Former Head, Joint Services Wing (1949-1950) of the Indian Military Academy, Dehradun.

649. Letter to the Congress President.

650. C.B. Gupta.



## 287. To Ram Subhag Singh: Land Acquisition in Ghaziabad<sup>651</sup>

April 20, 1963

My dear Ram Subhag,

I do not know how far you are acquainted with the acquisition of land in Ghaziabad for some Delhi Plan purposes.<sup>652</sup> Repeatedly this matter has been brought to my notice, and on several occasions thousands of these peasants have come to me to protest. I have written to the Chief Minister of UP previously, but it appears nothing much has been done. I have written to him again today and suggested that he might appoint a small committee of good persons to have a look at this land fully and enquire as to what is happening.

Meanwhile, I should like you to go there yourself and see a number of these peasants as well as the SDO or whoever is dealing with them, and find out what the position is. How can we help these people?

An important question is the amount of compensation we give them. I am afraid the District authorities there are not treating them fairly at all. Land values have risen greatly, and they are still proceeding on some ancient rate.

I am anxious to help these people as it pains me to see them being pushed out of their lands they have possessed for a long time, and women and children suffering.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 288. To C.B. Gupta: Land Acquisition in Ghaziabad<sup>653</sup>

April 20, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

Today again I had a visit from some thousand or more kisans from Ghaziabad. They included many women and children. They complained that in spite of various assurances given to them by me and others, nothing was being done for them. Their lands had been taken possession of and they could not cultivate them. Nothing had been paid to them as compensation, and consequently they would have to starve etc. as they neither had compensation nor could they sell their crops. They said much more, and they gave me a paper, which I enclose.

651. Letter to the Minister of Agriculture.

652. See SWJN/SS/80/item 162; see also item 288.

653. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

These people are getting rather desperate and they say they have nowhere to go to having been turned out of their lands. Their women and children presented a pitiable sight. I am afraid that we are not treating these people justly or properly, and I doubt very much if the officers in charge there are behaving properly. It is not good enough merely to carry out some rigid rules without regard to the consequences. Apart from being unjust to large numbers of people, this is inviting trouble for the future.

I have written to you several times about these people and you have been good enough to send me long answers. But the fact remains that the human element has been completely ignored, and that is not right for politics. It seems to me that you should appoint a small committee of competent persons to go there and look into the whole business thoroughly and report to you. It is not good enough to leave it to a Sub-Divisional Officer or someone like that. I am asking our Minister of Agriculture, Ram Subhag Singh, to go there himself, but that will not be enough.<sup>654</sup> I think you should take some steps as I have indicated above. It is not merely enough to carry out some rules, but we must be just and create a sensation among the other people of having dealt with them justly.

What is going to happen to these people who are pushed out of their lands? Are they going to be left high and dry? Has every care been taken to avoid acquisition of good agricultural land wherever possible? Only recently we announced in Parliament that we shall avoid as much as possible acquiring good agricultural land.

Then there is the question of compensation. It is obvious that land in Ghaziabad has risen greatly in value and it is not good enough to give them at some fixed rate which had been calculated long ago. Also, compensation must be given quickly and not long after the land has been taken possession of. Indeed, nobody should be turned out without giving him compensation.

I was told that even apart from the actual land being acquired, they cannot cultivate other lands because of some previous order issued or some instruction. The result is not only great harassment of the people concerned, but also no production from lands which are supposed to be very good for this purpose.

Please do something effective about this matter. This is a bad example we are setting and it will have a deplorable effect on a large number of people.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

654. See item 287; SWJN/SS/78/items 116 and 188; SWJN/SS/79/ items 172 and 173; SWJN/SS/80/items 162 and 164.



(y) West Bengal

**289. To Atulya Ghosh: Visiting Midnapore<sup>655</sup>**

February 27, 1963

My dear Atulya Babu,

Your letter of 25th February. I should very much like to go to Midnapore where I had not been for a number of years. So, if at all possible, I shall attend your conference. It is a little difficult for me to suggest a precise date. Thus far I have not accepted any engagements in the latter half of April, but, of course, Parliament will be meeting then. You may get a date fixed with Shastriji<sup>656</sup> and then let me know.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**290. To Atulya Ghosh: Bengal Visit<sup>657</sup>**

March 17, 1963

My dear Atulya Babu,

I have two letters from you, one dated 25th February and the other 2nd March. In the second letter, you have asked me about my going to Midnapur for the Provincial Conference and have suggested 20th and 21st April or the 27th and 28th. As Lal Bahadur Shastri is expected there, the dates have to be fixed up in consultation with him.

I find it difficult to give a definite answer about the dates as I have got a host of engagements in April. But I want to go to Midnapur, and I shall try to do so on the dates fixed by you and Shastriji.

Your letter on behalf of the Dr B.C. Roy Memorial Committee. I am provisionally noting down the date, 1st July, for this purpose. It is rather difficult to be certain about one's programme so far ahead.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

655. Letter to the President of the West Bengal PCC.

656. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Home Minister.

657. Letter to President West Bengal PCC and Congress MP; address: 19 Canning Lane, New Delhi.

## II. DEVELOPMENT

### (a) Agriculture

#### 291. To S.K. Patil: Bharat Krishak Samaj<sup>1</sup>

March 2, 1963

My dear S.K.,

Panjabrao Deshmukh<sup>2</sup> writes to me to say that the Bharat Krishak Samaj is having a Convention of farmers on the 14th April, also a small agricultural exhibition side by side with the Convention. He has asked me to inaugurate the Convention.

I should like your advice in the matter.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 292. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Andhra-Maharashtra River Waters<sup>4</sup>

March 8, 1963

My dear Hafiz ji,

About a dozen Maharashtra Members of Parliament came to see me this afternoon. They were rather worried about the river waters question and more particularly about the report that the Andhra Government was going ahead with Sri sailam Project without waiting even for the Centre's final decision.

I think they have seen you also on the subject and explained their viewpoint. I shall, therefore, repeat briefly what they said to me.

They said that any unilateral action by the Andhra Government in this matter would lead to chaos, each State Government acting differently and sometimes in contradiction to what was being done by the other State Governments. Therefore, it was essential that there should be uniformity about this. This

1. Letter to the Minister of Food and Agriculture. PMO, File 31(126)/62-67-PMS, Sr. No. 6-A.
2. Lok Sabha MP, Congress; President of the Bharat Krishak Samaj.
3. See appendix 30; and items 293, 294 and 295.
4. Letter to the Minister of Irrigation and Power. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Volume I, Sr. No. 48-A.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

uniformity can only come by a Central decision. The sooner, therefore, the Centre gives its decision, the better. Meanwhile any work undertaken by a State Government on their own accord will come in the way of this Central decision. Therefore, this should not be permitted.

Secondly, they were anxious that the Gulhati Commission Report should be published. I understand that you have held this up because you want to come to a decision first before you publish it. That may be right but it only means that the decision must be expedited. If there is delay and things happen meanwhile, it will be difficult to correct any errors committed.

They gave me a note which probably they have given you also, and also a press cutting from the *Times of India*. I enclose both these.

I hope this matter will be taken up early and decided.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 293. To P.S. Deshmukh: Bharat Krishak Samaj Function<sup>6</sup>

March 10, 1963

My dear Panjabrao,

You wrote to me on the 2nd March about the Bharat Krishak Samaj having a function of farmers on the 12th April and asking me to inaugurate it. I referred your letter to the Minister for Food & Agriculture. He advises me that on the whole, it would be better if I do not do so.<sup>7</sup>

You will appreciate my difficulty.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. See also item 296.

6. Letter to the president of the Bharat Krishak Samaj. PMO, File No. 31(126)/62-67-PMS, Sr. No. 8-A.

7. See item 291 and appendix 30.

**294. To S.K. Patil: P.S. Deshmukh's Response<sup>8</sup>**

March 11, 1963

My dear S.K.,

I wrote to Panjabrao Deshmukh yesterday that I would not be able to inaugurate his Convention as you had advised me that, in the balance, it was not worthwhile or desirable for me to do so. He has now sent me a long letter in reply. I am enclosing it in original.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**295. To P.S. Deshmukh: Explaining Refusal to Inaugurate Function<sup>9</sup>**

March 11, 1963

My dear Panjabrao,

I received your letter of March 11.

Shri S.K. Patil did not in his letter to me bring any charges against you.<sup>10</sup> He did rather casually mention the fact of your non-payment of rent on the occasion of the Exhibition being raised in Parliament. All he said was that, in the balance, it was not desirable for me to inaugurate your Convention.

I hope you will not mind my sending your letter to him. Perhaps it might be desirable for you to meet him.

I have no doubt that you have done good work in various activities. For the present the only question was whether it was worthwhile and desirable for me to inaugurate your conference. I have been trying to avoid many engagements, and Shri Patil wrote to me that he did not think this necessary.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Letter to the Minister of Food and Agriculture. PMO, File No. 31(126)/62-67-PMS, Sr No. 9-A.

9. Letter to President of the Bharat Krishak Samaj. PMO, File No. 31(126)/62-67-PMS, Sr. No. 10-A

10. Appendix 30.



**296. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Krishna-Godavari  
River Waters<sup>11</sup>**

March 15, 1963

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

I have your letter of the 12th March about the Krishna-Godavari River Waters Dispute. I have not studied this matter with any care and I am wholly unable, therefore, to express any opinion on the merits. You are right, however, in objecting to propaganda and agitation carried on by Ministers and others in this regard. In this matter, Andhra people have not been behind any other State. Indeed, my impression is that they have gone a little further ahead than others.

I am sending your letter to our Minister for Irrigation and Power,<sup>12</sup> who is dealing with this matter and is taking a lot of trouble over it. I do not quite see how we can postpone consideration of this indefinitely and allow all these controversies to continue.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**297. To Alexander R. Lawrence: Indian Farming<sup>13</sup>**

March 17, 1963

Dear Mr Lawrence,

You were good enough to write to me on the 8th February and to send me a note on Solving India's Farming and Economic Problems. I sent your note to a colleague of mine in our Planning Commission.<sup>14</sup> He has sent me a note on this subject which I enclose for your information.<sup>15</sup>

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 51-A.

12. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim. See item 292.

13. Letter to an agricultural scientist; address: 44 Dundonald Street, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada. PMO, File No. 38(51)/58-63-PMS, Sr. No. 30-A.

14. Pitamber Pant.

15. Pitamber Pant's own observations along with that of an expert, M.S. Sivaraman, is available in NMML, PMO, File No. 38(51)/58-63-PMS. Sr. No. 29-A.

**298. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Krishna-Godavari Waters<sup>16</sup>**

March 19, 1963

My dear Hafiz ji,

Thank you for your letter of March 19th<sup>17</sup> and the copy of the statement attached. I have read this statement. It is a good statement, though of course I do not know enough of the various projects to say much about them.

I take it that you intend placing this statement on the Table of the Lok Sabha. It is too long a statement to be read out. It should, therefore, be placed on the Table. You will, of course, be sending copies of that statement to the States concerned.

If you so wish, I shall gladly meet you about this matter, though I doubt that I can throw much light on it. I am going to Bombay tomorrow and returning on the 22nd mid-day. If you so wish, I can fix a time on my return and then we can meet.

I do not know which MPs you refer to. It would be desirable, however, to tell these MPs the right time of your statement.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**299. To S. Nijalingappa: Krishna-Godavari Waters<sup>18</sup>**

March 19, 1963

My dear Nijalingappa,

I have your letter of the 16th March.<sup>19</sup> I suppose you have sent a copy of your note to our Minister of Irrigation & Power.

What you say is certainly important, but in such a matter, the whole picture has to be seen and all the facts collected for a proper and equitable distribution of the available water. I understand that Hafizji is proceeding on these lines.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

16. Letter to the Minister of Irrigation and Power. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 58-A.

17. See appendix 38.

18. Letter to the Chief Minister of Mysore. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Volume I, Sr No. 55-A.

19. See appendix 36.



### 300. Journal Issue on Kosi Project<sup>20</sup>

I am glad that the Indian *Journal of Power and River Valley Development* is bringing out a special number on the Kosi Project. The Kosi river has year after year done enormous damage to parts of Bihar. This project, therefore, is of importance and benefit. The special issue of the journal will draw public attention to it and is, therefore, to be welcomed.

### 301. For Seminar on Hill Development<sup>21</sup>

I am glad to learn that the Indian Council of Agricultural Research have organised a Seminar on Hill Development. It is very important for us to pay particular attention to the development of these areas. That importance has grown since Chinese aggression across our borders.

In British times, these hill areas were neglected except for some hill stations and the like. Since independence, more attention has been paid them, many roads have been built and schools and hospitals established.

It is desirable, however, that the question of the development of these areas should be thought of in an integrated way. Communications to open up these areas must have the first priority. Much has been done in this respect. Then comes the development of agriculture and the growth of small-scale industries, including processing industries. These areas produce very fine fruits as well as vegetables, such as are found in temperate climates. These would find a ready market in other parts of India. Then there is the great forest wealth which has to be protected and added to. Such planting of trees is necessary also to conserve the soil.

The people living in our hill areas are stout and hard working and, given the opportunity, they will progress rapidly. That opportunity has to be given them now.

20. Message, 29 March 1963. Forwarded to P.K. Menon, Calcutta 13.

21. Message, 10 April 1963, forwarded to Ram Subhag Singh, Minister of Agriculture. PMO, File No. F 9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 48-A.

**302. To Ram Subhag Singh: Manure<sup>22</sup>**

April 11, 1963

My dear Ram Subhag,

At the Party meeting today, I referred to the use of powdered dried leaves with a very small addition of fertiliser (about one or two per cent). I think that this matter should be pursued further. All that is necessary is a very small portable machine which powders the leaves; this powder can be then put in gunny bags for use.

I have just received a letter from Prof. K.N. Kaul of the National Botanical Garden in Lucknow. He has sent me copies of some articles by experts. I am enclosing these.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**303. To P.R. Biyani: Investigating Agricultural Production<sup>23</sup>**

April 16, 1963

Dear Shri Biyani,

I have your letter of April 13th. I do not understand why you object to sending a Minister or a Member of the Planning Commission to look into the problems of agricultural production. There is no lack of plans for this purpose. Not only the Planning Commission and the Agriculture Ministry, but the Congress has repeatedly drawn attention to them. Unfortunately, some of them have not been implemented because of various reasons. The question, therefore, is encouraging implementation of them and it is thought that this will be helped considerably by high level talks about them in the States.

If you have any suggestions to make, I would suggest your communicating them either by letter or personally to the Planning Commission or the Ministry of Food & Agriculture.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

22. Letter to the Minister of Agriculture. PMO, File No. 31/73/56-71-PMS, Sr. No. 75-A.

23. Letter; address: 10 Mirror Street, Calcutta 13. PMO, File No. 31/111/60-64-65-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 66-A.



**304. To Mohanlal Saksena: Compost<sup>24</sup>**

April 18, 1963

My dear Mohanlal,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th April. I am sending it to S.K. Dey, Minister of Community Development.

I might add that we have been laying great stress on composts and in fact, especially in South India, this has made great progress. But what I suggested about leaves was not for compost purposes. Compost prepared from dried leaves is good, but a great deal is lost by oxidization. A better use for them is to crush the dried leaves into powder and add just one or two per cent of fertiliser to them. This has produced excellent results.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**305. To Shriman Narayan: Bishan Man Singh on Agriculture<sup>25</sup>**

19th April 1963

My dear Shriman,

I met again today Bishan Man Singh, the very successful farmer from Fatehpur. He has been given some award and had come here for that purpose. As you probably know, he has paid a visit to the United States also together with other Indian farmers and he has been much impressed by what he saw there.

He laid special stress to me on the importance of soil conservation. We all know about it and talk about it, but he felt that, nevertheless, enough is not being done.

I think Bishan Man Singh is a man with experience and ideas and our Planning Commission and our Agriculture Ministry might occasionally consult him. He is now in Delhi and it would be a good thing if you could have a talk with him.<sup>26</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

24. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Nominated; address: 19 Gurudwara Rakabganj Road, New Delhi. NMML, Mohan Lal Saksena (confidential), Papers.

25. Letter to Member of the Planning Commission. PMO, File No. 31(128)/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 3-A.

26. See also item 306.

**306. To Ram Subhag Singh: Bishan Man Singh<sup>27</sup>**

19th April 1963

My dear Ram Subhag,

Day before yesterday at the Investiture at Rashtrapati Bhavan I met Shri Bishan Man Singh of Fatehpur who was awarded an honour. I had met him previously and he had impressed me as a very capable farmer. As he wanted to see me, I gave him sometime today and he had a fairly long talk with me.

His talk chiefly consisted of the importance of soil conservation. He felt that enough importance was not attached to it here. He has been to the United States on a deputation of farmers, and spent some weeks there. He was much impressed by what he saw there about soil conservation.

I think a man like him should be utilised as far as possible and certainly should be encouraged to give his ideas. I hope you will see him while he is here and perhaps enable him to come here from time to time to discuss these matters with you.

He gave me some papers which I am enclosing.<sup>28</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**307. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Western Kosi Canal<sup>29</sup>**

April 27, 1963

My dear Hafiz ji,

What is the position now of the Western Kosi canal? Now that the main barrage has been built, there is enough water to go round and it could well be used for Western Kosi canal and will serve a large area for irrigation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

27. Letter to the Minister of Agriculture. PMO, File No. 31(128)/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

28. See also item 305.

29. Letter to the Minister of Irrigation and Power. PMO, File No. 17(9)/59-69-PMS, Sr. No. 8-A.



**308. To Sivamurthi Swami: Krishna-Godavari Waters<sup>30</sup>**

April 27, 1963

Dear Shri Sivamurthi Swami,

Your letter of the 25th April. You know that this question of the river waters in the Godavari and Krishna basins has been agitating various States for a long time. Every effort made for them to reach an agreement failed. Ultimately the matter was referred to our Irrigation and Power Ministry. They consulted all the parties concerned, experts went into the matter thoroughly and ultimately, they produced a report. Reading the report, I thought it was an excellent one. The report made provision for all the existing schemes and hoped that further provision could be made by digging link canals. They also came to the conclusion that the data at present was not enough for them to come to definite conclusions. This data has to be collected and it will take some time.

This seems to me a proper approach to the question. It is not the Union Irrigation Minister's fault that this matter was not discussed in Parliament. As you know, the Lok Sabha has been very heavily occupied. Personally, I do not see what such a discussion would have done. Every fact relating to this area is fully known and has been brought out by the States concerned. A discussion merely meant each State pressing for additional claims for itself. My own impression is that the allocation for Mysore State, though not quite as much as desired, is a fair allocation. In future there might be more water available.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**(b) Culture**

**309. To Haroon K. Sherwani: Acknowledging Book<sup>31</sup>**

February 3, 1963

My dear Haroon,

About a month ago you sent me a little book of yours called *Cultural Understanding in Medieval India*. I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging it.

30. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Lok Sewak Sangh; address: 7 Turkman Road, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 67-C.

31. Letter to an historian, (1891–1980); address: Mustafa Manzil, Himayatnagar, Hyderabad. NMML, H.K. Sherwani Papers.

The subject you have chosen is a good one and I am glad you have written about it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 310. To Sumati Morarjee: Poor Script for Gandhi Film<sup>32</sup>

February 9, 1963

My dear Sumati Behn,

Indira gave me your letter of the 25th January.<sup>33</sup> Also the script of the documentary film on Gandhiji.

I have read through the script. I find difficulty in forming any opinion because I am not in the habit of reading scripts of films. They do not convey much to me of what the film is likely to be. If I saw the film, I could express a more definite opinion.

Reading the script, I am not much impressed and I rather doubt if it will be an impressive film, especially for foreign countries.

The language of the script is often rather archaic and outmoded. Perhaps, as is stated, it largely consists of Gandhiji's own words and so it is difficult to change it. But as it is in bits, it seems to lack depth and sometimes even dignity from the modern point of view.

I give one or two instances. "At the age of 6, Mohan was sent to an indigenous school close to his house. As a student he was mediocre but punctual. While he was very gentle and playful, he was deeply obstinate." The use of the word "indigenous" is not at all happy. "Deeply obstinate" also does not sound well at all. Then again, "Not finding enough work due to lack of courage to conduct a case, he got disappointed and left soon for Rajkot." Here "lack of courage" presumably means a certain shyness.

In reel 2, the opening sentence is "The town was the ancestral home of the Gandhis who belonged to the Vaishnava cult." This will certainly not be understood abroad at all. Even in India today many will not understand this reference to the Vaishnava cult.

32. Letter to the Director of Scindia Steam Navigation Company and a close aide of Mahatma Gandhi; address: Scindia House, Dougall Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay. PMO, File no. 43(146)/60-72-PMS, Sr. No. 22-A.

33. She had written to Indira Gandhi, requesting her to elicit Nehru's comments on the script of a documentary being made by Vithalbhai Jhaveri on Mahatma Gandhi's life. PMO, File no. 43(146)/60-72-PMS, Sr. No. 22-A.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

This is only, I take it, the first part of the film. By itself it does not convey much. As a part of a larger whole, it would be better. For international purposes especially, this part by itself would not attract or impress.

The “shots” I suppose, are necessarily limited to what is available, and it is difficult for me to judge them. Foreign audiences may not be able to make much of the sequence of shots. There are, in fact, too many books, and magazines which are utilised for the camera shots.

I have indicated some first impressions but the real difficulty is that I am not competent to judge this kind of thing. It might be desirable to have some really competent film producers to look at it and advise. Perhaps Satyajit Ray might be helpful in this respect.

I am returning the script.<sup>34</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 311. To S.S. Kolkebail: For and Against Prohibition<sup>35</sup>

February 9, 1963

Dear Shri Kolkebail,

I have your letter of February 5th. You have raised a difficult question. I think that on the whole prohibition has done some good. On the other hand, some of the evils you point out are obvious. The point to consider is not one of finance, but rather of the balance of good and evil that the policy of prohibition has caused and to take steps to remedy the evil. I am myself not quite clear as to what we should do, although I realise that to some extent the evil is greater than the good.

The examples of America and other countries are not quite applicable to India, because here there is a wide-spread sentiment, much greater than in America etc., against alcoholic drinks.

Also, it must be borne in mind that the removal of prohibition in America and in Sweden has resulted in many grave consequences. People in those countries are very worried about them. The whole human structure is being affected by it.

34. See also item 312.

35. Letter to Mysore MLA; address Coondapoor, Mysore State. PMO, File No. 2(428)/62-65-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 18-A.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Thus, merely to say that prohibition should go, does not seem to me good enough. We must examine this matter thoroughly and try to find out some way which may lessen the evils and promote the good.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 312. To R.R. Diwakar: Gandhi Film Script<sup>36</sup>

February 11, 1963

My dear Diwakar,

You sent me some months ago the script of the Gandhi Film by Vithalbhai Jhaveri. I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter. I am afraid I put by your letter and the film script, and being over busy, did not think of it again.

A few days ago, Indira received a letter from Sumatibehn Morarjee on the same subject. I read the film script. I felt rather at sea with it as I am not used to reading film scripts. However, I wrote a letter to Sumatibehn on the subject.<sup>37</sup> I enclose a copy of it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 313. To P.C. Sen: Nichiketasananda and Suniti Kumar Chatterji<sup>38</sup>

February 12, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

Thank you for your letter of February 11th with which you have sent me a letter from Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji.<sup>39</sup> I do not know what to do about this matter. Whenever I had seen Swami Nichiketasananda,<sup>40</sup> he had struck me as a decent person doing worthwhile work. And yet, what he told me about Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji was not credible.

36. Letter to the Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Rajghat, New Delhi. NMML, J.N. Papers – R.R. Diwakar.

37. See item 310.

38. Letter to Chief Minister of West Bengal.

39. (1890-1977); scholar of literature and language.

40. Director, Sarada Vihar, Thakurpukur, Calcutta.



I wonder if you could send for the Swami and explain the situation to him as Dr. Suniti Kumar has stated. Obviously, neither you nor I can interfere with a law suit. But if these various matters could be settled out of court, it would be ever so much the better.

I see that Suniti Kumar Chatterji proposes to send a detailed report later.<sup>41</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 314. To Nawab Singh Chauhan: Unable to Attend Brij Sammelan<sup>42</sup>

13 फरवरी 1963

24 माघ, 1884 शक

प्रिय नवाबसिंह जी,

आपका 30 जनवरी का पत्र मिला। ब्रज भाषा तो बड़ी सुन्दर है और वहां के कलाकारों का एक संगठन बनाना मुझे बहुत अच्छा लगता है। लेकिन जो दिन आपने निश्चय किया है यानी 23 फरवरी, उस दिन को मेरे लिये उसमें सम्मिलित होना बहुत कठिन है। साईप्रेस के उपराष्ट्रपति उस दिन यहां हैं और उनका स्वागत करने हमें जाना है। और भी बहुत काम हैं इसलिये मेरा न आना आप क्षमा करेंगे।

मैं ब्रज सम्मेलन के लिये अपनी शुभ कामनाएं भेजता हूं और आशा करता हूं कि इससे ब्रज की कला की उन्नति होगी।

आपका  
[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:

13 February 1963

Dear Nawab Singh Ji,

I received your letter of 30 January. The Brij Bhasa is a beautiful language and organising artists of the Brij region gives me immense pleasure. But the day that you have fixed for the Sammelan, that is, 23 February, would be difficult for me to attend. That day the Vice President of Cyprus is arriving, and I have

41. See SWJN/SS/80/item 153.

42. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP and President, Delhi Pradesh Brij Kala Kendra; address: 3254 Lal Darwaza, Bazar Sitaram, Delhi-6.

to welcome him. I have other pressing commitments too, hence, I hope you would pardon my absence.

I send my best wishes for the Brij Sammelan and hope that this would encourage the arts and culture of the Brij region.

Yours,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends]

### 315. To Anand Kumar: Ram Naresh Tripathi Memorial Book<sup>43</sup>

13 फरवरी 1963  
24 माघ, 1884 शक

प्रिय आनन्दकुमार,  
तुम्हारा 20 जनवरी का पत्र कुछ दिन हुए मिला था।

यह सुनकर मुझे खुशी हुई कि पं० रामनरेश जी त्रिपाठी के बारे में एक स्मृति-ग्रन्थ निकाला जायेगा। मुझे खेद है कि मैं इस ग्रन्थ के लिये कुछ अधिक नहीं लिख सकता क्योंकि कामों में बहुत फंसा हूँ। लेकिन मुझे रामनरेश जी अच्छी तरह से याद हैं। विशेषकर जब वे मेरे साथ लखनऊ जेल में बहुत दिनों तक थें। उसके इलावा भी उनसे मिलना होता रहा था। मुझे उनसे प्रेम था और उनकी कविता बहुत अच्छी मालुम होती थी। बहुत वर्षों से उनसे मिलना नहीं हुआ था। जबकि मैंने पार साल उनके देहान्त होने का सुना तो मुझे बहुत दुख हुआ था। उनकी याद हमें अवश्य रखनी चाहिये। वे एक बड़े कवि थे और हमारी स्वराज्य की लड़ाई में एक आला सिपाही थे।

आपका  
[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:

13 February 1963

Dear Anand Kumar,

I had got your letter of 20th January some time back.

I was very happy to learn that a memorial volume about Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi<sup>44</sup> is being brought out. I regret that I cannot contribute much to this

43. Letter to a poet; address: Anand Niketan, Sultanpur.

44. (1889-1962); Gandhian, and Hindi poet of “Chhayawad” era.



book, since I am over burdened with work. But I do remember Ram Naresh ji very well. Especially the days we spent together in Lucknow jail. Apart from that also we met off and on. I had deep regards for him as a human being and liked his poetry. For last few years we had not met, and when I heard about his death last year, I felt deeply distressed. We must keep his memory alive. He was a renowned poet and a great freedom fighter.

Yours,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends]

### 316. Message: Translation of *Autobiography* into Sanskrit<sup>45</sup>

जब श्री कमलापति मिश्रा जी ने मुझे पहले लिखा था कि वे मेरी आत्म-कथा का अंग्रेजी भाषा से संस्कृत में अनुवाद कर रहे हैं, मुझे कुछ आश्चर्य हुआ था और कुछ खुशी भी हुई थी। आश्चर्य इसलिए कि उसकी संस्कृत में कितने पढ़ने वाले होंगे, खुशी इसलिए कि मेरी पुस्तक इस योग्य समझी जाये कि उसका अनुवाद हमारी प्रिय और प्राचीन संस्कृत भाषा में किया जाये।

मुझे खेद है कि मैं संस्कृत को कम जानता हूं, लेकिन वह मुझे बहुत प्रिय है और मैं समझता हूं कि भारत ने जो हजारों वर्षों से बहुत ऊंचे और बड़े कार्य किये और अपने विचारों को प्रकाशित किया ओर फैलाया, फिर और दुनियां भर में प्रसिद्ध हुआ, इसमें संस्कृत का सबसे बड़ा भाग है। हमारा सबसे बड़ा धन या दौलत संस्कृत है और हमको चाहिये कि इसकी प्रेम से रक्षा करें और इसकी उन्नति हों।

यह आत्म-कथा 28 पहले लिखी गई थी। इन वर्षों में भारत बहुत बदला है और सारे संसार में भी गहुत कुछ हुआ है। बहुत सी बातें जो इसमें लिखी हुई हैं, वे पुरानी हो गई हैं और उसका रूप कुछ इतिहास का हो गया हैं।

मेरे लिए यह गोरब की बात है कि मेरी पुस्तक संस्कृत के वस्त्र पहन कर अब निकल रही है।

[Translation begins:

When Shri Kamalapati Mishra Ji wrote to me that he is translating my *Autobiography* from English to Sanskrit, I was a bit surprised and also a bit happy. Surprised because, how many would be there to read it in Sanskrit; and

45. Message, 15 February 1963.

happy because, my book has been regarded appropriate enough so that it could be translated into our beloved ancient language.

I regret that I know very little Sanskrit, but it is very dear to me. I think that the great achievements of India of thousands of years, which have been expressed and spread across civilisations, are largely due to Sanskrit. Sanskrit is our most valuable treasure and we need to love, protect and cultivate it.

The *Autobiography* was written twenty-eight years ago. In these many years India has changed a lot, and so has the world. Many ideas and thoughts in the book have become old and it has somewhat acquired the look of History.

It is a matter of pride for me that my book is coming out robed in Sanskrit.

Translation ends]

### 317. To Vishnu Sahay: E.P. Gee's Book on Wildlife<sup>46</sup>

February 19, 1963

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

I have seen your letter of February 14 to Kesho Ram. I have also glanced through the typescript of the book on wild life of India by E.P. Gee.<sup>47</sup>

As desired by you, I am returning the typescript and the photograph. I am keeping, for the present, the pamphlet you sent me, chiefly because there is a long message by me in it on wild life.

I am greatly interested in the preservation of wild life and would like to help in any way I can. If a brief foreword is desired by Gee, I shall try to write it. But this will have to be somewhat later. I am too busy at present. If you will let me know when it is required, I shall try to adapt myself to the date.<sup>48</sup>

The message of mine which is given in the pamphlet might, with some changes, be perhaps worth reproducing.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

46. Letter to the Governor of Assam.

47. Edward Pritchard Gee (1904-1968); author of *Wildlife of India*, original publication in 1969; (New Delhi: Harper Collins, 2000).

48. Nehru wrote the foreword, 20 February 1964.



**318. To K. Ramchandra: Fayaz Ahmed and Niaz  
Ahmed Khan<sup>49</sup>**

February 25, 1963

Dear Shri Ramachandra,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd February. It is true that I am going to Bombay on the 20 March for a day and a half. I would have much liked to hear Ustad Fayaz Ahmed and Niaz Ahmed Khan.<sup>50</sup> I fear, however, that I will not have any spare time for this purpose. My brief visit to Bombay will be very full.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**319. To Ananda Mangala: Good Wishes for Wesak <sup>51</sup>**

February 25, 1963

Dear Ananda Mangala,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st February. I am glad you are doing good work in Malaya.

I send you all my good wishes on the occasion of Wesak. The message of the Buddha, always important, is of particular importance in the world today.

I am afraid I cannot promise to send replicas of the Sarnath Buddha image. I do not know how long this will take.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

49. Letter; address: 225/27 Tardeo Road, 1st Floor, Room No. 21, Bombay-7. PMS, File No. 8/237/63-PMP.

50. According to Ramachandra's letter of 22 February 1963 [not reproduced, but available in the NMML], they were classical singers of the Kirana Gharana of Delhi.

51. Letter to Bhikku; address: Buddhist Temple, Temple Road, Kuala Lumpur, Malaya.

**320. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Publishing the *Rajatarangini*<sup>52</sup>**

February 27, 1963

[Nan Dear,]

Your letter of the 25th February about the *Rajatarangini*.

I have no doubt that Munshi's<sup>53</sup> Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan will bring out an edition of the *Rajatarangini* much more speedily than the Sahitya Akademi. It will also have a larger sale. I think that you might write to Krishna Kripalani<sup>54</sup> and tell him of Munshi's offer. Further you can say the matter has been delayed so much at this end that you feel inclined to agree to Munshi's offer.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**321. To Morarji Desai: Gold Control and Meenakari<sup>55</sup>**

March 4, 1963

My dear Morarji,

A deputation of some jewellers and others from Jaipur came to see me today. They spoke to me about their famous enamelled work—meenakari, which is going to be affected by the Gold Control Order. This enamelled work of Jaipur is very fine and beautiful and it is greatly appreciated. An exceedingly little gold is used but what is used has to be of purity. They cannot do this on 14 carat gold.<sup>56</sup> The craftsmen who do this are special experts.

Often when foreign VIPs come here, we have given them some Jaipur enamelled work as gifts. It has fairly considerable market also in foreign countries and it, I believe, brings in a considerable quantity of foreign exchange. I am told this is about fifty lakhs worth.

It would be a great pity and almost a tragedy if this fine artistic work perished. I think, therefore, that something should be devised so that this work is allowed to continue and a very small quantity of gold in it is allowed to be used by them of a pure quality. It would be absurd and vandalism if the

52. Letter to the Governor of Maharashtra.

53. K.M. Munshi, the Chairman of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

54. Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi.

55. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/114/63-66-PM, Vol. I, Sr. No. 8-A.

56. As stipulated in the Gold Control Order.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

many Jaipur works of this kind have to be destroyed or melted down for a tiny quantity of gold in them.

A paper was given to me by this deputation which I enclose.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru.

### 322. To Taufiq Ahmad Nizami: Critique of Religion<sup>57</sup>

8th March, 1963

Dear Shri Nizami,

I have received your letter of the 6th March.

I can hardly answer your question as to whether my approach to religion is subject to my environment or is an independent outcome of free and scientific thinking. In every person's thinking environment and the conditioning of the mind by one's contacts, education, etc. play an important part.

In my books I have said frankly what I felt at the time. I do not think that I have condemned religion or mysticism as such. What I had ventured to say then was a criticism of religiosity and dogmatic religion. I think that the essence of religion is something very fine and certainly morality and ethics are very important in life.

As for what I have said about Maulana Mohammad Ali, I have expressed my reaction to some of the things he said.<sup>58</sup> He was a friend of mine for whom I had considerable affection and regard.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 323. To Roshan Lal Samar: Origin of Mewar Ranas<sup>59</sup>

March 12, 1963

Dear Shri Samar,

I have your letter of the 25th February and your two pamphlets for which I thank you.

57. Letter to a political science student in Aligarh Muslim University; address: 3 English House, Muslim University, Aligarh.

58. See the many references in Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, various editions.

59. Letter to an advocate from Udaipur; address: Banarawali Gate, Udaipur.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I am afraid I cannot give you any precise information about the source of my knowledge in regard to the remark I had made. At that time, I was not thinking of the Mewar Ranas. I had in mind one or two cases where the Huns who came here, in the course of two or three generations, not only adopted Rajput names but also a genealogy.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 324. To A.P. Jain: Mahavir Jayanti<sup>60</sup>

March 12, 1963

Dear Shri Jain,

I have received your letter of the 6th March about the Mahavir Jayanti. I have already been invited to this function by Seth Achal Singh<sup>61</sup> and have expressed my regret at my inability to go there. I do not usually go to these annual functions. But, apart from that, I do not know what to say at this moment about ahimsa and the like. A routine repetition of the virtues of ahimsa is not good enough. So, you must excuse me.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 325. To Vijaya Raje Scindia: No Time for Yoga Institute<sup>62</sup>

March 15, 1963

My dear Vijaya Raje,

I have your letter of the 10th March. I am afraid it will not at all be possible for me to visit the Yoga Institute at Santa Cruz when I go to Bombay. I have heard of this Institute and I believe it is doing good work.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

60. Letter to the Honorary Secretary of the Bhagwan Mahavir Birthday Celebrations, 1-D Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5.

61. Lok Sabha MP, Congress.

62. Letter to the Rajmata Maharani of Gwalior; address: Samudra Mahal, Worli, Bombay. PMS, File No. 8/237/63-PMP. The letter of 10 March is available in the same file.



### 326. For the *Bhoodan Yagna*<sup>63</sup>

The Bhoodan Movement inaugurated by Acharya Vinoba Bhave has been a unique enterprise, such as perhaps only India could have produced. Some people criticise it and point out some failings. I feel, however, that in spite of these failings, the Movement has been a great success. This success may be measured by the land and the entire villages that have been gifted to the Movement. But an even more important result of it is the atmosphere that this has created, which helps in passing legislation for land reform, as it changes people's minds in regard to it. Legislation is, I feel, essential to bring about land reform, but the conversion of people's minds is basically even more important.

### 327. To Humayun Kabir: Conserving Architecture in Goa<sup>64</sup>

March 22, 1963

My dear Humayun,

My niece Chandralekha<sup>65</sup> spent a day recently in Goa. She and her husband went to visit old Goa to see the Churches there. She has told me that some of these churches which are valuable architecturally are in a very bad state and not being properly looked after. In fact, they are gradually going to pieces. This is in Old Goa. Even the old cathedral is not cared for as it should be.

I wonder if you could have something done about this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 328. In New Delhi: Awards at the Sahitya Akademi<sup>66</sup>

I should like to congratulate all the award winners.

You will notice that awards in some languages have not been given because no recent outstanding work in those languages came up to our notice. But I

63. Message, 16 March 1963, forwarded to Siddharaj Dhadda, Editor, *Bhoodan Yagna*, All India Sarva Seva Sangh, Varanasi.

64. Letter to the Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. PMO, File No. 40(236)/62-68-PMS, Sr. No. 5-A.

65. Chandralekha Mehta, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's daughter.

66. Speech, 31 March 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 11632, NM No. 2119, also published in *Indian Literature*, vol. VI, no. 1, 1963, pp. 66-69.

think you will find that during the last eight years or more, since this Akademi was founded and even before that, ever since Independence especially, there came a remarkable growth in the Indian languages both in quality and quantity. And that is a good sign. The Sahitya Akademi deals with all the languages of India and tries to encourage them and to bring about as much as possible; not a synthesis of them, but a mutual understanding and comprehension of them by translations from one language into another.

It deals with many other problems in an objective, literary and more or less scientific way, which sometimes excites people in the political field. Thus, I believe this is a far better way of dealing with it than by the politicians.

Many of our languages have been long in existence, have got a long and distinguished past. Many of them have got some books written hundreds of years ago, which are remarkable books, famous books which have exerted a great deal of influence on our people. They are not new languages. At the same time, most of our languages were rather suppressed or not allowed to grow because of the prevalence chiefly of Sanskrit and later of Persian. The learned people in those days thought they would show their ability in Sanskrit and later in Persian, and so our languages, although they were old and rich, found it difficult to grow.

Really the growth of the Indian languages took place afresh about 100 or 120 years ago. That period coincided with the introduction of printing etc. in India and it was influenced naturally by ideas which had come to India through the English language mostly, through other languages too. The modern world gradually crept into India and that influenced our languages. And the modern literature in these languages is naturally much affected by the modern world, modern problems. That is as it should be. And so we find an interesting aspect of this question that, in a period when English was more or less the official language of India under British rule and was affecting large numbers of our people, the coming of English affected our Indian languages in a different way by indirectly encouraging them, because English happened to be the vehicle of the new world through which we came into contact with the new world. And, therefore, modern ideas, modern concepts began to enrich our languages through English or because of our knowledge of English, and our languages grew. I have no doubt that they will grow, even now they are strong and very effective languages and a large number of books are being published, books of merit. I have no doubt that this will grow. But to think that a language is crushed or suppressed by another language, is not quite correct. It is enriched by another language. So also, our languages will be enriched the more they get into touch with each other and it is Sahitya Akademi's function to get them



## II. DEVELOPMENT

into touch with each other and to some extent get them into touch with foreign languages too by translations into our languages from foreign classics.

Neither an individual's life nor his language can subsist if it is isolated from the rest of the world. It may be beautiful but it becomes narrow in its varieties because in the changing world you have to keep pace with these changes. Therefore, it is important that our writers should keep in touch with world ideas directly or through other languages or translations. And Sahitya Akademi tries to provide translations of foreign classics.

A new development in language is, perhaps has been, taking place in foreign countries. We live in a scientific age and more and more science is written in symbols. In mathematical treatises you will find it is about 75% just symbols—a few lines here and there. So, a new language is developing which is a language of symbols. Those symbols can be used in any other language. It is interesting to see these developments of this technological and scientific age, where I suppose the literary style etc. will flourish in their variety but will in some respects give place to a symbolic language which may be common for all the languages. It is interesting to know that, because it begins to represent more and more the spirit of these scientific and technological times.

Anyhow, I think that the Sahitya Akademi has done fairly good work in encouraging our languages and bringing them nearer to each other and bringing the eminent writers in these languages together and thereby contributing not only to the variety of India, to the diversity of India, but to its essential unity, because both are essential, the variety and the unity. Persons, who think that unity can be maintained by suppressing variety are, I think, completely wrong. On the other hand, if variety means separateness and the break-up of the unity, that is fatal even for the various aspects of India.

I congratulate again those who have won the awards and hope they would produce more and more worthwhile books in future. That ends this award giving ceremony.

Now, I found that the gathering is going to convert itself into a kind of writers Forum. You can discuss your problems and my colleague, Shri Humayun Kabir, will preside over that Forum. And I hope you will permit me to go away. Not that I am not interested in the subjects you will discuss, whatever it may be, but I have got some other engagements to attend to.

Thank you.

**329. To P.C. Sen: Jivan Singh and Vinoba Bhave<sup>67</sup>**

April 2, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

You know Jivan Singh who was a Colonel in the INA and who used to be with Gandhiji during his travels in Noakhali, etc. He has recently been accompanying Vinobaji. I now understand that he has been served by an order issued by your Government restricting his movements. This means that he cannot accompany Vinobaji during his tour.

I should be glad if you would kindly let me know the reason for the issue of such an order to him. He is of considerable help to Vinobaji in various ways and Vinobaji will probably be distressed because of this.<sup>68</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**330. To P.C. Sen: Mridula Sarabhai and Vinoba Bhave<sup>69</sup>**

April 6, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

A few days ago, I wrote to you about Jivan Singh and wanted to know why action had been taken against him under the Defence Rules.<sup>70</sup> Since then I have heard that similar action has been taken against Mridula Sarabhai. I must say, this has rather surprised me and somewhat distressed me also.

Many of us have disapproved of Mridula Sarabhai's activities in regard to Kashmir in the past. But I cannot imagine why this should apply to her visiting any part of Bengal and especially her going to see Vinobaji. I understand that Vinobaji is rather upset about this.

I should like you to consider this matter afresh as consequences may not be good.

Yours sincerely,  
J. Nehru

67. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

68. See also items 330 and 337.

69. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

70. See items 329 and 337.



### 331. To Frary von Blomberg: Help to make Film<sup>71</sup>

April 7, 1963

Dear Baron,

I have received your letter of the 5th March for which I thank you.

As for your returning to India in the fall or winter, you are welcome to do so. So far as making a film is concerned, this matter will have to be fixed up with the Films Division of our Information & Broadcasting Ministry. I do not mind giving you some time, but it may not be very easy for me to find a great deal of time in the course of the day for it. I am heavily engaged as a rule.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 332. Exhibition on the Himalayas<sup>72</sup>

I am greatly attracted by the proposed *Our Himalayas* Exhibition in Bombay. From the accounts I have read of it, it promises to be a fascinating spectacle and at the same time an educative one.

To me and to many others in India, the Himalayas are not only an essential part of India from the earliest historical times, but are something much more—if I may say so, they are flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. Our ancient culture coming down to present times is intimately connected with the Himalayas; our classics in Sanskrit are full of references to them; even our religion and philosophy have intimate contacts with them. To wander about these noble mountains has always been an inspiration and a deep pleasure to me.

It is good, therefore, that an attempt is being made to project the Himalayas to our public. I am sure this will have good results in many ways and will bring them both mentally and emotionally nearer to our people.<sup>73</sup>

71. Letter to the President of the World Fellowship of Religions; address: 111 Exeter Road, Hampton, New Hampshire, USA. PMO, File No. 43(135)/59-76-PMS, Sr. No. 26-A.

72. Message, 9 April 1963, for the “Our Himalayas” Exhibition in Bombay. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 42-A.

73 See also item 338.

### **333. To Humayun Kabir: Don't Postpone Orientalists' Conference<sup>74</sup>**

April 10, 1963

My dear Humayun,

Your letter about the Conference of Orientalists. I entirely agree with you that this conference should be held in India as proposed. It was all very well to postpone it at the height of the Emergency. But we cannot go on postponing important conferences indefinitely. I definitely think that it is desirable to hold it here early next year. There is no point in postponing it for a year.

I have spoken to the Finance Minister also, and he agrees.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **334. Buddha Purnima Day<sup>75</sup>**

The Buddha Purnima Day reminds us particularly of the Buddha's message. Surely at no time was this message more needed than today in the world which hovers on the brink of disaster. All kinds of forces are at play in this world of ours creating conflicts and hatred and cold war.

The Buddha's message is clear and unambiguous and, apart from the subsequent metaphysical developments of it, can be understood by everyone who seeks to understand. It is only by our getting rid of fear and hatred that we can develop a better atmosphere for solving the world's problems and creating the new world which is based on peaceful relations between countries and groups and individuals.

74. Letter to the Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. For Kabir's reply see appendix 64.

75. Message, 11 April 1963. PMO, File No. F 9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 44-A.



**335. To S. Radhakrishnan: Raghu Vira Offends  
Indonesians<sup>76</sup>**

April 12, 1963

My dear President,

You have been good enough to write to me about Dr Raghu Vira.<sup>77</sup> He went to Indonesia some years ago and we helped him to do so. He was treated in a friendly way by the authorities there. But after his return, we received reports from Indonesia to the effect that he had considerably irritated many persons there, including the high-ups. He threw his weight about rather too much, and the Indonesians do not particularly relish being told that all their culture etc. comes from India.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**336. To C.B. Gupta: Arya Pratinidhi Sabha  
Celebrations<sup>78</sup>**

April 13, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

For many months past, I have been pressed by one of our MPs, Prakash Vir Shastri,<sup>79</sup> to attend the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Uttar Pradesh. I was not very anxious to participate in them, but he told me that many people would be coming from other countries on this occasion, and he was particularly anxious that I should go there and participate in the meeting as well as in the foundation stone laying ceremony. This has been fixed to take place on the 12th May at Lucknow, the programme beginning from 6.30 p.m. till 8 p.m.

Although I have not confirmed my acceptance of this function, yet my not saying definitely that I would not be able to go there has in itself led them to believe that I am accepting it. I am thus in a quandary. I have told Prakash Vir Shastri that if I go there, I may even say something in criticism of some activities of the Arya Samaj.

76. Letter to the President.

77. Jana Sangh Leader.

78. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. PMO, File No. F.8/246/63-PMP.

79. Independent.

Anyhow, this is the position and I would like your advice in the matter. So far as I am concerned, I think highly of the educational activities of the Arya Samaj, but I have not been attracted by its attack on other religions. This would be my line of approach.

Please let me have your advice soon.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**337. To P.C. Sen: Restrictions on Jivan Singh and Mridula Sarabhai<sup>80</sup>**

13th April, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

Your letter of April 8th about restrictions on the movements of Jivan Singh<sup>81</sup>. Soon after I had written to you on this subject, I wrote to you also about the order issued on Mridula Sarabhai restricting her movements also in some districts of West Bengal. I know that these orders upset Vinobaji considerably. I must confess that I was myself surprised at these orders.

I would suggest that someone on your behalf might perhaps talk to Vinobaji on this subject.<sup>82</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**338. To M.S. Kannamwar: Cannot Open *Our Himalayas* Exhibition<sup>83</sup>**

April 13, 1963

My dear Kannamwar,

Two or three days ago, I had a visit from one of the organisers of the *Our Himalayas* exhibition in Bombay. He was anxious that I should go there to open it on the 25th April or even a day or two later. I told him that I would do

80. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

81. Name spelt as Jeewan in original.

82. See also items 329 and 330.

83. Letter to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. PMO, File No. F 9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 62-A.



my best as I was anxious to see this exhibition. I gave him a message for the exhibition.<sup>84</sup>

I find now that I cannot possibly go on the 25th as I have to be in Allahabad on that day to lay the foundation stone of the Sarojini Naidu Children's Hospital. On the 26th evening, Mr Ali Sabry, the Prime Minister of the United Arab Republic, is reaching Delhi on his way back from Peking. He is specially coming here for a day or two to report to us about his talks there. Obviously, I cannot be away from Delhi on those days. On the 28th I have to go to Midnapore in Bengal. On my return here, we are having a meeting of the National Defence Council.

You will thus see that I just cannot manage to go to Bombay during these days. I am sorry for this. Perhaps if the exhibition lasts long enough, I might come to see it later.

Could you please inform the organisers of the exhibition?

Yours sincerely,  
J. Nehru

### 339. On Rahul Sankrityayana<sup>85</sup>

The death of Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayana is a great loss to India and to Indian scholarship. He was undoubtedly one of our greatest scholars in Sanskrit and Pali and especially in regard to Buddhism. For a long time, he has been ill, but we had hoped that he would recover. The news of his passing away distressed me and I felt the sense of loss. He collected thousands of valuable manuscripts. These are now kept in the Patna Museum.

### 340. To Roop Narain: Relating Social to Political Work<sup>86</sup>

April 16, 1963

Dear Shri Roop Narain,

I have your letter of April 13th.

As I wrote to you previously, Mushairas and social work generally should not be mixed up with political work. It so happens sometimes, however, that

84. See item 332.

85. Message, 15 April 1963, broadcast in English and Hindi on All India Radio. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. Minutes 69,70 & 71.

86. Letter to a Congressman; address: 3709 Charkhewalan, Delhi 6.

certain social and cultural activities are exploited for political ends. If that is so, then the question may well arise as to whether such allegedly social work is not being misused for wrong ends. No precise rule can be laid down to cover such cases, each one of which has to be judged on the merits.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**341. To K.L. Shrimali: Vishva Ahimsa Sangha<sup>87</sup>**

April 16, 1963

My dear Shrimali,

I enclose a letter from the Vishva Ahimsa Sangha. The letter has been signed by Seth Govind Das.<sup>88</sup> As a matter of fact, Muni Sushil Kumarji<sup>89</sup> came to see me this morning and made the request that I should lay the foundation stone of the "Ahimsa Central Library". I told him that I was reluctant to do so, but I would think over the matter and consult my colleagues. I am, therefore, sending this to you and want your advice.

I have a feeling that I am invited to give greater publicity to this venture and I dislike being exploited in this way. Otherwise I have no objection.

Please return the enclosed letter.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**342. To Mehr Chand Khanna: More Land for Ladakhi Buddhist Vihar<sup>90</sup>**

April 18, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

I think I wrote to you some time ago about the land adjoining the Ladakhi Buddhist Vihar on the banks of the Jamna here. It is probable that we shall extend the activities of this Vihar and make it an educational and training institution.

87. Letter to the Education Minister.

88. Lok Sabha MP, Congress.

89. (1926 – 1994); a Jain teacher and monk.

90. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing, and Rehabilitation. PMO, File No. 40(245)/63-65-PMS, Sr. No. 11-A.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

For that purpose, some additional land will be necessary. There is at present a vacant piece of land adjoining the Vihar on the Jamna bank. I hope that this will not be utilised or handed over for any other purpose. We are at present examining a scheme for this proposed educational establishment.<sup>91</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **343. To K.L. Shrimali: More Land for Ladakhi Buddhist Vihar<sup>92</sup>**

April 18, 1963

My dear Shrimali,

I spoke to you this afternoon about Shri Kushak Bakula's<sup>93</sup> proposals. I now enclose the various papers he gave me.

His scheme is rather an ambitious one. I think, however, that it should not be difficult for us to start it in a small way with the present Buddhist Ladakhi Vihar as its base. It is desirable, however, to reserve some land adjoining it. This is lying vacant at present and it should not be given over to anyone else as this would come in the way of any scheme that we may decide upon.<sup>94</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **344. To Mridula Sarabhai: Meeting Vinoba Bhave<sup>95</sup>**

April 19, 1963

My dear Mridu,

Your letter. From this it appears that you have not received any official communication from the Government of West Bengal. I think that you should write to the Chief Minister that you have not received any such communication. And you presume, therefore, that no order has been issued preventing you from

91. See item 343.

92. Letter to the Education Minister. PMO, File No. 40(245)/63-65-PMS, Sr. No. 10-A.

93. (1918 – 2003); Buddhist lama, and a leader of the Ladakhi people.

94. See item 342.

95. Letter to peace activist and president Sampradayikta Virodhi Manch; address: 81/48 Diplomatic Enclave, New Delhi 21.

going to West Bengal. Tell him that you wish to go to the meeting of the Sarva Seva Sangh at Arambagh where Vinobaji will be staying on the 25th April, and that you propose to go there unless he writes to you to the contrary.<sup>96</sup>

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 345. To Jayakanta Mishra: Maithili Books Exhibition<sup>97</sup>

April 21, 1963

Dear Dr Mishra,

Thank you for your letter of April 18th. I think it is a good idea to have an exhibition of Maithili Books and newspapers in Delhi. Whether I shall be able to inaugurate this exhibition, I cannot say at present as I am likely to be away from Delhi a good deal during the next few months. If I am here at the time, I shall gladly participate in the inauguration.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 346. Tribute to Thoreau<sup>98</sup>

Bhopal, April 21 – Mr Nehru, in a message to the Spring number of the *Massachusetts Review* (US) which contains “A Centenary Gathering of Henry David Thoreau” characterises him as an “outstanding person” adds that he “enjoys reading his *Walden* and *Civil Disobedience* greatly.”

Expressing doubt whether he would be able to write “anything worthwhile”, Mr Nehru says: “Some of us read Thoreau at that time, that is in the early twenties and were impressed by his writings. But I doubt if many people read him.”

The message adds, “They learnt of him through Gandhiji's reference to him. Convinced as most of us were at that time of the value and efficacy of civil disobedience in India, we did not require any further arguments for it.”

96. See item 330.

97. Letter to the President of the All India Maithili Sahitya Samiti, Tirabhukti, 1 Allenganj Road, Allahabad 2. Sahitya Akademi Records, S.A.5 Chairman's (President's) File, Part No. VII, 1963-1966. Copy forwarded to Krishna Kripalani.

98. Report of message. *The Hindu*, 21 April 1963, p. 6.



Mr Nehru goes on, "We were pleased, however, that a writer of the position of Thoreau had written something which was in line with Gandhiji's views on this subject." —FOC.

### (c) Economy

#### **347. To Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar: Economic Strategy for Emergency<sup>99</sup>**

February 3, 1963

My dear Maharaja Saheb,

Thank you for your letter of January 19 with which you sent me a note on "Economic Strategy for the Present Emergency". I have read this note carefully. Many of the points mentioned in this note have been or are being considered by us, some have already been given effect to. Nevertheless, a survey like yours is helpful to us and I am, therefore, sending it to our Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **348. To Morarji Desai: Serious Foreign Exchange Situation<sup>100</sup>**

February 12, 1963

My dear Morarji,

Your letter of the 12th February regarding the seriousness of the foreign exchange situation. Obviously, we should do our best to meet this situation. You can write to various Ministries about it. I think it might be worthwhile for us to consider this matter at a meeting of our Emergency Committee of the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

99. Letter to Governor of Mysore, who was also the Maharaja of Mysore.

100. Letter to the Finance Minister.

### 349. D.R. Gadgil's Note on Mobilising the Economy for Defence<sup>101</sup>

I am keeping Prof. D.R. Gadgil's note.<sup>102</sup> I think it would be desirable for copies of the note to be sent to all Ministers. Please arrange this.

### 350. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Krishnamachari's Notes<sup>103</sup>

March 2, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>104</sup> has sent me two notes which he wants me to send to the Reserve Bank for their advice. I enclose copies of these notes.<sup>105</sup>

I think enquiry by them on a comprehensive income, wage and price policy might be helpful to us.

As regards the second note of his, I have not fully understood it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 351. To S. Radhakrishnan: Note on Budget<sup>106</sup>

March 11, 1963

My dear President,

You spoke to me about the Budget today. I am venturing to send you a note on this subject which has been largely prepared by Pitambar Pant of the Planning Commission. This contains reproductions of many articles in the newspapers. I would draw your attention to the first two pages which deal with the problem

101. Note for the Cabinet Secretary, 13 February 1963. Cabinet Secretariat, File No. 28/18/CF/63, p. 2. The copy of the Note, titled "Mobilising the Economy for Defence", as available in the NMML, has many portions deleted; therefore, it is not being reproduced here. An article of the same title by Gadgil, is published in the *Economic Weekly*, XV-4,5,6, February 1963, pp. 235-246.

102. Economist; President National Cooperative Union of India.

103. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. PMO, File No. 37/115/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 9-D. Also available in the JN Collection.

104. Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination.

105. The letter with enclosures, dated 28 February 1963, is available at the NMML, PMO, File No. 37/115/63-70-PMS, Sr. No.9-F.

106. Letter to the President. PMO, File No. 37/115/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 11-A.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

and pages 58 to 68 which contain the argument in favour of the broad approach of the Budget.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 352. To M.S. Thacker: B.R. Sen's Letter<sup>107</sup>

March 11, 1963

My dear Thacker,

I learnt today that you have come back after your labours abroad. I hope you are keeping well. I hope to meet you fairly soon. I shall be out of Delhi on the 13th and 14th of this month.

I have received a letter from B.R. Sen<sup>108</sup>, which I enclose in original. We can talk about this matter when we meet.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 353. To Morarji Desai: Anxiety over Super Profits Tax<sup>109</sup>

March 18, 1963

My dear Morarji,

This afternoon, J.R.D. Tata,<sup>110</sup> Dharamsey<sup>111</sup> and some other industrialists came to see me<sup>112</sup> and expressed their great apprehension about the results of the super profits tax. They gave me a memorandum on the subject also. I understand that they are seeing you tomorrow and will no doubt repeat what

107. Letter to Member of the Planning Commission. The subject heading of the letter read: UN Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the benefit of the less developed Areas. PMO, File No. 42(49)/62-63-PMS, Sr. No. 6-A.

108. Former Head of FAO.

109. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/115/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 15-A.

110. Chairman, Tata Sons.

111. Dharamsey Khatau.

112. The others in the delegation included J.D. Choksi, Arvind Mafatlal and A.N.M. Murugappa Chettiar.

they said to me and perhaps more to you. I need not, therefore, tell you in detail what they said to me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **354. In the Rajya Sabha: Committee on National Income<sup>113</sup>**

Bhupesh Gupta<sup>114</sup>: Will the Minister of Planning be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether Government have received the report of the Mahalanobis Committee on Distribution of National Income; and
- (b) If not, what are the reasons for the delay?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Labour and Employment and for Planning (C.R. Pattabhi Raman):

- (a) No.
- (b) The study of the Committee is of a technical nature and relates to extraordinarily difficult and complex subjects. Hence no time limit has been proposed for the submission of the report.

Bhupesh Gupta: In the November-December Session the hon. Minister stated, or someone answering for the Ministry stated that the report would be submitted within two months' time. At that time the arguments were not given. May I know, Sir, why the assurance given by the Government is not being kept, and what the reasons are as to why there is so much delay? The Committee was appointed in 1960 following the speech by the Prime Minister in connection with the Third Five Year Plan in the other House.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The assurance by Government could not be kept because the report was not available.

Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, whether it is not a fact that certain parts of the reports, or certain matters alleged to be the contents of the report,

113. Oral Answers, 19 March 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLII, Nos. 12-22, 5th to 20th March 1963, pp. 3362-3364.

114. CPI.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

have been published in certain newspapers indicating thereby that the material are ready, at least some of them are ready?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say what they have published and how they have got those certain parts. I have seen no part of the report yet, and presumably, as soon as it is ready, a copy of it will reach me.

Bhupesh Gupta: It takes a Five Year Plan five years, and the Committee was appointed to help the Government and the authorities, in the course of the Five Year Plan, to consider the question of the distribution of national income. May I know, Sir, how the Government is going to discharge its responsibility—or the Planning Commission—if the report is not forthcoming within two or three years time as it happens today?

Chairman: They will wait till it comes.

Bhupesh Gupta: But we are waiting.

Chairman: You are waiting and they are also waiting.

Bhupesh Gupta: Yes, Sir, but we are losing patience also. Is it not a fact that the question of implementation of the Plan and also the formulation of certain fiscal and other policies depend, to some extent, on the findings in the report, which are supposed to tell where and how the money is going, the national income generated is going, in which directions.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Implementation of the Plan is probably not affected by this matter. The question of policy may be affected, and every piece of information, statistical or other, that we receive helps in getting a true picture and helps us also in trying to meet the demands of the situation. The matter, as my colleague has said, is a highly complicated matter, highly involved and complex, and we cannot therefore hurry the eminent people who are in charge of this. I have spoken to them and they have said that they realise it, and they are doing their best.

**355. To Morarji Desai: Jaipur Jewellers' Plight<sup>115</sup>**

March 22, 1963

My dear Morarji,

I enclose a letter from A.C. Guha, MP.<sup>116</sup>

You will remember my mentioning to you the case of enamel work in Jaipur and partly in Varanasi on gold leaf. You agreed that this should be preserved. I hope this will be done. It is difficult to limit it to exports. Many foreigners come here and want to buy it. I think very little gold is necessary for this gold leaf and it is a form of fine art work which is limited, I think, chiefly to Jaipur and a little in Varanasi. It is very much worth preserving.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**356. To Morarji Desai: Aid for 1963-1964<sup>117</sup>**

March 27, 1963.

My dear Morarji,

Your letter of the 27th March about the aid from the World Bank Consortium.<sup>118</sup>

I agree generally with your proposals. Although we should naturally try to get as much aid as possible, I think a certain restraint on our part is desirable.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**357. To P.C. Sen: Indian Statistical Institute<sup>119</sup>**

March 30, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

Your letter of the 28th March about the Convention of Indians Thinkers. If this can be fitted in with the foundation stone ceremony of the B.C. Roy Memorial Children Hospital, I am prepared to go there.

115. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/114/63-66-PM, Vol. I, Sr. No. 9-A. See item 321.

116. Arun Chandra Guha, Lok Sabha MP, Congress.

117. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37(104)/61-63-PM, Vol. II, Sr. No. 154-A.

118. See appendix 46.

119. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. PMS (Public Section) File No. F-8/250/63 PMP, Sr. No. 26-A.



There is another long deferred engagement in Calcutta which I want to carry out on this occasion. This is a visit to the Indian Statistical Institute. I have not been there for many years. I want to see how it has progressed and what is happening there. This will, no doubt, take me some time. Nevertheless, I should like to go if it is at all possible.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**358. To Morarji Desai: Jewellers' Woes<sup>120</sup>**

April 1, 1963

My dear Morarji,  
Thank you for your letter about gold for enamelled goods. I enclose a letter I have received from Sampurnanand.<sup>121</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**359. To Manubhai Shah: Speed of Industrialisation<sup>122</sup>**

April 2, 1963

My dear Manubhai,  
You wrote to me on March 11 and pointed out that the process of industrialisation was slowing down and gave certain instances in regard to this.<sup>123</sup> I came to the conclusion that I should send your letter to K. C. Reddy.<sup>124</sup> I did so.<sup>125</sup>

I have now received his reply dated the 25th March.<sup>126</sup> I think you should consider this fairly detailed reply. I am, therefore, sending you his letter of the 25th March with its enclosures.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

120. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/114/63-66-PM, Volume I, Sr. No. 11-A.

121. See appendices 48 and 49; See also items 321 and 355.

122. Letter to the Minister of International Trade. PMO, File No. 17(543)63-64-PMS, Sr. No. 6-A.

123. See appendix 33.

124. Minister of Commerce and Industry.

125. See item 404.

126. See appendix 45. There was an earlier partial reply on 12 March 1963, see appendix 34.

**360. To Jagjivan Ram: J.R.D. Tata's Ideas on Tourism<sup>127</sup>**

April 5, 1963

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

J.R.D. Tata<sup>128</sup> came to see me today and among other things, talked to me about tourism. He pointed out that in Italy 22 million tourists go every year and the income from them is the biggest item in the Italian budget. In India, last year about 1,40,000 tourists came. This number could easily be increased, according to Tata, to 5,00,000. According to calculations, this would give us about 100 crores of rupees a year in foreign exchange, that is, Rs 500 crores during a Five Year Plan.

This is a very sizeable sum and we should try to earn it, but we can only do so if we set about it and try our best. Tata seemed to think that our efforts to that end were not adequate. Although he said that our man in charge, Chib,<sup>129</sup> is a good and competent man, he appears to be rather frustrated because he cannot give effect to his ideas on the subjects and resources are lacking.

Every country, including the United States of America, is trying to attract tourists for the sake of foreign exchange etc. We have an excellent background for the purpose if only we took advantage of it and gave a number of facilities.

Among the facilities he mentioned, was that of visas. If a tourist comes here, he gets a month's visa fairly easily. But if he exceeds that period by a day, then he gets into trouble and he is made to report himself apparently to the police every day. This could easily be remedied.

Other things necessary, according to him, were small but decent hotels in various places; for instance, at Khajuraho where large numbers would like to go if we offered facilities. Also proper cars for them to move about in.

J.R.D. Tata thought that tourism should be upgraded in our work and made into a full department.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Finance Minister.<sup>130</sup> Also to the External Affairs Ministry.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

127. Letter to the Minister of Transport and Communications. MEA, File No. VII/406/30/63, p.13/Corr.

128. Chairman of the Tata Sons.

129. S.N. Chib, Director-General of Tourism and Ex-Officio Joint Secretary.

130. Morarji Desai. See item 361.



**361. To Morarji Desai: J.R.D. Tata on Travel Comfort for Senior Officials<sup>131</sup>**

April 5, 1963

My dear Morarji,

I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to Jagjivan Ram about tourism.<sup>132</sup>

J.R.D. Tata also was much exercised about the new rule that we have made, laying down that people going by air on government business, excepting Ministers, should travel tourist class. He said that this was neither right nor fair for senior officers as they arrive at the other end very tired and practically lose a day in resting. They cannot work while travelling owing to the crowds in the tourist class. Sometimes they arrive just an hour or two before a meeting they have to attend. He was strongly of opinion that senior officers should be allowed to travel in the upper class by air.<sup>133</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**362. To Morarji Desai: Unit Trust<sup>134</sup>**

April 5, 1963

My dear Morarji,

You wrote to me on the 6th March.<sup>135</sup> I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter.

As for the setting up of a unit trust, if you think this desirable, you can certainly mention, in the course of the Budget debate, that Government is giving consideration to such a scheme.

As for the other matter of an enquiry into income, wage and price policy, I suppose that it would be desirable to have such an enquiry. Whether the Reserve Bank does it or some other team of economists, is another matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

131. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 27(50)/59-65-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 72-A.

132. See item 360.

133. For reply see appendix 60.

134. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/115/63-70-PMS, Sr No. 21-A.

135. See appendix 28.

**363. To Morarji Desai: Gold Enamelling<sup>136</sup>**

April 11, 1963

My Dear Morarji,

Your letter of 11th April about Sampurnanadji's suggestion regarding gold enamelling.<sup>137</sup> Perhaps you could get over the difficulty by only allowing the small number of jewellers to whom you refer a very small quantity of pure gold for meena work which may be sold in India to foreign visitors or Indians. Meena work is only done by some specialists in that field and, so far as I know, only in Jaipur. Only those jewellers can be permitted. The only slight modification would be that the authorised jewellers would be able to sell this meena work in India also. I am told that really fine meena work is not usually done with fourteen carat gold.

Yours Sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**364. To Manubhai Shah: Dharma Teja's Ideas on Japan Trade<sup>138</sup>**

April 15, 1963

My dear Manubhai,

Your letter of April 15th,<sup>139</sup> with which you have sent a copy of your letter to Dharma Teja.<sup>140</sup> I met Dharma Teja yesterday and he told me briefly about his ideas to encourage trade between India and Japan. It seemed to me that his approach might produce good results. I am glad, therefore, that you have written to him as you have done.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

136. Letter to Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/114/63-66-PM, Volume I, Sr. No. 13-A.

137. See appendix 59.

138. Letter to the Minister of International Trade. PMO, File No. 44(58)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

139. From Manubhai Shah, "As you know Dr Dharma Teja has brought a good proposal for expanding our trade with Japan. I am enclosing herewith a copy of letter which I have written to him to-day in this connection for your kind perusal." PMO, File No. 44(58)/63-70-PMS.

140. See appendix 63.



**365. To N.C. Thimma Reddy: Foreign Investment<sup>141</sup>**

27th April, 1963

Dear Thimma Reddy,

Your letter of the 26th April.<sup>142</sup>

I do not think your proposal would be very helpful. It will raise many difficulties. We welcome foreign capital and have invited in many instances. Only recently we have come to an agreement about a southern refinery on this basis. Usually, those who want to invest money from foreign countries want all manner of privileges which is not easy to give them in view of our general policy. Nevertheless, we are inviting them and considering each case separately.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**366. To Y.B. Chavan: Students for Border Roads Work<sup>143</sup>**

April 29, 1963

My dear Chavan,

I enclose a letter I have received from Shri V.K. Krishna Menon. This relates to the offer of a number of students to do voluntary work for the Border Roads Organisation during their vacations. Among the volunteers, there are medical students, as well as engineering students, and they should be helpful. It will also be good for them to do active work of this kind.

I should like you to consider this matter and have a decision taken soon on the various points raised.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

141. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 93 South Avenue, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 17(463)/61-63-PMS (Vol.I), Sr. No. 46-A.

142. See appendix 68.

143. Letter to the Defence Minister.

(d) Education

**367. For the Sri Sarada College for Women, Salem<sup>144</sup>**

I send my good wishes to the Sri Sarada College for Women at Salem. I think that one of the most heartening features in India is the growth of education for girls and women. This is bringing about and will bring about social changes in India which are to be welcomed.

**368. To K.L. Shrimali: Central Universities Reports<sup>145</sup>**

February 5, 1963

My dear Shrimali,  
Your letter of February 5th.

I have no objection to your placing the reports and accounts of the Central Universities on the table of Parliament. But surely it should not require amendment of the Acts concerning these universities. You can ask them to send these reports and accounts to you and you can place them before Parliament without any legislative enactment.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**369. To K.L. Shrimali: Use Asadullah Kazmi<sup>146</sup>**

February 9, 1963

My dear Shrimali,  
I enclose a letter from Asadullah Kazmi. Perhaps you know him. He served in the UP Education Department for many years and, I think, was specially good in regard to Nai Taleem etc. For some years he has been working under the UNESCO and has lately been Head of the UNESCO Mission in Iraq. He is a good man and a good educationist. He might be useful to us in our attempts to

144. Message, 1 February 1963, forwarded to S.V. Ramaswamy, Deputy Minister for Railways.

145. Letter to the Minister of Education.

146. Letter to the Minister of Education.



expand education and to give a new turn to our educational system by adding creative work.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**370. To S.R. Das: Student Trouble<sup>147</sup>**

February 19, 1963

My dear Shri Das,

Thank you for your letter of February 17 which I have just received.<sup>148</sup>

I am sorry for the trouble you are having at the Rural Institute at Sriniketan. I think it is scandalous for some students to set fire in the way you have described. I have no doubt that strong action should be taken against them.

You are right in thinking that these students must have been incited by some mischief making people to do this kind of thing. It is impossible to tolerate this. If necessity arises and you think it necessary, the Institute should be closed for the time being.

There is one aspect of the question which you have no doubt considered. Why should large numbers of students behave in this way, apart from the few active mischief makers? Was there something in the treatment accorded to them which induced them to behave in this manner?<sup>149</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**371. In New Delhi: At the Gliding Club<sup>150</sup>**

Nehru's Praise for Gliding

New Delhi, Feb. 24 – Prime Minister Nehru today commended gliding as an excellent sport which did a lot of good to the body and mind, apart from being useful in various ways in times of peace and war.

147. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati. PMO, File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS, Vol. I, II & III, Sr. No. 207-A.

148. Not reproduced, but available in the NMML.

149. See also items 372 and 373.

150. Report of Speech, 24 February 1963, reproduced from the *National Herald*, 25 February 1963, p. 2.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Speaking at the annual Club Day air display of the Delhi Gliding Club at the Safdarjang airport here, Pandit Nehru said he wished everybody in this country knew a little bit of gliding.

He said it must be a highly exhilarating experience to fly about in the air like a bird, more so in a glider than in any engine aircraft.

Flying in the air helped man to get out of the ruts of life and thinking. It gave one a new outlook and perspective to life.

He said he was particularly happy to find that girls were taking to gliding in India. This would no doubt help develop the spirit of enterprise among them. The physical and mental discipline involved in gliding was also bound to be useful in other avocations.

### **372. To K.L. Shrimali: Reform in Visva-Bharati<sup>151</sup>**

February 25, 1963

My dear Shrimali,

I enclose a letter from Shri S.R. Das, Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharti. Probably you know all about the recent developments there. I think the behaviour of the students of Sriniketan to be very bad indeed and the action that was taken by the Vice-Chancellor in sending for the police was thoroughly justified.<sup>152</sup>

The Vice-Chancellor now says that the Rural Institute, as it is, does not fit in with Visva-Bharati or Santiniketan. It cannot continue as at present. Some change has to be made. Either it should be closed altogether, or it should be disaffiliated from the National Council of Education and merged in Visva-Bharati as an integral part of it.

I do not know enough about the institution to give any firm, independent opinion. But, as far as I can understand the position, I think that the Vice-Chancellor's suggestions are right and should be given effect to.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

151. Letter to the Minister of Education. PMO, File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS, Vol. I, II & III, Sr. No. 217-A.

152. See items 370 and 373.



### 373. To P.C. Sen: Reform of Sriniketan at Visva-Bharati<sup>153</sup>

February 25, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

You have no doubt given thought to the trouble that has occurred at Sriniketan. The Vice-Chancellor<sup>154</sup> has been keeping me informed of developments there and it seems to me that the students of Sriniketan have badly misbehaved. No institution can be carried on if there is such misbehaviour on the part of students. I hope your government will support the Vice-Chancellor in this matter and not encourage any activity which might put him in a false position.

The Vice-Chancellor appears to have come to the conclusion after much thought, that the Rural Institute, as at present organised, does not fit in with the background of Santiniketan. I believe he has written to your government on this subject. The Rural Institute, as it is now, is a foreign growth and grafted on Visva-Bharati which does no good to itself or to Visva-Bharati.

The Vice-Chancellor has certain suggestions: either the Institute should be closed altogether or should be disaffiliated from the National Council of Education and be merged in Visva-Bharati as an integral part of it. I am not competent to give any firm advice about this matter, but, *prima facie*, it seems to me that the Vice-Chancellor's views have weight. Anyhow the present arrangement appears to have broken down.<sup>155</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 374. To K.L. Shrimali: Productive Work in School<sup>156</sup>

March 5, 1963

My dear Shrimali,

You will remember my writing to you some time ago about a proposal made by Aryanayakam to introduce some productive activity in our schools.<sup>157</sup> I think

153. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. PMO, File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS, Vol. I, II & III, Sr. No. 216-A.

154. S.R. Das.

155. See items 370 and 372.

156. Letter to the Minister of Education. PMO, File No. 2(260)/58-70-PMS, Sr. No. 33-a.

157. See SWJN/SS/80/items 125 and 127.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

this is an excellent proposal. At any time that would be good, more especially when we are anxious to increase our production in various ways.

I should like to know what steps are being taken in this direction. Aryanayakam came to see me today and I could not give him any definite answer.

In the Lok Sabha, someone, I forget who it was, mentioned the other day that large numbers of primary schools were being closed in Bihar as a matter of economy. I do not know how far this is true. I was distressed to hear this.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 375. To G.A. Deshpande: Geography Aid<sup>158</sup>

March 8, 1963

Dear Shri Deshpande,

I have your letter of the 4th March. I was glad to see you the other day and also to see the new geographical apparatus which you have invented. This apparatus seemed to me to be useful for schools. I have not examined it with any care and cannot, therefore, say very much about it except what I have said above.

I should like to find out from Professor Thacker<sup>159</sup> about his views in regard to it. He is not in India at present. When he returns, I shall refer it to him.

As for some financial assistance to you, I can send you a relatively small sum. I do not know how far this will help you.

It seems to me that you should get the educational authorities to see your geographical apparatus and approve of it for use in schools. I am sending your leaflet on to the Education Minister.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

158. Letter; address 8 Kasaba Path, Poona 2.

159. M.S. Thacker, Member of the Planning Commission.



### 376. In Bombay: To the SNDT Girls' University<sup>160</sup>

चान्सलर, वाइस चान्सलर, मुख्यमंत्री जी,  
मुझे खुशी है कि आपने मुझे निमंत्रण दिया यहाँ आज आने का और इस शुभ अवसर पर मैंने इसमें भाग लिया। इसकी कहानी इस विश्वविद्यालय की आपने कुछ सुनी और आपको मालूम भी होगा और किस तरह से कैसे आचार्य कर्वे की कोशिशों से यह एक छोटे पैमाने पर शुरू हुआ और बढ़ते-बढ़ते अब जैसा आप देखते हैं वैसा हो गया है। और जिसमें बहुत बरसों से तो मैं स्वयं जानता हूँ श्रीमती प्रेम लीला ठेकरसे ने कितनी मेहनत की और कितना परिश्रम किया इसके लिए। मेरा विचार है कि किसी देश की उन्नति में प्रश्न है कि वहाँ की स्त्रियों का क्या हिस्सा है, क्या उनकी हैसियत है, क्या उनकी स्टेटस है, क्या उनका प्रबंध है उनके पढ़ने लिखने का, और कामों का, क्या भाग लेती हैं वह हमारे आम कामों में देश के? एक फ्रेंच महापुरुष ने कहा है कि एक देश की निस्वत तुम जानना चाहते हो कि उस देश ने कितनी तरक्की की है तो खाली एक चीज देखो कि वहाँ स्त्रियों की हालत क्या है, पुरुषों की क्या है इसको कोई देखने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, स्त्रियों की हालत क्या है, क्या स्टेटस उनका है, क्या उनका कानून है स्त्रियों के लिए यह देखो। इससे तुम समझ जाओगे कि वह देश कैसा है। यह बात सही है।

हमारे देश में, एक बात जो यूरोप के देशों में अक्सर हुई है, नहीं हुई। आप जानते हैं कि इंग्लैंड में जब मैं वहाँ पढ़ता था, बहुत जमाना हुआ, बड़े आन्दोलन कुछ स्त्रियों ने किये थे,

वोट के लिये, फ्रेंचाइज के लिए, सफरागेट मूवमेंट थी। हमारे देश में तो कभी हुआ नहीं है और अपने आप ही कहा जाये बगैर किसी आन्दोलन के स्त्रियों के वोट वगैरा मिला। क्या वजह है? क्योंकि इसमें, यह मैं कहने को तैयार हूँ कि बहुत सारे यहाँ पुरुष हैं जो कि बहुत इसको पसन्द नहीं करते थे, स्त्रियों का बढ़ना या कानून बदलना, लेकिन फिर भी हुआ। खैर, एक तो हमारे इतिहास में हालांकि बहुत कुछ कानून इत्यादि थे जो कि कुछ स्त्रियों को दबाते थे लेकिन फिर काफी स्त्रियाँ हैं हर पहलू में जो कि आगे बढ़ी हैं, जिन्होंने बड़ा भाग लिया, काफी ऐसी हैं।

लेकिन पुराने इतिहास को छोड़कर आजकल के जमाने में आकर इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि महात्मा गांधी ने सबमें बड़ा इसमें भाग लिया और उनकी राय से और कोशिश से स्त्रियों का भाग लेना देश के कामों बहुत बढ़ गया। खैर, उन्होंने तो राय दी थी, मौका दिया था, लेकिन जो भारत की स्त्रियों ने हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई में भाग लिया, उसने एक मोहर लगा दी स्त्रियों की हालत पर, क्योंकि आन्दोलन वगैरा ठीक होते हैं अपने समय पर, लेकिन एक ऐसी चीज में भाग लेना तो उससे तो यह साबित हो गया कि भारत की स्त्रियाँ पुरुषों से पीछे नहीं हैं बल्कि कुछ आगे हैं। महात्मा जी ने शायद कहा था कि उनकी

160. Speech, 21 March 1963, at the Inauguration of the SNDT Girls' University Building, Bombay. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 9565, NM No. 1784.

सारी तहरीक में, आन्दोलन में, असहयोग वगैरा जो कुछ हुआ, उसमें स्त्रियों ने जो भाग लिया उसका सबमें बड़ा असर हुआ। तो फिर जब यह हुआ, तो उसके बाद कोई साहब किसी की हिम्मत नहीं पड़ी यह कहने की कि स्त्रियों को वोट न दो, स्त्रियों को इधर पीछे रखो, यह करो। वह बात एक दब गयी, हालांकि दिल में शायद कुछ लोग उस समय भी पसन्द नहीं करते थे, लेकिन फिर भी। खैर, वोट वगैरा तो हो गया, फिर और बातें हुईं।

फिर बाद में अभी कुछ बरस हुए, हमारे स्वराज लाने के बाद आप जानते हैं कि कुछ नये कानून बने हैं, कुछ हिन्दू कोड का विचार था, उसके बाद नये कानून बने, इसमें स्त्रियों के अधिकार कई तरह से स्वीकार किये गये, और मैं समझता हूँ कि एक बड़ा काम हुआ, हमारे पार्लियामेंट ने जो काम किये हैं इस पिछले दस-बारह बरस में, उसमें बहुत बड़े कामों में यह है।

तो अब तो ऐसी जगह जहाँ स्त्रियों को शिक्षा का खास प्रबंध हो, जिसने शुरू से स्त्रियों की शिक्षा का झण्डा उठाया था, बढ़ाया उसे, वहाँ आने से खुशी होती है। मेरा विचार है कि इस समय भारत में बहुत बातें हो रही हैं और हल्के-हल्के चारों ओर से भारत बढ़ रहा है, लेकिन एक उसमें सबसे बड़ी क्रान्तिकारी बात जो भारत में हो रही है यह शिक्षा का फैलना, विशेषकर हमारे ग्रामों में, स्कूलों का फैलना, और उसमें सबमें बड़ी बात सामाजिक क्रान्तिकारी की है कि लड़कियाँ स्कूल जायें बहुत गिनती में। अब आजकल भारत भर में शायद सवा पाँच करोड़ लड़के-लड़कियाँ स्कूल और कॉलेज में जाते हैं और प्रतिदिन बढ़ता जाता है नम्बर। हमें आशा है कि चार-पाँच बरस में वह साढ़े छः करोड़ हो जायेगा। खैर, यह अच्छा है, मैं नहीं कहता कि जो सारे स्कूल सबमें खुल रहे हैं, स्कूल या कॉलेज, वे सब बड़े अच्छे हैं, उसमें कमियाँ हैं, उसकी बाकी टिप्पणी कर सकते हैं, लेकिन फिर भी स्कूल जाना ही हमारे ग्रामों में बच्चों का एक बड़ी बात है, कुछ न कुछ तो सीखते हैं। उसमें कुछ अनुशासन आता है, डिसिप्लिन आता है और एक-दूसरे से मिलते हैं, विशेषकर लड़कियों के जाने का असर काफी होता है, सामाजिक बातों में होता है, लड़कियाँ जो अपने घर जाती हैं वे अपने घर को हल्के-हल्के बदलती हैं। इसलिए यह एक बड़ी सामाजिक क्रान्ति इसके जरिए से हो रही है, और होती जायेगी। तो मुझे इसमें बहुत दिलचस्पी है और दो तरफ देख के, एक तो स्कूलों में जो इतनी लड़कियाँ जाती हैं आजकल ग्रामों में, और दूसरे जो हमारी यूनिवर्सिटियों में, विश्वविद्यालयों से लड़कियाँ निकल रही हैं, ग्रेजुएट होकर या और पढ़ कर काफी तादाद में निकल रही हैं और नये-नये काम कर रही हैं देश के। यह सब हल्के-हल्के हमारे समाज को बदल रही हैं बातें, और बदलने की आवश्यकता थी, जरूरत थी, क्योंकि हमने एक राजनीतिक क्रान्ति की। राजनैतिक तरीके से स्वराज आना यहाँ एक बड़ा इंकलाब था, क्रान्ति। उसके बाद ही हमारे सामने यह आवश्यक था कि हम आर्थिक और सामाजिक क्रान्ति भी करें, क्योंकि राजनैतिक क्रान्ति अलग होती है तो काफी नहीं होती है। हमारी समाज बहुत पुरानी है, उसमें बहुत अच्छी बातें हैं और बहुत बड़ी बातें हैं।

तो उसको आजकल की दुनिया में खपाना, सिखाना उसे, आजकल की दुनिया समझे वह और पिछड़ी न रहे, यह बहुत आवश्यक हो गया। आर्थिक क्रान्ति की बहुत आवश्यकता,



आर्थिक क्रान्ति के माने आखिर में हैं इस देश की गरीबी को निकालना, यहाँ ज्यादा पैदा करना, आजकल की नई दुनिया को समझना, नई दुनिया के विज्ञान है उसको समझना, टेक्नोलोजी है उसको समझना और इस मशीन के, यंत्र के युग में आना। तो यह सब साथ ही साथ हो तब देश बढ़ता है। राजनैतिक क्रान्ति, आर्थिक क्रान्ति, सामाजिक क्रान्ति। राजनैतिक क्रान्ति तो एक माने में हो गयी, फिर भी उसको कुछ न कुछ सम्भालना और बढ़ाना पड़ता है। आर्थिक क्रान्ति की कोशिश, यह सब आप पंचवर्षीय योजना आदि सुनते हैं उसी के माने हैं। लेकिन सामाजिक क्रान्ति की भी जरूरत है और सामाजिक क्रान्ति में बहुत बातें होती हैं लेकिन उसकी बुनियाद शिक्षा है। और समाज को बदलने की जड़ है स्त्रियों की शिक्षा, क्योंकि स्त्रियों का सबमें बड़ा भाग होता है समाज में अपने घर में। इसलिए मैं बहुत ही आवश्यक समझता हूँ स्त्रियों की पढ़ाई, और यह जो विश्वविद्यालय जिसकी शुरु बहुत दिन हुए हुई थे, आचार्य कर्वे ने की थी, एक शुभ काम उन्होंने किया जो कि इतना बड़ा है।

तो मुझे खुशी है यहाँ आना और अपनी शुभकामनाएँ आपको देना, एक सुन्दर मकान बना है, इसमें और भी आपको मौका मिलेगा अच्छी तरह से पढ़ाने का, काम करने का, खेलने का, वगैरा, और फिर यहाँ से लड़कियाँ निकलेंगी भारत की सेवा के लिए और दुनिया की सेवा के लिए। हमारे सामने बड़ी कठिन समस्याएँ हैं, इस समय आप जानते हैं संकट का समय है, लेकिन संकट के समय पर देश की कौम की आजमाइश होती है, इम्तिहान होता है। तो हमें घबराना नहीं चाहिए संकट से, एक ठंडे दिल से उसको देखना है और ठंडे दिल से, दृढ़ता से उसका सामना करना है, पुरुषों को, स्त्रियों को। तो जो आपके यहाँ विश्वविद्यालय से निकलें वे तैयार होके निकलें, हर तरह से देश की सेवा करें और देश की उन्नति हो।

जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Chancellor,<sup>161</sup> Vice-Chancellor,<sup>162</sup> Chief Minister,<sup>163</sup>

I am happy to be here today and thank you for giving me the opportunity of being present on this auspicious occasion. You have heard a little about the history of this University. You may be aware of its small beginnings due to the efforts of Acharya Karve<sup>164</sup> and how it has gradually grown to the present scale. I know how hard Shrimati Premlila Thackersey has worked for it. It is my opinion that the progress of a nation depends to a very large extent on the status of women, the opportunities for education and work that are given to

161. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

162. Premlila V. Thackersey.

163. M.S. Kannamwar.

164. D.K. Karve.

them, and the role they play in the affairs of the nation. A great Frenchman has said that if you want to know how advanced a nation is, the only thing that you need to see is what the condition of the women is. There is no need to see what the status of men is. What is important is the status of women and the laws pertaining to them to understand what a country is all about. That is true.

We did not have one thing which occurred in most of the western countries. As you know, when I was studying in England, the women had started a great movement for the franchise called the suffragette movement. In India, the women automatically got the vote, without any agitation even though there are many men in India who did not like the idea of changing the laws relating to women. However, in spite of the legal restrictions which suppressed women, throughout history one can find instances of women who have excelled in every field and played a leading role.

But ancient history aside, there is no doubt about it that it was Mahatma Gandhi who was responsible for drawing women into the forefront of national affairs. He provided the opportunity but it is the women who took part in the freedom struggle and left their stamp upon the status of women in India. Movements and agitations are all very well in their own time and place. But the fact that Indian women took part in such large numbers in the freedom struggle proved that they were in no way behind the men, and in fact, were ahead of them in many ways. Mahatma Gandhi has said that the role played by women had a tremendous impact on his non-cooperation movement. After that, no one had the guts to say that the women should not be given franchise or that they should remain backward. There may have been reservations in the minds of men but they were not expressed openly. Then, as you know, after independence, new laws have been passed like the Hindu Code Bill, etc. which have accepted greater rights for women. I think this has been one of the biggest tasks accomplished by the Parliament in the last ten or twelve years. Therefore, I like to visit the places where there are special arrangements for women's education or which have held aloft the banner of education for women's rights from the beginning. India is in a great turmoil of change and progress today. But one of the most revolutionary things that is happening is the spread of education, particularly in the rural areas. It is a great social revolution that girls are going to school in large numbers. I think the number of boys and girls reading in schools and colleges today is more than five crores and it continues to increase day-by-day. We hope that in the next four or five years it would rise to six and a half crores. I do not say that all the schools and colleges which are being opened are very good. You may criticise their low standard. But the mere fact that children are going to school in the villages is a big thing. They learn something and acquire some discipline. The fact that girls and boys go to school together brings about



social changes. Educated girls bring about changes in the home. This is how a great social revolution is being wrought in the country. I am interested in two ways. One is the fact that girls are going to school in the villages in large numbers. The other is that a large number of girls are coming out of universities and participating in the national tasks. All these things are gradually changing our society. This is very important. We have completed a political revolution by achieving independence in a manner unique to us. It is now necessary to bring about a social and economic revolution in the country because a political revolution alone is not enough. Ours is a very ancient society with many good points and some bad ones too. It has to change and adapt itself to the modern world so that it does not remain backward.

Economic revolution is essential because ultimately it means eradication of poverty, increase in production, adoption of modern scientific and technological methods, etc. A country can progress only when all these things happen side by side. In a sense, our political revolution is complete though we have to consolidate it. The Five Year Plans and other projects aim at an economic revolution. A social revolution is equally essential but the most important factor in that is education, particularly of women. Women play an important role in homes and in society. Therefore, I think that women's education is extremely important. Acharya Karve has done a great service by starting this university for women a long time ago.

So I am happy to be here to convey my good wishes in person. This is a beautiful building in which you will have the opportunity to study, work and play. Girls will pass out from here and go out to serve their country and the world. There are difficult problems before us. As you know, danger threatens the country. But it is in times of crisis like this that a nation's strength is put to the test. Therefore, we must not be afraid of danger but face it with strength, determination and calm minds. Every one of you who emerges from this university must be prepared to serve the country in every possible way and lead it towards progress and prosperity.

Jai Hind!

### **377. For Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Judges as Vice-Chancellors<sup>165</sup>**

These papers were given to me as I was leaving Bombay. I have looked through them.

165. Note, 25 March 1963, for the Governor of Maharashtra.

It is not quite clear to me why these papers were sent to me or on what matter my advice is sought. Previously the Governor spoke to me about Judges of High Courts becoming Vice-Chancellors of Universities and had referred to something I had said or written on this subject. I had criticised the nomination by the UP Government of some Judges as Vice-Chancellors. I had particularly disliked the nomination part of it.

I think that normally a Vice-Chancellor's work is too heavy and responsible to be taken up by a Judge of the High Court in his spare time. But it may well be that a particular Judge is otherwise specially suited to be a Vice-Chancellor. I would not therefore rule him out especially if he is elected to the post.

In the papers sent to me, the case of Justice Kotval of the Nagpur High Court is referred to. He was elected as Vice-Chancellor about a year ago for a term of three years. It appears that he is likely to leave Nagpur for Bombay in June or July. Because of these factors, it has been decided that he should continue as Vice-Chancellor till he goes to Bombay. I think that this decision was a correct one. It would be embarrassing and a little awkward for him to resign his Vice-Chancellorship just a few months before his departure from Nagpur.

I am returning the papers sent to me.

### **378. To S. Husain Zaheer: Grant to Institute of Mathematical Science<sup>166</sup>**

April 1, 1963

My dear Munne,

Some days ago, Professor Alladi Ramakrishnan, came to see me. He is doing very good work at his Institute of Mathematical Science in Madras. He spoke to me about his scheme of inviting eminent persons from abroad to visit his Institute. I rather liked the idea. He said that he could not do so unless some grant was given to him for the purpose. Apparently, the grant given to him has been reduced.

He has now written to me on this subject, and wants a grant of Rs 70,000/-. I think we should give him this grant. If the funds with you are not adequate, you can refer this matter to the Finance Ministry.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

166. Letter to the Director-General of the CSIR. PMO, File No. 17(560)/63-70-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 1-A.



**379. To Morarji Desai: Foreign Exchange for Students<sup>167</sup>**

April 3, 1963

My dear Morarji,

Ghanshyam Das Birla saw me this evening. In the course of his talk, he mentioned that under some new rules framed on our behalf, students for technical subjects are not allowed to go abroad presumably to save foreign exchange. He was rather worried about this. I confess I am somewhat unhappy too if such a rule has been framed.

I think it is important that we should encourage technical studies both in India and abroad. Although we have made good progress in India in this matter, yet it is necessary for some people to go to high class technical institutions outside India, and it would be a loss to us if we do not take full advantage of this. Of course, people who are encouraged to go there, should have done well in their studies here. I hope you will be good enough to look into this matter.

There is another matter which I am writing to you about, not because of any principle involved, but rather for personal and political reasons. This is Tariq Abdullah's case, a son of Shaikh Abdullah. He has gone to England and is more or less stranded there. He is an odd and not very reliable young man. But I think it would be desirable to allow him some foreign exchange for his studies there, even though his studies may be for law or literature. Not to do so will create complications here in many ways. I understand from Mridula,<sup>168</sup> who has I believe approached you, that £150-0-0 are necessary for him for his fees etc. I hope you will be able to make an exception for him for rather special reasons.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**380. To Dnyanprakash S. Gupta: Visually Challenged Can Do Well<sup>169</sup>**

April 3, 1963

My dear Dnyanprakash,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th March. I am very glad to learn that you have been giving personal donations for the National Defence Fund in spite

167. Letter to the Finance Minister.

168. Mridula Sarabhai.

169. Letter; address: c/o Victoria Memorial School for the Blind, Tardeo Road, Bombay 34.

of difficulties and financial troubles. I am also glad that you have succeeded in passing various examinations in spite of the fact that you are blind. Your enterprise and hard work are worthy of praise.

I send you all my good wishes.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **381. To Shankar Dayal Sharma: Central Advisory Board for Education<sup>170</sup>**

April 5, 1963

My dear Shankar Dayal,  
I have your letter of 31st March.<sup>171</sup>

The Central Advisory Board for Education has an important task to fulfil. Ultimately all our progress and development and our Five Year Plans depend on the kind of education that we give people. I am convinced that whatever else may suffer for lack of resources, we cannot allow our education to do so, whether this is primary education or higher education. We must aim not only at quantity, but at quality.

It is right, therefore, that the Central Advisory Board should consider the structure of our educational system and how far it fulfils the needs of the day.

Unfortunately, educational matters are often considered by politicians on the political plane. This makes them political issues and the educational aspect is not considered objectively and dispassionately. It is true that it is not always easy to separate the two. Nevertheless, it is desirable and such questions should be considered by educational experts. In doing so, we have to keep the end in view. This is not merely training for a job, although that is often necessary, but rather training for life and also training for a particular kind of society that we aim at.

170. Letter to the Minister of Education and Law, Madhya Pradesh. PMO, File No. 17/447/61-70-MPS, Sr. No. 39-A.

171. Extract: "The 30<sup>th</sup> Session of the Central Advisory Board for Education has been invited to meet at Bhopal on the 6th and 7th May 1963. The deliberations of this authoritative body of experts at a time when the shape and objectives of our educational structure call for a purposive review, are bound to be of far-reaching importance. In approaching this task, we earnestly seek from you your inspiring message on the occasion which, I am sure, will give the right lead and direction to our deliberations." PMO, File No. 17/447/61-70-MPS, Sr. No. 38-A.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

I wish the meeting of the Central Advisory Board for Education success in its deliberations.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 382. To B.F.H.B. Tyabji: Jamal Khwaja<sup>172</sup>

April 5, 1963

My dear Badr,  
Jamal Khwaja<sup>173</sup> came to see me today. On leaving, he left a letter for me which I enclose.

It is not for me to make any recommendation to you. But I can say that Jamal has many good qualities and is a very likeable person. He was in Parliament here for five years and I used to keep in touch with him frequently. I would have liked him to continue in Parliament, but he preferred to go back to his own post at Aligarh.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 383. To K.L. Shrimali: Five Year Plan Not Children's Reading<sup>174</sup>

April 8, 1963

My dear Shrimali,  
Thank you for your letter of April 8 and the Study Kit you have sent me.<sup>175</sup> I have just glanced through the Study Kit. I think it is an excellent idea to provide

172. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University.

173. Professor of Philosophy of Religion at Aligarh Muslim University and member of the second Lok Sabha.

174. Letter to the Education Minister. PMO, File No. 17/447/61-70-PMS, Sr. No. 41-A.

175. Shrimali's letter: "I have sent to your office separately a Study Kit on India that has been prepared by the National Council of Educational Research and Training. It is intended for the schools. Since our schools do not generally have plentiful supply of reading and pictorial material on different aspects of our country, the Study Kit has been designed to provide in a handy form the models of selected material which would help the pupils to gain better knowledge of the country. These models, reading material, photographs, etc. can easily be arranged in a school in the form of a small exhibition and individual items can also be used as aids in classroom teaching. I hope it might be possible for you sometime to have a look at the Study Kit." PMO, File No. 17/447/61-70-PMS, Sr. No. 40-A.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

some such thing to our schools. I suppose the books etc. will be sent in Hindi and other regional languages also.

The only criticism I might make is that the Third Five Year Plan is hardly suitable for children's reading. Perhaps, if somebody could prepare a small children's book on this subject, that will be more suitable.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **384. For the Rewa Sainik School<sup>176</sup>**

I send my good wishes to the Sainik School at Rewa. I think that the starting of these Sainik Schools in various parts of the country was a good development from the educational point of view as well as a reservoir to provide officers for the Defence Services.

The idea of having a journal of the Sainik School at Rewa is also a good one, and I wish this journal every success. The training of good officers for the Defence Services means ultimately training patriotic and dedicated citizens of India. I hope this will be kept in view in the Sainik School as well as in the journal that it is bringing out.

### **385. To K.L. Shrimali: Teaching French<sup>177</sup>**

April 21, 1963

My dear Shrimali,

I saw the French Ambassador<sup>178</sup> this morning. He is going to France within about a week. He gave me a memorandum on the teaching of French in India. I enclose a copy of this memorandum. I think on the whole the suggestions made in this memorandum are worth our accepting in principle. As suggested, details can be worked out in cooperation with the French Embassy here.

Please let me know if you agree with this approach, and we shall communicate it to the French Ambassador.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

176. Message, 15 April 1963. PMO, File No. F 9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 3, Sr. No. 13-A.

177. Letter to the Minister of Education.

178. M. Jean-Paul Garnier.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

### Enclosure

[Copy of Memorandum from the ambassador of France]

The development of the teaching of French in India is still faced with the difficulty of finding qualified teachers of the language in sufficient number.

The French Government has already placed the services of lecturers sent from France at the disposal of some of the important Indian Universities, and is always willing to consider other requests that may be made in the future.

However, it appears that the present needs could be met only if new facilities are provided in the form of refresher courses to Indian professors already engaged in the teaching of French and suitable training to new teachers.

In this matter, the French authorities are prepared to extend their cooperation to the Government of India. As it is not possible to send to France all those who wish to become teachers of French, they have been led to think that the French College in Pondicherry which has an important staff of professors deputed from France, could play a useful role.

Indian professors or lecturers who are already in the line, but have not got so far, the opportunity of visiting France, as well as new degree holders of Indian Universities, could follow in this College a special training, while benefiting of a surrounding of French language and culture.

A system of scholarships offered by the French Government should complete this scheme and allow some of the more deserving among these trainees to go to France for further specialisation or higher studies.

In case the Prime Minister would approve these views, details of such a cooperation could be discussed by the competent Indian authorities and the French Embassy in India.

### (e) Health

#### **386. To Sushila Nayar: Visiting Soviet Doctors<sup>179</sup>**

February 23, 1963

My dear Sushila,

The Soviet Ambassador came to see me this evening. He mentioned to me that there were two eminent Soviet doctors attending the Congress on Diseases of the Chest. They would be glad to be of some help to any patient suffering from cancer or any disease of the chest. They will be here till the 27th February.

179. Letter to the Minister of Health. PMO, File No. 42(52)/62-63-PMS, Sr. No. 45-A.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I am merely informing you of what the Ambassador told me.  
The two doctors are:

1) Prof. I.T. Shevchenko

Director of the Scientific Research,  
Institute for Roentgenology, Radiology and  
Oncology, Kiev; and

2) Prof. P.I. Androsov,

Director of the Surgical Clinic of the Sklifosovsky Institute,  
Moscow.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **387. In New Delhi: To the Chest Diseases Congress<sup>180</sup>**

Mr President, Dr Briggs and distinguished delegates,

I am having a rather unusual experience today and that is having to speak immediately after our President. I tried to avoid this as far as possible and have on the whole succeeded. But anyhow because of your goodwill and desire, I am here to add to his words of welcome to you. I hope that your labour here will not only be of advantage to all of you, but more especially to our own physicians and surgeons who deal with these diseases. There is another reason why I feel a little embarrassed. Normally I don't do so, but in the presence of a large number of eminent physicians and surgeons, I have got some kind of inferiority complex. When one falls ill which fortunately has not occurred to me often, one becomes helpless in the hands of the physician or the surgeon and he just does what he likes with you. It is not a good feeling to have that helplessness. Then also in this world now the wonders of science and especially medical science has made such enormous strides that poor laymen like myself can only gasp in wonder. So, I am not particularly happy in having to address you and I shall therefore be brief.

You are very welcome here. I am sure that we shall profit, by we I mean our physicians and surgeons here in India who will profit by our meeting of

180. Speech, 28 February 1963, at Vigyan Bhavan, to the International Congress on Diseases of the Chest. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 9330.



your Congress here. And you will push us a little more forward in our search for health for our nation and our people.

When I was younger, I remember reading through statistics and books in the twenties that our expectation of life was round about 23, a terribly low figure. That was chiefly due, I think, to infant mortality. Then, it gradually rose to 32 in the forties. Last year, I am told, I must take this for granted when experts tell me so, that it had risen to 47. It is a good rise and I am told it will go on little beyond that this year. That is very welcome as it is a sign of better health all round. Probably one of the special reasons for it is the fact that we have succeeded almost in eradicating malaria. Probably also people eat a little more, a little better food generally. All this is very welcome. But sometimes the thought troubles me, it has nothing to do, of course, with this eradication of disease etc., which must happen, but a consequence of that may well be a marked addition to our population which is already as you know very considerable and tends to go up and up. Well, that does not mean that we should slacken in our efforts to deal with disease and better conditions of living, but does make one think of other methods and ways of preventing this increase at this rate. I don't suppose that you are going to consider this aspect of the problem. But it is there...not only does it affect us but perhaps it affects the world as a whole, not only our rise in population but in other countries also.

Anyhow, you are very welcome here and in your spare time or when you have finished with your Congress, I hope you will see a little bit of India, both the old and the new that is emerging out of the old. We tried to find some synthesis of the old and new. We are a very old people and yet in another sense, we are a new people in India today, trying to keep our roots in the old and yet growing up in the new conditions of life and trying to profit by the wonders of science. You have come to help us in that process and we welcome you especially. I hope you will enjoy your stay here and carry back with you when you go away pleasant memories of the stay. [Applause].

### **388. Freedom from Hunger<sup>181</sup>**

Among the many wants from which large sections of mankind suffer today, surely hunger is the most important of all. It is to hunger and malnutrition that many of the world's troubles are due. Therefore, freedom from hunger for all the

181. Message, 3 March 1963. PMO, File No. 31(113)/60-70-PMS, Sr. No. 14-B. S.

people of the world is a vital and basic question and the campaign which FAO has started for this purpose is of great importance and deserves all support.<sup>182</sup>

The problem becomes even more urgent because of the growth of population. And yet, it is clear that it can be solved as it has been solved in some more developed and advanced countries of the world. It is thus a question of our realising the importance and urgency of this problem and utilising science and its methods to solve it. Wherever a concentrated attempt has been made, food production has grown greatly and the increase per acre yield has been significant.

The problem is not only one of greater production but of more equitable distribution and of improving food habits so as to lead to wholesome and nutritious food. All this can undoubtedly be done provided we divert our minds and energies to that and with the determination to achieve freedom from hunger for everyone.

In India, with its vast and growing population, this problem is very near to us, and we cannot afford to delay its solution. Progress has been made here, but the pace of change has to be more rapid in order to be fully effective.

I commend this campaign started by the FAO to all our people so that we may make a joint effort to rid our country of the curse of hunger and malnutrition.

### **389. In Bombay: At the Ciba Research Centre<sup>183</sup>**

Scientific Climate  
Nehru's Call for Creation  
Chemical Research Centre Opened  
(From Our Correspondent)

Bombay, March 21 – The Prime Minister, Mr Nehru, emphasised here this evening that it was essential to create “a scientific climate” among the people of the country and said “to some extent it is being done.” Mr Nehru was inaugurating the Ciba research centre at Goregaon, a suburb of Bombay.

182. Binay Ranjan Sen, former Director-General, FAO, started the Freedom from Hunger campaign in 1960. The campaign led to the first World Food Congress held on 4 June 1963 in Washington, D.C. It was attended by representatives from more than 100 countries.

183. Report of speech, 21 March 1963. Reproduced from *The Hindu*, 23 March, 1963, p. 6.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

### First in South Asia

The research centre is a joint Indo-Swiss venture. Built and equipped at a cost of Rs 250 lakhs in less than two years, it is said to be the first institution for fundamental chemical and biological research to be built in South Asia by private enterprise. In addition to pharmaceutical research the centre will undertake in collaboration with Atul Products Limited, synthesis, development and application of dyestuffs.

The Prime Minister said he was always fascinated by science and scientific research. That was why in the early days of Independence of the country one of the first things they thought of was the setting up of a large number of laboratories and research institutes. He believed that they had not only done good work in this respect but trained a number of good scientists.

### No Craving for Pills

The Prime Minister expressed his disapproval of the fast-spreading habit of taking pills and other concoctions. Although he realised pills were necessary sometimes and did not rule them out, he felt “the use of pills and concoctions leads to craving which is not to be encouraged too much.”

Mr Nehru congratulated Ciba, the promoters of the research centre, for conceiving it on a big scale. He was particularly pleased with the lay out of the centre which would be conducive to research.

The Prime Minister said the research centre, “founded as it is on a great deal of thought and served as it is going to be by eminent scientists provided with all technical devices, is bound to do good work not only for India but for the world.”

## **390. To K.C. Reddy: Patents on Food and Drugs<sup>184</sup>**

April 1, 1963

My dear Reddy,

I enclosed a letter I have received from our Health Minister, Sushila Nayar.

184. Letter to the Minister of Commerce and Industry. PMO, File No. 48(25)/58-66-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 54-A.

I was under the impression that we should abrogate the Patents on foods and drugs and do it with some retrospective date. I hope this will be possible.<sup>185</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 391. To K.C. Reddy: Patents Act<sup>186</sup>

3rd April 1963

My dear Reddy,

I wrote to you the other day about the new Patents Act which we have been long waiting for.<sup>187</sup> I have received a letter from S.S. Sokhey<sup>188</sup> on this subject.<sup>189</sup> He has often written to us before too. I am inclined to agree with him that we should end this business straight away and not carry it on for the future. I hope that the draft bill that you prepare will contain a clause to this effect.

I enclose a copy of Sokhey's letter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 392. In Allahabad: At the Sarojini Naidu Children's Hospital<sup>190</sup>

डॉ. जीवराज मेहता, मुख्यमंत्री जी, बहनो और भाइयो,  
मुझे आज खुशी है कि एक पुराना हमारा इरादा, पुरानी हमारी एक प्रतिज्ञा सी कहिए, वो पूरी हो रही है। इसका चर्चा मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई बारह बरस से है, कुछ न कुछ है कि श्रीमति सरोजिनी नायडू के लिए यहाँ एक स्मारक बने और उसी वक्त निश्चय हुआ था कि स्मारक की शक्ल एक बच्चों का अस्पताल हो, लेकिन बहुत बातें बीच में आयीं, देर होती गयी और यह बात मुलतवी होती गयी। अब आज इस सिलसिले में पहला कदम, पहले कदम तो कई उठ चुके लेकिन यह एक पक्का कदम उठ रहा है जब इसकी हम

185. See SWJN/SS/79/items 114 and 117.

186. Letter to the Minister of Commerce and Industry. PMO, File No. 48(25)/58-66-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 57-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

187. See also item 390.

188. Bio Chemist; member of the first Lok Sabha.

189. See SWJN/SS/79/items 114 and 117. Item 117 contains Sokhey's note on Drug Racket and Patent policy.

190. Speech, 25 April 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 9777, NM No. 1978.



नींव डाल रहे हैं। मुझे खुशी है क्योंकि एक तो यह कि सरोजिनी देवी एक हमारे देश की, यों तो आप में से बहुत लोग उनसे वाकिफ भी हों, उनको देखा भी हो, बहुत लोग जो कम उम्र के हैं उन्होंने नहीं देखा होगा उन्हें, लेकिन जानते होंगे, सुना होगा कि वो भी एक अजीबो-गरीब हस्ती थीं यहाँ उस जमाने में, हमारे आजादी की जंग के सिलसिले में, बड़ा भाग लिया उन्होंने, हमारे बड़े-बड़े कप्तानों में थीं। उसके बाद और देश के नये काम आये, उसमें उन्होंने बड़ा भाग लिया और उत्तर प्रदेश की राज्यपाल हुईं। मुझे याद है वो दिन, मार्च 1949 में शायद था जब हम सब लोग यहाँ आये थे अलग-अलग जगहों से और कमला नेहरु स्मारक अस्पताल की एक शाखा बेगम आजाद विंग खुलने वाली थी, वो भी आने वाली थीं लखनऊ से उस मौके पर, लेकिन बजाए उनके आने के यकायक हमें यहाँ खबर मिली कि उनका देहान्त हो गया, यानी आखरी इरादा उनका एक मौके पर, एक बड़े काम में शरीक होने का, इलाहाबाद में आने का था, वो आ नहीं सकीं। तो उनके गुजर जाने से बहुत हमें रंज तो हुआ ही, एक जाती रंज हुआ क्योंकि हमारी प्रिय मित्र थीं, साथी थीं और एक देश के बहुत बड़े नेता इस तरह से गुजर गये। उनकी पहुँच तो बहुत दूर तक थी, हमारे राष्ट्रीय जंग में बड़ा हिस्सा उन्होंने लिया लेकिन वो प्रसिद्ध थीं और बातों में, हमारे भारत की स्त्रियों में, हमारे भारत के कवियों में और प्रसिद्ध खाली भारत में नहीं, भारत के बाहर भी थीं।

हमारे भारत में एक अजीब बात है—एक तरफ से यह कहा जाता था और किसी कदर अब भी शायद कहा जाता हो कि यहाँ की स्त्रियाँ यहाँ के दस्तूरों से, औरों से कुछ दबी हुई हैं और थीं भी। उसी के साथ हमेशा से, हमारा इतिहास पढ़िये, भारत की स्त्रियों ने एक बड़ा भाग लिया है देश के कामों में, हर तरह के, यहाँ तक के फौजी मैदान में भी और और बातों में तो लिया ही है, और बड़े-बड़े नाम याद आते हैं। और अब आप देखिये कितना फर्क हो रहा है लड़कियों के स्कूल-कॉलेज में पढ़ने से, अधिक से अधिक, और बाहर आकर हर काम में हिस्सा लेने से। और देशों से लोग आते हैं, यूरोप के, तो उन्हें कुछ आश्चर्य होता है देखकर कि यहाँ औरत, स्त्रियों का क्या हिस्सा है देश के कामों में, क्योंकि बड़े-बड़े तरक्की-याफ़्ता जो देश हैं यूरोप के, वहाँ अक्सर जगह औरतों के लिए भाग अभी तक नहीं हुआ है जो यहाँ हो गया है। हालांकि और बातों में उन्होंने कितनी ही तरक्की की हो। तो यह सिलसिला हिन्दुस्तान का एक पुराना है। अब हमने और मौका दिया है और मुझे खुशी है कि हमारी पार्लियामेंट ने कुछ कानून ये स्वीकार किये थे, कुछ बरस हुए, जिससे औरतों के अधिकार पूरीतौर से, पक्कीतौर से मंज़ूर किये गये थे। तो मुझे तो यकीन है कि भारत की जिन्दगी में यहाँ की स्त्रियाँ रोज-ब-रोज अधिक हिस्सा लेंगी और शानदार हिस्सा लेंगी। और बात तो यह है कि पुरुष और स्त्री दोनों के काम करने से देश बढ़ता है लेकिन किसी कदर औरतों के काम करने से देश को कुछ ज्यादा अधिक लाभ होता है पुरुषों के मुकाबले, क्योंकि औरतों का एक बड़ा हिस्सा होता है, कुछ भी और काम करें, अपने बच्चों का कुछ पालन। और पालें क्या, कुछ उनको सिखाना भी, कुछ उनको देखना कि ठीक तरह से बढ़ते हैं और उनका हिस्सा काम में, रहेगा और ठीक है। तो कैसी स्त्रियाँ हमारी हों? अगर वो जाहिल हों तो जाहिर है उनसे, वो प्रेम अपने

बच्चों को देंगी लेकिन प्रेम के साथ जहालत भी देंगी और अगर कुछ सीखी हैं, पढ़ी हैं, तेज हैं तो उनके बच्चे भी सीखे हुए होंगे और तेज होंगे।

तो मुझे बहुत खुशी है कि भारत में जो क्रान्ति हो रही है बहुत तरह की आजकल, उसमें स्त्रियाँ आगे आती जाती हैं। और आजकल एक बहुत तरह से क्रान्ति हो रही है यहाँ, एक बड़ी क्रान्ति शिक्षा की हो रही है जिसमें बहुत लोग, खासकर ग्रामों में जो परिवारों में से कभी कोई स्कूल में गये भी नहीं थे, वहाँ के लड़के-लड़कियाँ जा रहे हैं, विशेषकर लड़कियाँ, क्योंकि वो सामाजिक क्रान्ति में कुछ एक बड़ा हिस्सा लेती हैं और समाज हमारी हल्के-हल्के बदल रही है और बदलनी चाहिए। तो ये सब बातें हो रही हैं। तो जिन लोगों ने इसको सबमें शुरू में बड़ा धक्का दिया और उठाया उनमें अव्वल एक माने में सरोजिनी देवी जी थीं। यह बड़ी भारी बात है उनकी, अलावा इसके जो आजादी की जंग में उन्होंने हिस्सा लिया वह ज्यादा नुमायाँ होता है लेकिन और बातें जो उनकी थीं वो बहुत याद करने के काबिल हैं और फायदा उठाने की। और मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत उचित है उनका स्मारक एक बच्चों के अस्पताल की तरह हो, की शक्ल में हो। शायद अगर हम उनकी सलाह ले सकते तो उनको पसंद भी होता यह।

आखीर में जो भी कुछ हमारे देश में होगा उसका दार-ओ-मदार बच्चों पर है क्योंकि, बच्चे कैसे बढ़ते हैं, बच्चे कैसे सिखाये जाते हैं, कैसे क्या मौके उन्हें मिलते हैं, क्योंकि स्कूल जाना, कॉलेज जाना अच्छा है लेकिन स्कूल और कॉलेज के पहले जो बच्चों की देखभाल हो वो शायद ज्यादा आवश्यक है बनिस्बत इसके कि स्कूल-कॉलेज में क्या होता है, क्योंकि उसी वक्त एक तरह से बुनियाद पड़ती है बच्चे के चरित्र की, और बहुत बातों की। अस्पताल है, अस्पताल के माने हैं, एक माने में कि उनका इलाज हो बीमारी वगैरा का, वो तो ठीक है लेकिन उसके माने हैं कि वो ज्यादा दूर तक होने चाहियें और गालिबन होंगे मैं आशा करता हूँ। यानी इसकी वजह से कुछ और लोग सीखेंगे, माताएँ सीखेंगी, कैसे बच्चों की देखभाल करना है और उसका असर विशेषकर इलाहाबाद शहर पर होना चाहिए जैसे कि इस अस्पताल, कमला नेहरु स्मारक अस्पताल का असर हुआ है इलाहाबाद भर पर, और बाहर भी, वैसे ही इस बच्चों के अस्पताल का भी होना चाहिए। और इसका भी कुछ काम होना चाहिए, खाली जो बच्चे यहाँ आये उनका इलाज करना नहीं, लेकिन कुछ देखभाल, निगाह रखना और यहाँ शहर में क्या बच्चों का हाल है, क्या सहायता दे सकते हैं, क्या मदद दे सकते हैं, क्या तरीके इख्तियार करें उनके फायदे के लिए, ये बात तो बढ़ती जायेगी। अब ये हमारे लिए खुशी की बात है कि एक तो यह कि सरोजिनी जी का स्मारक यहाँ हुआ, यही एक फख्र की बात है और दूसरे ये कि यहाँ एक ऐसा बच्चों का अस्पताल बना। इससे हमें, सभी को, शहरवालों को काफी फायदा होगा, बच्चों को, उनकी माँओं को, और सब लोगों को। और इसकी जिम्मेदारी डॉ. मेहता ने आपको बताया कि इसमें एक बड़ा भाग उत्तर प्रदेश की गवर्नमेंट ने लिया है, कुछ और लोगों ने भी लिया है लेकिन अब जिम्मेदारी उत्तर प्रदेश गवर्नमेंट की तो कुछ रहेगी, लेकिन विशेषकर इलाहाबाद के रहने वालों पर है कि वो कैसी इसकी देखभाल करते हैं, कैसी सहायता करते हैं, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि खाली एक मामूली अस्पताल न हो, गैर-मामूली हो। अच्छा हो



हर तरह से और इसके काम ख़ाली चार-दीवारी के अन्दर न हों बल्कि शहर में फैलें और जित्ता इसकी सहायता होगी, सहायता से मतलब पैसों की सहायता से तो है ही लेकिन और तरह से भी, इसमें दिलचस्पी लेना, उससे फायदा उठाना, क्या होता है उससे सीखना जो कि फौरन, आप बहुत बातें सीख सकते हैं जो कि आपके परिवार में आपके बच्चों के लिए लाभदायक हों।

तो मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आज से इस बात को आप याद रखियेगा, एक नयी चीज़, बेश-कीमती चीज़ आपके पास, इलाहाबाद के रहने वालों के पास आयी, जिसकी जिम्मेदारी आप सभी की है, हम सभी की है। यों तो सारे उत्तर प्रदेश की है और एक माने में, क्योंकि स्मारक सरोजिनी जी के लिए है, वो ख़ाली इलाहाबाद और उत्तर प्रदेश की तो नहीं, सारे भारत की थीं, सारे भारत की हैं लेकिन विशेषकर हमारे शहर की हैं।

तो अब मैं जाता हूँ इसका बुनियादी पत्थर रखने।

जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Dr Jivraj Mehta,<sup>191</sup> Chief Minister,<sup>192</sup> Sister and Brothers,

I am very happy to see an old promise of ours being fulfilled. I think it was twelve years ago that the subject of building a memorial to Shrimati Sarojini Naidu was first broached. It had been decided then that the memorial should be a children's hospital. But many things intervened and the matter kept getting put off. Today we are taking a firm step by laying the foundation stone. I am happy about that because for one thing, Sarojini Naidu was an extraordinary personality. Many of you might have had the opportunity of seeing her. In any case, all of you are familiar with her name at least. She played a leading role in our freedom struggle. Then, after independence, she continued to take part in the new challenges that arose. She became the governor of Uttar Pradesh. I remember vividly that day in March, 1949, when all of us had assembled here from various parts of India for the inauguration of the Begum Azad Wing of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital. Srimati Naidu was also to come from Lucknow. But instead we suddenly got the news of her death. She was unable to fulfill her desire to participate in a great task in Allahabad. Her passing away caused us profound grief because she was a beloved friend and colleague and national leader. There were many facets to her personality. Apart from the role that she played in the national struggle, she was famous in other fields too. She ranks among the leading women poets in India and the world.

191. President, Governing Council of AIIMS and Indian Medical Board.

192. C.B. Gupta.

It is strange that, on the one hand, the generally held belief in India has been that traditionally the women have been suppressed. At the same time, if you read Indian history, you will find that Indian women have played a great role in nation building tasks, in various spheres, including the battlefield. Many great names spring to the mind. Now you find that education is bringing about a great change in the status of women. They are participating in various tasks in the country in large numbers. People from the West are amazed at the extent of women's participation in national affairs. It is quite unprecedented even in the advanced countries of the West.

So, this has been an old tradition in India. We are seeing them taking greater opportunities for progress now. I am happy to say that the Parliament has passed various laws in the last few years giving greater rights to women. I am convinced that women will play an increasingly more significant role in national affairs. The fact is that a nation's progress depends on the joint effort of men and women. But to a certain extent, women play a more significant role than men in national affairs. Women have a big role in child-rearing, apart from other things that they may do. The first few years of a child's life are spent under the supervision, guidance and care of its mother. So it is obvious that if women are ignorant, they may lavish their love on the children, but will at the same time pass on their ignorance too. If they are intelligent and educated, their children too will grow up to be like them.

So I am very happy to see women in the forefront of the revolution which is taking place in India. A revolutionary development which is taking place in India is in the sphere of education, particularly in the rural areas. Girls and boys from families where no one has even set foot inside a school are now flocking in large numbers to schools and colleges. Girls in particular are taking part in a great social revolution. Sarojini Devi was among the pioneers in this field. The role that she played in the freedom struggle was no doubt exemplary. But there are many other things for which she will be long remembered. Therefore, I think a children's hospital is a fitting memorial to her. If she had been consulted on the matter, I am sure she would have agreed wholeheartedly.

Ultimately the future of India depends on the children of today through the opportunities for education that they are given. It is no doubt a good thing to go to schools and colleges. But the years to come are far more crucial. It is in the first few years of a child's life that its character is moulded. This is going to be a hospital where the physical illnesses of children will be cured. But I hope that it will play a far-reaching role and that mothers will be taught how to look after their children. It ought to have a special impact on the city of Allahabad just as the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital has had on this city and outside too.



The hospital should not only nurse sick children back to health but also supervise their upbringing outside and help in any way they can. It must take whatever steps it can for the benefit of children. We can be proud that we are building such a fitting memorial to Sarojini. I am sure that it will benefit the children and mothers of the city. As Dr Jivraj Mehta told you, the Government of Uttar Pradesh is taking on the responsibility for this hospital. But the ultimate responsibility will rest on the citizens of the Allahabad and it is up to them to help and look after this place. We want that it should not be an ordinary hospital. Its work should not be that of an ordinary hospital. Its work should not be confined to the four walls of its building but extent outside too. People must come forward with monetary as well as other help. I am sure you can learn a great deal from the hospital to benefit your family and children.

I hope that the citizens of Allahabad will remember that they are acquiring an invaluable asset and the responsibility for its smooth-running rests on your shoulders. It is the responsibility of the whole of Uttar Pradesh. Sarojiniji belonged not only to Allahabad or Uttar Pradesh but to the whole of India. Yet she occupies a special place in the history of this city.

I shall now lay the foundation stone.

Jai Hind!

### (f) Industry

#### **393. To K.D. Malaviya: Expatriates willing to return<sup>193</sup>**

February 5, 1963

My dear Keshava,

I have received a letter from M.V.M. Nair, P.D.(Oman) Ltd., Drilling, P.O. Box 47, Doha, Qatar, Arabian Gulf. In the course of this letter, he says:

“Most of our people here are willing to come back, if necessary, to do their part in the fight for the Motherland. We all would be happy to serve any national enterprise, during this emergency rather than working away from homeland. I myself tried for two years to get a job with the O.N.G. Commission after five years service here as a technical hand. Finally, I had to come back here because my country needs qualified men, experience

193. Letter to the Minister for Mines and Fuel.

does not mean anything to them. There are many qualified men also serving here. We will only be happy to assist in the national reconstruction.”

Yours affectionately  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 394. To K.C. Reddy: Prices of Wool Products<sup>194</sup>

February 9, 1963

My dear Reddy,

This morning, I had a deputation from the Amritsar Small-Scale Woollen Manufacturers Association, and they gave me a Memorandum, a copy of which I enclose. These people had come to me sometime last year, I think it was in May 1962, and I had probably written to you on the subject. The matter had been referred to the Tariff Commission and I understand they have presented a report to your Ministry. I do not quite know what that report contained. That report, apparently, has not been published or implemented. What has happened to it?

The present difficulties have apparently arisen since the Emergency. Because of this we are trying to push up production of woollen goods for defence. We are even obtaining woollen articles from foreign countries. We are also getting woollen tops from them, as we are short of yarn. It surprises me, therefore, that the small-scale woollen manufacturers should be getting into trouble just when we require more and more of woollen goods. I am told that 80% of their looms in this section are lying idle and a large number of people are unemployed. Why this should be so is more than I can understand. Our general policy is to encourage these small-scale manufacturers and now specially when we are in great need, it is all the more odd for them to suffer.

According to the deputation that came to me, large orders are being given to the big mills who are working with two or three shifts, while the small-scale people are suffering greatly. Thus, practically a monopoly has been created in favour of some of the big firms.

In regard to prices charged, because of this monopoly, they have gone up considerably. I was shown some printed reports to indicate how prices have been raised. Woollen tops landed cost is about six rupees and their conversion charges are two rupees, i.e., the total cost price is rupees eight. This is sold here at Rs 24/- per lb. In the UK the price is Rs 10/- per lb. There are no duties on it either in the UK or in India.

194. Letter to the Minister of Commerce and Industry. PMO, File No. 17(538)/63-60-PMS, Sr. No. 6-A.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

This is a tremendous difference and apparently these big mills here are free to charge anything they like.

I was shown some printed report which gave the 1959 price which was low. Now the price is Rs 30/- a lb. I was told that it should not sell for more than Rs 8/- or Rs 9/- per lb. The price of Dhariwal in 1959 was Rs 19/- per yard, now it is Rs 30/- per yard. The DGS of the Defence has fixed Rs 23/- per metre for the battle dress serge. The cost price of this is Rs 18/- or less and this can be supplied at Rs. 20/- per meter. Only this item might make a difference of as much as two crores.

The deputation suggested to me that they, i.e., the small-scale manufacturers could function on a cooperative basis and can assure us low prices both for the Government and the common consumers, if they can get the raw material.

I was also told that the licences had previously been given for six months only to the big manufacturers, but now the licences are given for one year with the result that they can do what they like in regard to prices during this year.

I am mentioning some odd facts that I was told. I had no answer to give but primarily it seems to me wrong for the small-scale manufacturers to be driven into a position when most of their looms are not working and their business is going down creating unemployment, just when from the defence need alone, they should be working at full speed.

I have received a letter from the Chief Minister of the Punjab<sup>195</sup> a copy of which I enclose.

I think this matter requires to be looked into thoroughly and soon. I am drawing the attention of the Defence Ministry to this also.<sup>196</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **395. To T.T. Krishnamachari: Prices of Wool Products<sup>197</sup>**

February 9, 1963

My dear TT,

This morning, a deputation from the Amritsar Small-Scale Manufacturers Association came to me and gave me a memorandum, a copy of which I enclose.

195. Partap Singh Kairon.

196. See also items 395, 396 and 397.

197. Letter to the Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination. PMO, File No. 17(538)/63-60-PMS, Sr. No. 7-A.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I have written to K.C. Reddy<sup>198</sup> and sent him a copy of the memorandum also.

How far the facts given in the memorandum are correct, I do not know, but they showed me printed reports of prices etc. in England and in India, in 1959 and now, and these supported their contentions. But the main thing is that just when our demand is the greatest, these small-scale people should have to close down their looms and all our orders should go to a few big firms, who get a monopoly of these, I think, does require looking into.<sup>199</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 396. Prices of Wool Products<sup>200</sup>

I enclose a copy of a letter I have addressed to the Minister of Commerce & Industries;<sup>201</sup> also a copy of the representation which the Small-Scale Woollen Manufacturers Association, Amritsar, gave me today. I am sending this to you as the Defence Ministry is particularly concerned with the orders for woollen goods for our Army etc. To concentrate these orders on certain big mills to the detriment of the small-scale manufacturers is bad. To do so at a much heavier cost is much worse. According to what I was told, the DGS has fixed Rs 23/- per metre as the price of the battle dress serge when it can be offered at Rs 20/- per metre.

2. I asked the other day, I think in the Cabinet, about blankets which were being obtained by us from abroad. Some of these certainly could be obtained from these manufacturers. It is very odd that their work should be suffering, and their looms should lie idle when we need these goods.

3. I should like you to look into this matter from the Defence point of view. I am sending a copy of this memorandum and my letter to Shri T.T. Krishnamachari.<sup>202</sup>

198. See item 394.

199. See also items 396 and 397.

200. Note, 9 February 1963, for the Cabinet Secretary, S.S. Khera; PMO, File No. 17(538)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 8-A.

201. See item 394.

202. See item 395.



### 397. Looming Monopoly in Wool Production<sup>203</sup>

I enclose a letter from the Minister of Commerce & Industry. This is in reply to a note I had sent him after meeting a deputation of small-scale manufacturers from Amritsar.<sup>204</sup> The deputation had told me that, in spite of the additional work given by the Defence Ministry, they had actually to shut up many of their looms and consequently face unemployment. Apparently, the Defence Ministry work was sent to a few big concerns.

2. The Minister of C & I, points out that the Defence Ministry lays down certain specifications which can only be fulfilled by these big concerns.

3. It seems to me very odd that most of our work should be concentrated in this way and given to the big concerns. In fact, I was astonished to notice that these big concerns lay down their prices, having some kind of a monopoly, and charge exorbitantly. Their prices are quite out of proportion to the cost.

4. Surely it should easily be possible for the Defence Ministry to change their specifications slightly so that the small manufacturers can also produce the woollen articles they require. There is no particular virtue in rigid specifications resulting in very much higher prices and in ignoring hundreds of small manufacturers.

5. The price also has to be looked into. I was shown printed price lists of wool tops etc. in England and here which showed a great difference between the price charged in England and that charged by our big concerns.

### 398. To K.C. Reddy: Big Industry Monopoly in Wool<sup>205</sup>

February 12, 1963

My dear Reddy,

Thank you for your letter of February 11 about small-scale woollen manufacturers. I am writing to the Defence Ministry. I do not think that it is at all right to lay down rigid specifications which can only be fulfilled by the big concerns.<sup>206</sup>

203. Note, 12 February 1963, for the Cabinet Secretary. PMO, File No. 17(538)/63-60-PMS, Sr. No. 9-A.

204. See item 398.

205. Letter to the Minister of Commerce and Industry. PMO, File No. 17(538)/63-60-PMS, Sr. No. 10-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

206. See item 397.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I also wrote to you about the Director-General of Supplies.<sup>207</sup> He seems to be particularly generous in accepting the prices fixed by these big concerns.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 399. To K.D. Malaviya: Shell and *Daily Telegraph* Intrigues<sup>208</sup>

February 17, 1963

My dear Keshava Deva,

I have your letter of February 17 giving an extract from a *Daily Telegraph* message.<sup>209</sup>

I do not think it will be desirable for you to send for the local representative of the *Daily Telegraph*. This may well result in his sending another message of your putting pressure on him.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 400. To K.D. Malaviya: Gujarat Share in Refinery<sup>210</sup>

February 22, 1963

My dear Keshava Deva,

Dr Jivraj Mehta saw me yesterday and spoke to me about Gujarat's share in the refinery you are going to put up there. He had, it appears, suggested 25 per cent, but you had stuck to 15 per cent. As he is anxious to have 25 per cent, why do you not agree to this figure?<sup>211</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

207. See item 394.

208. Letter to the Minister of Mines and Fuel. PMO, File No. 17(463)/61-63-PMS (Vol. I), Sr. No. 43-A.

209. See appendix 18.

210. Letter to the Minister of Mines and Fuel. PMO, File No. 17(442)/60-70-PMS, Sr. No. 11-A.

211. See reply, appendix 22; see also item 401.



#### 401. To K.D. Malaviya: State Shares in Refinery<sup>212</sup>

March 1, 1963

My dear Keshava Deva,

Your letter of the 24th February about Gujarat's share in the Refinery.<sup>213</sup> The argument you have raised that this will be a precedent for Bihar and Assam, is not very relevant. I do not think that need be considered as a precedent because there are two states concerned and you can easily say that you cannot give beyond 25 per cent as a whole. I think it would be a correct attitude for you to fix 25 per cent as a total share of others. That again does not mean that you should give substantial shares to other States who are not prepared or competent to help in the administration or technical management. Apart from that, Bihar and Assam will probably want to borrow that money from the Government of India. Gujarat will not.<sup>214</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 402. Accommodation for Factory Workers<sup>215</sup>

I enclose a letter from the Minister of Economic & Defence Coordination<sup>216</sup> to me. I am inclined to agree with what he has said. I think that we should aim at giving proper accommodation to workers, especially in our new townships. That means a two-room tenement at least. In an emergency it is possible to have more people living there, but the real provision should be for two-room tenements as the minimum.

2. I am going to Bhilai soon. I shall myself see these tenements.
3. I do not know why a decision made by us was subsequently changed.

212. Letter to the Minister of Mines and Fuel. PMO, File No. 17(442)/60-70-71-PMS, Sr. No. 13-A.

213. Appendix 22.

214. See also item 400.

215. Note, 8 March 1963, for the Cabinet Secretary. PMO, File No. 17(37)/57-66-PMS, Sr. No. 75-A.

216. T.T. Krishnamachari.

### **403. For the Calcutta Productivity Council<sup>217</sup>**

I am glad, to learn that the Calcutta Productivity Council has launched an intensive programme to train a thousand Executives, Operatives and Trade Union Organisers in the coming year. We have made much progress in many directions, but still criticism is often made of the management side. We are perhaps too much bound up by Government routines which do not often fit in with changing conditions. Industry is not and should not be static. Techniques of management and production are constantly changing. In particular, during the Emergency we are facing, we have to increase our efficiency at every stage of management and production. I hope that the programme of the Calcutta Productivity Council will help in this process.

### **404. To K.C. Reddy: Manubhai Shah on Industrial Policy<sup>218</sup>**

March 11, 1963

My dear Reddy,

I have received a letter from Manubhai Shah<sup>219</sup> which is rather depressing. I have thought it best to share it with you and also with Kanungo.<sup>220</sup> I am, therefore, enclosing the letter in original. Perhaps you could let me have your comments.

What has happened to the Ranchi Heavy Engineering Plant? Over a year ago I was repeatedly asked to go there to inaugurate it or something of that kind.<sup>221</sup> I was not very well then, and I could not go. There was also some other difficulty. What is the position now?

I should like you to share Manubhai's letter with Kanungo.<sup>222</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

217. Message, 10 March 1963, forwarded to Subhayu Dasgupta, the Director of the Calcutta Productivity Council, 9 Syed Amir Ali Avenue, Calcutta 17.

218. Letter to the Minister of Commerce and Industry. PMO, File No. 17(543)/63-64-PMS, Sr No. 2-A.

219. Minister of State for International Trade; see appendix 33.

220. Nityanand Kanungo, Minister of state for Industry.

221. In September 1961.

222. For reply, see appendices 34 and 45 with item 359.



**405. In New Delhi: To FICCI<sup>223</sup>**

Mr President<sup>224</sup> and Friends,

I welcome this opportunity which is accorded to me of coming here to your annual meetings and meeting you and thus having a look in to your minds and perhaps giving you a glimpse of my own mind. On this occasion, however, I was expecting some difficulty and because of various developments, many people, some of my colleagues and friends were not quite clear in their minds as to whether I should accept this invitation for this meeting or not. I had in fact, accepted it some months ago and I gave a good deal of thought to the advice of some friends and I came to conclusion that it would not be proper for me to go back on the acceptance of this invitation and so I am here. But this very preamble will make you realise that I and many others are faced with some difficulties. The reasons for those difficulties are obvious.

You know that recently a report has been published by a Commission presided over by an eminent ex-Judge of the Supreme Court called the Vigilance Boards Commission which has troubled and distressed a great number of people, not only the members of the government but I feel sure many of you.<sup>225</sup> That report dealt with certain transaction, certain developments in the course of the last few years, which no doubt appertained to a group of organisations and it may not be representative of all. Nevertheless, this look into how things were done and managed in past years, to the detriment of the public good, came as a shock and many questions have arisen since then as to how this kind of a thing should be dealt with, not only a particular thing enquired into but the wider picture. No doubt the government will try to do its best what it considers proper but it is up to you, ladies and gentlemen, also to give thought to this matter, otherwise an impression will spread, as it has to some extent, that all is not well in our commerce and industry and that the standards that we should keep up are not adhered to. I therefore, particularly draw your attention in this matter; because it seemed to me of utmost importance that we should maintain the highest standards.

We deal with the public sector and the private sector, and you especially with the private sector of our economy. We want both to progress. But it is clear that if an impression gets around that the private sector does not maintain the moral standards or the ethical standards the one expects of them, it is that sector

223. Speech, 16 March 1963, at Vigyan Bhavan, to the 26th Annual Session of FICCI. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 11622, 11623, NM No. 2114.

224. Shriyans Prasad Jain.

225. The Vivian Bose Report. See also item 113.

that will suffer in public estimation; on the other hand, if it does maintain them, it will advance and grow. After all, whatever department of life we may be in whether in public or private or a mixture of the two, it is the human aspect that counts. Indeed, the whole work of a nation ultimately depends on the human quality of the persons there. Not only their capacity, their expert knowledge, but their character. No country in any part of the world has risen to greatness if it has not had these qualities in ample measure. I therefore recommend this matter to your earnest attention. Because it is not a matter that can be dealt with solely by Government although the Government has an important part to play. It is for the people of this country and especially you who are largely concerned with industrial processes in this country. So you have to deal with the matter and make it clear to the public mind that the whole object of business and industry in this country is not to make profits or to profiteer only but something else. In that something else which is the growth of the country, the growth of the people of this country and the betterment of their lot ultimately depends on the growth of each individual. We cannot separate it in the long run. It is a very, very short sighted policy apart from the morality or ethics of it to think in individual terms too much and not in national terms.

Now what is the problem before us? After all, we work from day to day but we must have some idea of the problems that we face. The major problem, one might say today; that one of the major problems is to protect our country from foreign invasion from foreign aggression—that is so indeed. Because no country can do anything worthwhile if it cannot even protect its freedom, and everything therefore has to be sacrificed in order to protect it, to maintain it. That is so. Even that involves not some short term effort, but the protection and maintenance of freedom requires long term effects and the building up of the strength of the country. Whatever that strength, whether we require that strength to provide higher standards for our people or capacity to defend ourselves the actual processes have to be much the same. Therefore, many years ago when we became independent and thought over this problem it was clear to us that the primary need for us was to build up the social, economic strength of the country, both to give it higher standards and to give it the capacity to maintain our independence and freedom.

It is true that the emphasis sometimes varies. It depends upon the dangers facing a country. If war comes one has to concentrate rather on the war; but essentially the processes are the same. A country which is economically strong, which is industrially developed is much more in a position to defend itself than any other country however brave its people might be. The great countries today from the point of view of military power or defence are countries which have developed industrially, which has developed in the exploration of science and



its progeny. Therefore, the obvious course for us to follow when we thought of it after independence was to build our country up industrially and bring about in fact, the long deferred industrial revolution in this country. That industrial revolution could not be brought about in terms of what happened in say, England 150 years ago or other countries of Western Europe. Because conditions have changed everywhere and we were functioning in a context of full political democracy.

You will remember that when the industrial revolution came to England and Western Europe, they did not have democracy, except a very, very limited way in England largely in a sense that it eased the process of change there, although it brought a good deal of suffering to their people at that time. We have to function in this context of full democracy a full realisation of the people, of their political demands, their economic demands and full consciousness of them and demands made to realise them. That comes in the way of many other processes that existed in the Europe of the early days of the industrial revolution. Naturally, we have to function in this and so we have been carrying on an experiment a tremendous experiment of maintaining our democratic structure and at the same time of planning for a rapid progress, industrial and scientific and technological progress as was feasible for us.

In what measure we have succeeded is a matter for you to judge, for the world to judge. I believe that in spite of many difficulties and often of errors of commission and omission we have made very considerable and indeed, it might be said, taken it in all, rather a remarkable progress. Because progress ultimately does not consist of more industrial enterprises being set-up that is only a symbol of it. Progress ultimately consists in the quality of the human beings. How they are improving, how their lot is improving, how their minds are being brought out from the ruts they were in? And how they are adapting themselves to the modern world and yet keeping their seats firmly planted on the soil? It is a little difficult to judge of this by statistics; although statistics help greatly. But I think on the whole it may be said that we have been laying sound foundations for our progress. We have many facts of that, I shall not go into that.

We laid special stress on this not that we were not conscious of possible dangers to our freedom but because we thought that even any preparation to meet those dangers necessitated our industrial development. Because if a danger comes suddenly, one has to face it at whatever costs and everything else has to go by the law but that is not a good way to build a country's strength up in the long run. It is always a question of some kind of an appraisal of when the dangers came and to prepare for that. If we are constantly preparing for a danger it means the loss of a great deal of energy and other things in preparing

for a danger if it does not come immediately. So we concentrated on our Five Year Plan and the like, at no time forgetting the possibility of a danger but still thinking that it is not likely to come in the near future. It may be said that we were perhaps a little too optimistic and that when it did come it came with a suddenness and with a massiveness that was not expected. That may be true and we may be in error about that. But the fact remains that the real strength consists in developing the country's scientific, technological, industrial growth.

Now again I repeat what are the problems that face us now? There was the external danger which had to be met at whatever cost it might be. And at the same time there was a question of our developing processes which may be called the Five Year Plans etc. Are we to meet the external danger, at the cost of slowing down those developing processes? That is not a pleasant thought. Because thereby we delay the strengthening of the nation. The external danger that faces us is not of today only: it may be, it may last for a considerable time. And if we stop our developing processes or delay them, it will not be good for us later. We will not be prepared as much as we should be, be it tomorrow or the day after. Therefore, we came to the inevitable conclusion, difficult as the task was, we must shoulder the burden of meeting the external danger at the present and pushing on our development processes so as to strengthen our country for the future. If you like, it was a brave decision but it was an inevitable decision—there was no way out. For a country like India to submit to foreign aggression and submission means in many ways, not only submission—physical submission, but submission on altering its course of action and developing itself—that itself was submission through external pressure—to slow down our rate of growth because of external pressure. Having come to that decision, then inevitably also we had to do what we could to give effect to that decision.

Development involves investment, it involves savings. Apart from many other factors, saving involves how do we save, we save privately or what might be called publicly. Both are necessary. Public savings means taxation and other forms of compulsory savings. While this is good that there should be private saving—and that should be encouraged—it is not something on which one can rely with any assurance. Nor is it necessarily a very equitable way of doing things. Because the people who are more conscious of their duty, accept it, others do not. As often happen the good suffer and those who are not good get away with it. Therefore, it becomes inevitable for a country faced with these changes to pay a good deal of attention to a form of public savings which is taxation—or compulsory savings, apart from the private savings that might be.

Now, recently as you know, our Finance Minister has put forward the budget which is an unusual budget in a sense that he has gone pretty far in the field of tapping sources for revenue. I do not propose and it would not be proper for



me to discuss that budget here since the Finance Minister is dealing with it in Parliament and I believe sometimes the other representatives of the public to discuss various aspects of it. But I would like you to consider what I would call, the strategy of that budget apart from individual items on which you might agree or not agree. And I submit to you that the broad strategy of that budget is a good one and inevitably where there is a large-scale taxation the burden falls on the people. And nobody likes to increase one's own burden. But on the whole an attempt has been made to spread out the burden so that it should not fall very much on particular people, groups and especially those who can least afford it. Some fall unfortunately but again inevitably on the relatively less prosperous people. Undoubtedly that is so. In a country like India where the great majority are less prosperous and only a handful are prosperous, that cannot be helped. However, I am not going into details of that. I am merely mentioning to you that the Finance Minister assured a good deal of thought to this matter, as he had to, and produced something which in spite of paramount criticism of the various parts, has on the whole, had a good reception. That reception itself is testimony to our people being fully looking in the larger context of the things today, in the problems that face us, in the dangers that face us. Obviously, such a budget in normal times would have been probably objected to but they realise the dangers that threaten India and the necessity for us to work our hardest and shoulder all burdens that are necessitated by this situation. That is a healthy sign as indeed was the sign of the people reacting to the Chinese aggression and invasion in the early days when there was a wonderful exhibition of unanimity and enthusiasm all over the country.

So the problem is to face aggression in the present and prepare to face any menace of aggression in the future and at the same time to try our best to continue our process of development and strengthen. That process can never be completed for it is a moving thing that it can reach a certain stage when we are more honest and self dependent in producing the things we want both for defence and other purposes. Defence, indeed includes so many other things. We talk of defence, it is not quite clear what we say, we do not think for instance of atomic weapons. We are not going to make atomic weapons. That we decided about long ago. And decided that not merely because of our moral urge but because practically it is wrong in thought. It will be doing us no good it will only add to the dangers of the world. But then what are we going to defend ourselves against? Weapons change every day and we have come to this that the most modern weapons are practically the monopoly of a few very great powers who produce them and who are in a position to use them. Are we going to spend all of our resources in building specialised weapons for that purpose? We cannot do it at present and I would not like that to be done in the

future. That is to spend such a large part of our resources in making more and more latest weapons. Nevertheless, there is a certain basic minimum which if we think in terms of armed defence—as we must—we have to do. For that we must have an industrial background. It is not a question of putting up an ordnance arms factory here and there. If we do of course, but an industrial background has to grow.

If we halt this process of development that all of you are aware of, inevitably we are driven back to expediting this process to the best of our ability. If we are to do that, we have to do it in a logical, reasonable, planned way. Leaving it to odd persons to do it, with the best will in the world that is not the utilisation of our resources to the best advantage. In wartime as you all know there is inevitably a tremendous deal of planning, even in countries that normally do not plan. They have to do so, so as to use those resources to the best advantage and there is a scarcity of resources. We being part of the foreign aggression that is taking place have to meet conditions, the same conditions of scarcity, same conditions of difficulty, and the only obvious way is to plan. One may have two views as to the relative importance of things in planning. But plans are—and I cannot understand how any person with a grain of intelligence can talk against planning. He does not live in this world, he lives in some feudal world. Not in the world of today. And we must plan and any plan must have clear objective. Where are we going to? Those clear objectives are not a matter of my thinking or your individual thinking although our thinking helps towards that end. It is governed by certain social objectives social imperatives. We cannot deal in a democratic country like India with any social objective which does not touch those masses who compose that democracy. So we have developed certain social objectives which are part of our constitution and part of our thinking and they must be part of our planning. If we do not do that the structure breaks up. As a matter of fact it has been a remarkable thing, I think, if you look around the world today especially, the world of Asia and Africa, the world of the newly independent countries, and compare the fate of India—what has happened in India, the historical development of India in these last fifteen years or so—and I am sure you will agree with me that the comparison is all to the advantage of India, in spite of all our failings, omissions etc. It is to our advantage, both politically and economically. That is partly at least, I think because we have kept the social aspect in view, the aspect of social growth. It is not a mere question of hoarding money. If we want to produce more and have more wealth, we must have it properly distributed. The social idea behind it all, which we have put across I regret to say has not been always acted upon fully as it might be because of circumstances that has helped in maintaining the stability of our life in our country by and large, apart from other causes also. Where that has



been lacking, difficulties have arisen. All kinds of military coups d'état and military governments have come in because the outlook socially speaking and also politically perhaps was not the right one. And we still continue with our democracy functioning in a wider measure as far as possible, even though war and other things have hovered in the shadows and has influenced our action to a slight extent in regard to that democracy.

Now, therefore we have got our fairly clear ideas about the problem before us, the problem being to work for the development of India scientifically, economically and socially. In the context of a democratic structure of government and not because we prefer democracy but because we think it is the only thing that will function properly in India. Any other system will have harmful results, we feel. Anyhow we prefer it. And we have to plan accordingly in that context how to function? Now may be that in that context things are sometimes done not as speedily as otherwise. There is no reason why it should not be done speedily, but democracy is a complicated way of functioning. And sometimes it involves delays. I think we might get rid of delays, some of which are inherent in methods of working which we have to face.

You Mr President, referred to delays and the like. I largely agree with you that these delays and procedures which encompass us come in our way and we should change them and improve upon them as much as possible. I believe we are making some progress to that end under the stress of events, but inevitably all these matters involve not a question of mere procedure but changing the whole approach to things of vast numbers of people. It is not a question of a few people in our offices doing it or Members of Parliament or those whom you represent. The whole structure has to move more rapidly, more efficiently and with greater sense of purpose.

We live in a difficult and rather callous world, always on the brink of possible catastrophe. I do not think most people realise this. Perhaps if they had realised it, they would move a little more swiftly. We are criticised and criticism is the very breath of the democratic process. So, it is not the criticism that I object to. But sometimes that criticism seems to ignore certain realities including the reality of the modern world. And if it ignores that reality it is not likely to help us very much.

We live in a dangerous world, in a threatening world, not merely threatening on our borders—that is bad enough—but the general context of the world today is one of danger for all. And the only way we can face this and prepare ourselves for whatever might come is to work our hardest, to increase our strength in every way; that is, industrial, economic, social, and do it in the context of people having higher standards of living, having some faith and belief in the

structure that we live in, and therefore giving all their effect to this process of building up a new India.

I have referred to a rather wonderful response of the Indian people because of the occasion of the Chinese aggression in the North-East. And I have often wondered what that was due to. Of course, we know to some extent. But that itself was, I think, an indication that however much the government today may be criticised and may be worthy of criticism, nevertheless, the changes brought about in the last fifteen years in India since independence have been such that people value them and people do not want to endanger them. And they felt that what was happening by Chinese aggression was something that might endanger the kind of freedom, the kind of betterment that they were getting. And so apart from these national urges of love of country etc., they rallied in a remarkable way. That is very heartening. Heartening as it was, we have always to consider that aspect. That it is for this vast mass of people in India that we work. India is not merely a question of mountains and rivers and forests and cities and towns. It is a mass of human beings. Many of them struggling for a mere pittance, and that is a real test, as how to better those people and if we think only of our own betterment and the profits that we get, we may get, we lose the real problem, we lose the real perspective.

One thing else. I used the word perspective. In building up India and in planning for it, it is not enough to plan for the needs of today and tomorrow. We have to have perspective planning, that is, we must plan for the next fifteen years, twenty years. Things take a long time to develop and therefore perspective planning becomes more and more important. Well, whether it is immediate planning or perspective planning, we have to get as much of cooperation as possible and from what you have said, Mr President, you also speak of cooperation. Cooperation there has to be. Cooperation for common ideals, common objectives, even though we may differ slightly here and there.

We who live in India today have got a tremendous challenge to face and a tremendous opportunity. Perhaps it is good that we have those challenges to face because a challenge brings out a people and I think we have shown that the reaction of the Indian people has been good and we have to live up to that reaction of the common folk of India. And therefore, everything we do we should aim at, should keep in view this mass of people for whose freedom we worked and for whose betterment we labour.

Thank you.



**406. To D. Ramaswami: Jayanti Shipping  
Loan Regular<sup>226</sup>**

March 16, 1963

Dear Dr Ramaswami,

I have your letter of the 15th March. It is true that the loan which was promised to the Jayanti Shipping Company had my approval.<sup>227</sup> This matter was gone into very thoroughly by the Cabinet and especially the Finance Minister. I think that the promise of a loan in case of need was thoroughly justified and the results obtained have been fully as anticipated or even better. There was absolutely no risk involved and the progress of the Jayanti Shipping Company in adding greatly to our present tonnage has been more than was expected.

I do not think there was any departure from our statutes and regulations in this matter, nor was there the slightest desire to benefit any private individual.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**407. To B.R. Vats: On *Indian Petroleum*<sup>228</sup>**

March 17, 1963

Dear Vats,

Thank you for your letter of March 17th and for sending me your publication on *Indian Petroleum*. I have quickly glanced through this book, and it seems to me that it is a useful compilation especially at the present moment when this subject is very much before us. I hope this book will be read by many persons who are interested in this subject. This will give them a good idea of our difficulties and our success in this field.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

226. Letter; address: Wadia Building, 137/164 Queens Road, Bombay 1.

227. The Company was owned by Jayanti Dharam Teja. For the details of the loan transaction, see report in *Economic Weekly*, 24 February 1962, p.346.

228. Letter to special representative of PTI in Moscow; address: 7 Ranjit Singh's Block, Connaught Place, New Delhi.

#### **408. In New Delhi: To the All India Manufacturers' Organisation<sup>229</sup>**

Mr Chairman<sup>230</sup> and Delegates to this Conference,  
I thank you for inviting me to inaugurate this Conference as you have done in some previous years also. I attach importance to your Conference and to the cause you represent.

As you know we have entered, during the last few years, a phase of fairly rapid industrialisation in this country. As we looked upon it we thought that industrialisation could only take place fairly rapidly if its base was that of heavy or basic industry. So long as we depended upon other countries for the basic capital goods there would be delay and the progress would be slow. So we concentrated on basic industries and we have made considerable progress in that respect. And I think that in the course of the next few years, results will be even more marked. But obviously basic industry, though more important, we must have the smaller industries all over the country. And basic industries, apart from certain essential goods, that they do feed the smaller industries. And it is only through the smaller industries being widespread all over the country that really production increases. I often wonder if the indices of production that we get are quite correct in the sense that we take into consideration the small industrial units that have started in various parts of the country. I think I saw somewhere that those indices are based on certain larger industries and some well-known middle industries but they have not kept pace with the growth of small industry. And therefore, to that extent they are below the mark, below the actual conditions existing in the country today.

Now we want to industrialise the country. We want India to enter fully into the new phase brought about by the industrial revolution. That does not merely mean setting up odd factories here and there, odd plants. That is a result of industrialisation. It means something more than that. It means developing a climate, a psychology, which makes people think and understand the processes of industrialisation. If you look into past history and see the development of this process of industrialisation beginning in England and Western Europe, America and other places, you see it was relatively a painful development because it upset life as it was previously and in this process caused a good deal of suffering. And as it developed it changed the mentality of the people who became conscious more and more of the new methods of production etc.

229. Speech, 30 March 1963, to the Twenty-Third Annual Conference, Vigyan Bhavan. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 11630, 11631, NM No. 2117, 2118.

230. Prabhu Mehta.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

Now in India we have a population, I do not exactly remember, about 80% still rural, and however much we may progress industrially, in various centres; unless we tap the rural population and make it more and more, shall I say, machine-minded, the work that you do will be limited. Well of course, gradually these ideas spread. If you have plant anywhere, a big plant or a small plant, it affects the neighbourhood. And so the circles are enlarged, which are affected by new thinking, new methods of production etc. But I have felt that basically while this is alright, unless we touch the vast agricultural population in the country and gradually make it think on new lines and draw it out of old habits, traditions and ruts, into modern ways of thinking, we shall always have a drag on this process of change.

I imagine that all those processes must take place at the same time. But merely concentrating on one and not allowing the others to develop, not encouraging the other part to develop, means bottlenecks; bottlenecks, actual, practical and even more so psychological. Therefore, what we are engaged in today is an attack on the problem on all its fronts. That is the purpose of the Planning Commission and Five Year Plans etc. One has to see this problem as a whole. It is becoming increasingly difficult and unrealistic to concentrate on one aspect and allow the other aspects to remain as they are.

Take even another aspect of it, education. You have referred, Sir, in your address to technical education. Behind technical education must lie general mass education. After that comes technical education. Therefore, we come up against this, that one of the vital things for industrialisation itself in education, mass education, supplemented by a large-scale technical education. In fact, compulsory education in its primary stages and later in higher stages came about as a result or as a necessary accompaniment of the process of industrialisation. Industrialisation could not go ahead unless there is this background of large scale mass education in the countries of the West.

In Japan where we see quite a remarkable case of planning and deliberate planning for desired objectives, when they made the change in the last century sometime, third and fourth quarter of the last century, they started with education. One of the things they began with was mass education. Because they realised this, once you have got educated and trained mass of people, the rest almost automatically follows. Not automatically, of course, but it does follow if there is any vitality in the nation.

We lack many things. We lack money, resources and all that. But I do believe that the major lack is trained manpower. We have enough manpower. Money ultimately does not come in the way when human beings are trained and capable of doing anything.

So one has to look at this problem in all its many-sided aspects and that is the problem of training. It is recognised now more and more that in the business of this kind one has to approach in a planned way. Otherwise the difficulty will be progress in one field and all manner of bottlenecks in some other field.

You referred, Sir, to transport. Now it is patent that transport is important. But even more patent that power is important, which is the basis of modern life, of modern industry, modern everything. So one thing leads to another and unless one can think of all these things more or less together and advance along these lines one gets tied up.

Now I just referred to the 80% people living in rural India. How is one to draw them out of their ancient ways and habits, and methods of thinking? That was the purpose to some extent of the Community Development Scheme that we started. That is the purpose of the Panchayati Raj Scheme which is now under way in various States. It is to cast responsibility upon them, to these people, to give them authority and give them certain resources which will probably set in motion forces in the rural areas which will result in this different way of thinking, in more modern agriculture, in the development of small industries in the rural areas which we so much want. I think that process has begun and it will yield ever greater results in the future.

Now I mentioned all this to you because I wanted you to consider this problem in its wider aspects. Here we are undergoing a tremendous revolution in India—industrial revolution, many other revolutions—the education revolution, the spread of education which now encompasses in its field about 52 or 53 million boys and girls in the country in schools and colleges, and it increases by a million a year.

All these are vital changes taking place in the country, peacefully and more or less in orderly fashion. But somehow most people do not associate the word revolution with an orderly change as is happening here. But it is a revolutionary process that is going on. A revolutionary process of this kind brings about all kinds of impact on social life.

Our social life is governed by ancient routines, ancient practices, ancient habits. It changes of course. A railway train comes, it changes one's habits, one does not travel by the bullock cart or by horse. And many other things happen daily, electric light comes, electric power comes. But that process has been speeded up and is wholly speeded up. And we have to realise that this kind of change is necessary, it is essential. In a country like India there are some remarkable and unusual habits which have governed us. We have a high degree of ability if it is properly tapped. It is well known that our handicraftsmen turn into a very high class people working on specialised precision machinery. They learn easily. They work well. In a sense, therefore, we have the material here for



industrialisation in the biggest way as we see they are doing well, wherever they have a chance. And at the same time, socially speaking, our habits are unusual. Unusual I say, compared to other countries. And this creates some difficulty in our way, not in India so much as outside India. I am not for the moment referring to the people, who are used to other habits, other ways, and there are a large number who are also used, but never the masses of the population. When we go outside in large numbers, and settle down in other countries as in the past we have done, we keep to ourselves, we do not mix easily. With the result that we do not integrate easily with the populations of the countries we come to. What with our caste systems and our provincialism, provincial habits, you find if you go there to other countries where there are a fairly large number of Indians, not even the Indians functioning as a group. There are provincial groups there, they may be Punjabis, Bengalis, Malayalees, and Tamils and what not—all as a group are all in a club. Now that shows the difficulty in their mixing with the people of that country. They remain as a separate entity. And that does create certain difficulties even in our industrial ventures or export and other things.

I am referring to certain factors which perhaps are not before us. We think of exports purely from the point of view of, well, an efficient industry. That is most important of course. But there are certain psychological features which are not helpful. They will change of course, and they are changing. But I am pointing out to you how in some respects we are a difficult people to get on with others. Essentially that is due to this background of caste that we carry with us, wherever we go, and our habits. But all these things are changing with this process of change, industrialisation does not merely mean the machine coming in but the mind changing with it—the mind fitting in with the modern age.

Then take another thing. There can be no doubt that in the early days of industrialisation in England or elsewhere certain social theories which backed it up, are no longer prevalent. They have changed, even the conservative circles in other countries do not hold them; because they do not fit in with the modern age. Other things have come in. The question of social justice is now generally recognised, whether you go to a capitalist country or socialist or communist or any other country. It may be sought to be realised in different ways but the ideal of it, the objective is there. As you know we have laid down in our Constitution, the very first thing social justice, equality, political, economic, etc. That idea, which the founders of our Republic, and drafters of the Constitution very wisely recognised, is an idea which represents the spirit of the age.

I am not quite sure yet, if that idea in its essence is wholly grasped by every person in India, even by all the industrial magnates in India. Although it is enshrined in our Constitution and it represents the spirit of the age. One may dislike some aspects of it and in some ways, it is brought about. But there can

be no doubt that today the world aims more and more at equality of opportunity and all that comes with it. Here, what with our caste system, Harijans and all these persons, we start at the basis of non-equality which is fatal to the modern age. If Mahatmaji talked about Harijans and raising the depressed classes, he no doubt did it from the ideals he held, but it was practically the most obvious thing to do. You cannot exist with that kind of thing. I refer to these things which are not relevant absolutely to your proceedings but I want to give you a background of the world we live in today.

Today it is a world hankering not only after political objectives which we did in our struggle for independence, not only for economic objectives for the nation, although that is very important and that is what you are concerned with but also social objectives. Because people are no longer prepared, larger numbers of people are no longer prepared to live in a way which does not grant them that opportunity to fulfil themselves, to express themselves, to have equal opportunities. I think it is not an easy task to change over to that. But we live in that atmosphere in the world, in India, everywhere and oddly enough you find it differently expressed, of course in capitalist countries like the United States or in communist countries like the Soviet Union, differently expressed, different ways of looking at things, but essentially there is that common background to the two. And there is one other common background to the two. And there is one other common background, in spite of all the differences, that is both these countries and others really worship the machines, the science, technology and the machines. These are the gods, people worship. I do not mean that they do not worship other gods too, moral or ethical, but these are essentially the gods that shape people's lives, machines, and technology and science. Now that brings about a certain way that changes one's life, a nation's living conditions. They are changing rapidly today. Ours are changing and will probably change more rapidly, encouraged by widespread education and the growth of industry and growth of the use of science and all that. This is the kind of the world we live in. And it is a world at the same time living on the brink of possible disaster, curious world on the one hand showing a fiesta of enormous progress, on the other hand glimpses of possible disaster. So we live in a dangerous age and yet a very promising one. It depends on us whether we are optimistically inclined or pessimistically inclined, to which we attach more importance—to possible disaster or to infinite possibilities of progress. Anyhow life would not be worth living if we always thought of possible disaster. We have to take a more or less middle view, objective view, prepare for any difficulties or disasters that might come, to face them with courage and at the same time an optimistic view to build for [recording interrupted].



Take the present instance, the trouble we had with China on our borders. It is, as one realises, a big thing, a big thing not only in the present but a big thing for the future, a big thing in the relations of India and China in the future. Two vast countries with tremendous frontier, how they fashion themselves how they each of them grow, will have an effect not only on their people but on others, what their relations are, will have an effect on the future of Asia, and because they are such big countries, it has an effect on the world. And we have to face this dynamic and developing and dangerous situation all the time. Now such a situation both on the side of possible and actual conflict with China and on the other side of industrial and economic change. Such situations, are, as you said, Mr Chairman, a challenge and an opportunity. I entirely agree with you. It is only through our facing challenges and opportunities that life gives, that a country progresses. A country's progress is conditioned by many things but essentially at back of it all, the progress comes in the mind of man, in the heart of man. Mr Gandhi during his campaigns against the British and their rule here, was more concerned in changing the minds of the millions of our countrymen than merely putting pressure on the British. That was an accident. And he did change them. He revolutionised them. He brought up a people who were mentally sunk with no hope. Again, I am referring not to a few persons in the cities but to the mass of our people, who had no hope and he gave them hope, he gave them something which is essentially a living substance, make them a living people from a people in a semi-torpor. That was a tremendous thing and a basic thing. And whatever we do we have to keep that life substance in our people, raise it up and that has to be in line with the stream of life. And the stream of life today is not only the stream of science, the stream of technology but the stream of social justice. Nothing else is going to carry you very far.

All these factors have to be kept together in bringing us fully into the industrial age. If we forget them, if we try to get the benefits, the seeming benefits of the industrial age, forgetting the wider aspects of social justice, we will fail. Because we will not fit in with the temper and the spirit of age and spirit of our own people. It is important this aspect should be remembered and because some people still imagine, that some people in India still live in a period, or mentally in a period, which the rest of the world has passed through, individuals apart. It is extraordinary case of continuing state of, shall I say, the stream of life has passed by and the stream of thinking has passed by, but they hold on to something which is no longer relevant today.

Now if you keep these basic things in mind then the rest is very important but nevertheless it is a corollary to the first part that is we have to go ahead to plan, to implement our Plans etc. about this process of industrialisation, keeping the basis intact. About that opinions may differ, possibly, as they do differ.

That does not matter so much if the main things are right. And we have tried to keep the main things right in our planning and in implementing them comes the government machinery but ultimately the vast numbers of the people come in, non-governmental people, non-officials and others coming in, you coming and others. And all the government machinery in the world cannot bring about results unless that machinery is in keeping with the work, the energy and the ability of the people. After all a country can only advance this is a maxim but no exception, advance as much as it has, as it can put in hard work and as much as it has ability for it. If it had not the ability it does not matter what laws you make it will not advance. It cannot go. You cannot have, you cannot win a race, let us say a 100 yards race unless you have people who can run 100 yards under, whatever 10 seconds or 9½ seconds. All the rules in the world will not make you a spirited runner, unless you have it in you. Therefore, the country must have it in it, in order so that it may have that, that capacity it can be helped by educational processes and “Education” is most important therefore.

But ultimately it is ability and hard work that tells in a country’s progress. Ability to take advantage of creative ideas, new methods etc. We see in India in the past several hundred years, even before the British came an extraordinary lack of creative ability. A high degree of civilisation, a tremendous degree of courage but a lack of creative thinking, creative action. We have been living in old ruts, thinking in old ruts and so highly gifted race was stunted for a while. Something has happened, the British came, others came and shook us up and forced us out of those ruts to some extent. That was the good they did apart from the harm they did also.

Now at last we have got it, we are in a position to, without any too much external pressures to work for ourselves. And we have to work in a way to develop those creative energy in thinking and acting, in everything. And I believe that if I may say so, we have the capacity to do, all this. We have the capacity if only we keep ourselves in tune, in line with the moving stream of thinking and of life. I think we are trying to do that. There are many pulls that keep us back but we have to fight them and go ahead.

Now I have not told you anything about certain problems which must concern you and concern the nation. I have not told you anything about the budget. And I do not propose to, except to say that the budget taken in, all in all, is as you will notice a courageous, as you have said Sir, courageous attempt to meet the situation. The situation was a difficult one. It was anyhow a difficult one because of the burdens on us cast by the Five Year Plans and the rest. It has become doubly or trebly difficult by the attack of China on us. And it is obviously necessary for meeting it adequately. Any nation which fails to defend itself to meet such aggression, somehow it loses not only its place in



the world but also its place in its heart, it loses its own self respect. It is sign of utter failure and everything. We have to do it. It is not a question of finding money, this or that, we have to do something. It does not matter if in the doing of it whatever the burdens we have to carry. So the situation was a difficult one and it has been met, if I may say so, with courage.

You may criticise some aspects of the budget and your criticisms would no doubt be carefully considered, and if some minor changes here and there be brought about which can improve it, they should be brought about. But that is the business of our Finance Minister. But I want you to understand basically, it is a challenge to us, and that challenge has been met; that we are serious and we are not merely talking but we can face the challenge adequately [Applause]. So naturally we take help from others to the best we can and we are grateful to them, but the realisation must always be with us, that the burden is ours, that the job is ours. Others help is welcome but we have to do the job help or no help. That is the attitude of self respecting nations.

You mentioned Sir, many factors you mentioned, I am not going into them, one thing you said something about the regional planning, and the region we live in I think we should do that. Of course, there are some difficulties in that because of our lacks and our needs are the same, but I have no doubt that we should develop more and more of this regional outlook. And it is bound to be so all over the world.

Also talked about a great deal is of capital coming in to India from other countries where Indians dwell. I am sure we will welcome that. If there are difficulties in the way, it should be removed. In fact, that is recognised even by our Finance Ministry. I think there must be some misunderstanding about it. We do not wish as to whether it should be called capital or income but I am sure it can be done. And that is, I think, the outlook of our Finance Ministry also.

For the rest, I should like to express my high appreciation of the growth of small industry in India both in the North and in the South. By North I mean especially the Punjab, and in the South in Madras, and Bengal and in some other places in India too. It has been most heartening, the growth of this, and I am sure it will continue, because of the push given to it. More real difficulties are lack of power and other materials, certain raw materials and the rest. Well we should ... Power is the most essential thing for the growth of the country nowadays. You can judge the country's progress by the amount of power it possesses. And that is why I might add although conventional ways of producing power—thermal power and hydro-electric power must be used at the utmost, we are now experimenting with atomic power, realising that that may be the power of the future. For the moment it is not exactly in competition with other kinds, but at the same time it should not be considered even now as uneconomic. It

is coming into position now and in some places, it is even economic. Anyhow power is most important and we should tap all sources of power. For the more power we have the more this change over will take place.

I hope your deliberations will lead to success. Thank you [Applause].

#### **409. To Y.B. Chavan: New Airport for Delhi<sup>231</sup>**

April 5, 1963

My dear Chavan,

J.R.D. Tata<sup>232</sup> mentioned to me today the urgency of our having a new airfield. Palam is at present used by both our civil people and our Air Force. With the increasing use of jet aircraft, this is dangerous and is likely to lead to disaster one of these days.

This question has been discussed for some years now. It was agreed that there should be another airfield, but both our Air Force and our Civil Aviation wanted to stick to Palam. Because of this argument, no step has been taken. J.R.D. Tata thought that it would be better for the Air Force to build a new airport for its own use. It can afford to go a little further away from Delhi. The civil airfield should be nearer to Delhi. I hope you will look into this matter and discuss it with our Air Force people.<sup>233</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **410. To Y.B. Chavan: Second Airport for Delhi<sup>234</sup>**

April 11, 1963

My dear Chavan,

Your letter of the 11th April about another airport round about Delhi especially for the use of the Indian Air Force.

I do not understand the value of the argument that in the jet age they should have no other airport within forty miles of Delhi. I remember discussing the question of another airport repeatedly during the past few years. No one at

231. Letter to the Defence Minister. Nehru wrote a similar letter the same day to Jagjivan Ram, the Minister of Transport. Not reproduced here.

232. Chairman Tata Sons.

233. See also item 410.

234. Letter to Defence Minister.



that time raised this argument. That would apply no doubt to having two civil airports, but where the airports are meant for different purposes, this would have little application. I suppose that the airport you suggest at Hindon would be about 15 miles from Palam. I have no figures about other cities, but I imagine that in New York, London, etc. there are big airports much less than 35 miles of each other.<sup>235</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **411. To Manubhai Shah: Use Experts not Ignoramuses<sup>236</sup>**

April 12, 1963

My dear Manubhai,

Your letter of April 12th. I met Homi Bhabha a day or two ago. He told me that one of his experts was in Tokyo recently and he has been able to make some progress in regard to the export of ilmenite to Japan. He further told me that the State Trading Corporation had apparently asked someone to help in the export of ilmenite; that person had asked someone else. This second person was enquiring about ilmenite in Japan. Apparently, he did not know anything about ilmenite and so the Japanese authorities referred him to Bhabha's man there.

This indicates the difficulties perhaps of entrusting this particular work, which requires rather special knowledge, to persons ignorant of that knowledge.

For the present, as you have pointed out, this has been left to the Atomic Energy Department.

As for the proposal for the production of rutile, I have sent the paper to Bhabha also and I shall await his reply.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

235. See also item 409.

236. Letter to the Minister of International Trade.

(g) Science

**412. To Morarji Desai: Science Research Grants<sup>237</sup>**

February 7, 1963

My dear Morarji,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th February about the budget provision for scientific research.

In the letter I wrote to you on this subject, I mentioned particularly two items—grants for the non-governmental institutions and the Indian Statistical Institute near Calcutta.<sup>238</sup> I think any reduction in them would be harmful to our work. The non-governmental institutions are many. There is, for instance, the Bose Institute in Calcutta. To cut down their grants would practically mean their winding up some of the work they are doing.

I think that scientific work should be encouraged more and more as that is the basis for most of the developmental and other work that we do today.

As for the possibility of economy in scientific research, I agree with you that there must be some scope for it. But the proper way to find out is to appoint a small committee of leading scientists who should go into the matter. Any ad-hoc reduction will be a wrong way to approach.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**413. To Morarji Desai: Science Budget<sup>239</sup>**

February 21, 1963

My dear Morarji,

I enclose a letter from Humayun Kabir<sup>240</sup> about the cuts in the Budget dealing with Science and Scientific Research. You know my views about the importance of this. Even and ultimately for defence, it will be, I think, harmful to us to cut down the allotment for these projects.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

237. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/115/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 4-A. also available in the JN Collection.

238. See SWJN/SS/80/item 173.

239. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/115/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 8-A.

240. Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.



**414. For the *Indian and Eastern Engineer*<sup>241</sup>**

I send my good wishes to the 104th Anniversary Number of the *Indian & Eastern Engineer*. The mere fact that it has survived for over a century demonstrates that it supplies a need.

Engineers and scientists are, as I have often said before, the basic stuff of the modern world. I hope, therefore, that there will be more and more scientists and engineers in India to build our country and modernise it.

**415. To H.J. Bhabha: Committee on Scientific Institutes<sup>242</sup>**

February 28, 1963

My dear Homi,

I have received your letter of February 24 from Vienna. I have spoken to Khera<sup>243</sup> about this matter.

You will remember suggesting to me that we might form a small committee of scientists to survey the field of our National Laboratories, Institutes, etc. and to suggest how we can economise and at the same time promote greater efficiency. We have decided to set up this committee, but I am waiting for you to suggest names for it on your return here.<sup>244</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**416. To S.H. Zaheer: Research Planning<sup>245</sup>**

March 8, 1963

My dear Munne,

Dr P.D. Gaitonde<sup>246</sup> saw me this afternoon and gave me a note on research planning. I told him that something on these lines was actually being done by our Defence Ministry and our national laboratories.

241. Message, 21 February 1963, forwarded to Mick de Souza, Bombay 1.

242. Letter to the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission; address: Hotel Imperial, Vienna. PMO, File No. 17(528)/62-63-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

243. S.S. Khera, Cabinet Secretary.

244. See item 417.

245. Letter to the Director-General of the CSIR.

246. Congress MP, Lok Sabha.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

However, I am enclosing his note.

As for Scientific Attachés, we have already some such persons in some important countries. It is difficult to send more good persons abroad for this purpose. Such persons can be utilised much more effectively here. I do not think a Scientific Attaché can get the information of research work being done in various organisations or institutes in foreign countries.

Dr Gaitonde gave me an order by General Patton of the US Army to indicate how a particular difficulty that had arisen was sought to be countered. This has no relation to our own problems. However, I am sending these papers to you.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **417. To H. J. Bhabha: Scientists' Committee for Science Budget<sup>247</sup>**

March 17, 1963

My dear Homi,

Your letter of March 16th. I am glad you are back.<sup>248</sup>

I shall be in Bombay on the 20th and 21st. I should like to go to Trombay.<sup>249</sup> I rather doubt if I shall be able to manage it as my programme appears to be pretty full. Anyhow, I should like to meet you.

You will remember about the suggestion that we should appoint a small committee of scientists to look into our budget for scientific work with a view to making it more efficient and where possible, to economise. I want to consult you about the names for this committee. You mentioned some names when you were with me last. Apart from three or four scientists, we might have some persons with administrative experience.<sup>250</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

247. Letter to the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. PMO, File No. 17(39)/62-63-PMS, Volume I, Sr. No. 30-A.

248. Available in NMML; not reproduced here.

249. Bhabha had written: "Would you like to pay a visit to Trombay to see Project Phoenix (the Plutonium plant), which is now in an advanced stage of construction?"

250. See item 415.



**418. To Husain Zaheer: Scientific Advisers<sup>251</sup>**

March 17, 1963

My dear Munne,

Thank you for your letter of March 17th.

As for the cuts in the CSIR budget, I think that we might succeed in getting most of them back.<sup>252</sup>

The question of appointing Scientific Advisers is, in theory, good, but the difficulty always arises in finding suitable men. There is no point in appointing any persons not really capable of doing this work satisfactorily. Also, a good man will be required more in India.

About your proposal to constitute a Scientific Advisory Committee, it seems to me that merely duplicating committees with somewhat overlapping work will not be very helpful. Probably the same persons will have to be appointed to some other committees.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**419. In the Lok Sabha: Atomic Energy<sup>253</sup>**

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr Speaker, the debate on the Demands for the Atomic Energy Department has been, in a sense, a most gratifying one, because, almost every Member has expressed his general approval of the work done by this department and the advances made. Some criticism have been made or rather some suggestions have been made on various matters connected with that department. I shall refer to them briefly.

One thing which has often come up before this House in the shape of questions, etc. is the question of the mineral sands in Kerala, especially the export of ilmenite.<sup>254</sup> I have repeatedly gone into this matter. A crisis has arisen because of circumstances entirely beyond our control and partly conditions created within the industry itself. The emergence of new and cheaper sources of ilmenite or substitutes in other countries, the existence of certain natural

251. Letter to the Director-General of the CSIR.

252. See items 412 and 413.

253. Statement on Demands for Grants, 25 March 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XV, March 18-28, 1963, pp. 5915-5927.

254. See item 223.

impurities like chromium and vanadium in Indian ilmenite and the recent technological developments in the manufacture of titanium dioxide pigment partly resulted in this. Anyhow, this matter has been very carefully looked into. Every effort is being made to find export markets. In fact, some success has already been attained, I believe, in finding a market in the United States and possibly, there is a possibility of finding one in Japan also. The whole matter deserves to be looked into and it is being looked into. Unfortunately, the conditions under which this industry was run came in the way of the industry itself. The State Government, at that time, charged a royalty of 75 per cent which also added to the lack of competitiveness of the Mineral in the world markets in selling price and stocks accumulated, and it was impossible to carry on the factory. The selling price of ilmenite has now been considerably reduced and an intensive sales promotion campaign has been launched and also an experiment to eliminate the impurities in Indian ilmenite. If all these succeed, as we hope they will, the intention is to set up a modern factory and to enter the world market on a more competitive basis.

Another point that was referred to was the Pay Commission's report. I think the Pay Commission's report has been not only fully given effect to, but in some instances, the Atomic Energy Commission has gone rather beyond it. I should like to inform the House that the Scientists in the Atomic Energy Commission are almost all, barring very few, quite young men: some, certainly a very large number of them, under 40 and some under 30. Yet, they held very responsible positions. They are heads of departments and they have done remarkably good work. Unlike many other departments of Governments, routine methods employed usually in the Government about promotions, etc. are not followed there, and ability, as soon as it is evident, is recognised immediately.

N.G. Ranga<sup>255</sup>: Is that possibly the reason why a large number of them—they have written to the Prime Minister also—frequently leave this service and seek other services?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know that a large number have left. Some may have left. There are 3000 atomic scientists working there. I do not know how many have left. I cannot say now. In answer to a question, I gave figures. There are not many; a few. H.N. Mukerjee<sup>256</sup> said something about the Saha Institute of Nuclear physics in Calcutta. He thought that perhaps enough attention was not being paid to it. I may tell him that in the Third Plan, the grant-in-aid to this

255. Swatantra Party.

256. CPI.



Institute has been raised to Rs 95 lakhs as compared to Rs 55 lakhs in the Second Plan. The difficulty is that the cyclotron is not functioning. The cyclotron is an old fashioned one and it is now completely out of date. It has to be replaced as a whole to allow it to be used. This is a fairly big operation involving foreign exchange.

Then, there was some reference to the Tata Memorial Hospital for Cancer Research. This matter was gone into very carefully at the time we decided to put it under the Atomic Energy Department, consulting the heads of the hospital department and others concerned. As a matter of fact, in some countries where these matters are specially investigated like the USA, they have got special hospitals under the Atomic Energy department to study the effect on cancer of atomic treatment by radio isotopes. It was thought that this would be more effectively and efficiently done if it was placed under the Atomic Energy department.

Then, there are two or three matters, and I should like to make a special reference to them. One is, an hon. Member said, something about our manufacturing nuclear weapons, nuclear bombs. This question can be looked at from the point of view of theoretical approach, if you like, an ethical or moral approach, or a purely practical approach even though it might offend a certain ethical approach to the problem. We have often said, from the very first day, that we started the reactor in Bombay, that we on no account would manufacture nuclear weapons, weapons with nuclear energy, and I have repeated that several times. I hold to that. I shall not go into the ethics or morality of it. I do think that it is a very powerful case made out, but from the practical point of view, it is, I think, entirely wrong to think or imagine that by our producing a bomb, a nuclear bomb, our defence is strengthened thereby, or to put it in another way, as we are thinking of Chinese aggression, that the Chinese, by succeeding perhaps in a test, become stronger in their military capacity.

At the present moment, there are only two powers which have an abundance of nuclear weapons and they are the Soviet Union and the United States of America, with the United Kingdom following a good deal behind, and another country like France having also exploded various nuclear devices, but yet it is very doubtful if even France, although it has exploded these devices...

Hari Vishnu Kamath<sup>257</sup>: Very recently.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... has really enough for any purposes of offence. Exploding a nuclear device does not mean that you have got a large stock which you can use, or any stock at all. It would take years and years, even if such devices were exploded, quite apart from the enormous sums of money required, quite apart from the facilities for doing so. By facilities, I mean this. Now, the United States has done it over vast areas in the Pacific Ocean and some other places. It is a huge country. The Soviet Union has done it in the Arctic wastes. You cannot easily do it in an inhabited area.

Very recently, only a few days ago, France exploded such a device underground, I think, in the Sahara Desert, and people in the countries round about there in Africa, and more especially, Algeria, have been greatly upset and greatly exercised about it. Naturally, we regret this greatly, that they should have done it, although what they have done I understand, is in keeping with the arrangement they arrived at with the Algerian leaders, at the time of their treaty, that is, it is stated that they could do it in the Sahara; but the fact remains, I suppose, that the arrangement was arrived at under pressure of circumstances, and although technically it may be right, it is unfortunate that they have exercised that right, because that will mean a lot of ill-will in Africa, when what is most required is, especially as between Algeria and France, good and co-operative relations.

So, to imagine that by our working for atomic weapons, atomic bombs and our succeeding in making one—it is quite possible; in fact, it is a question of a little time—if we had started doing it, perhaps, even now we might be ready with it, with the tests ...

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Money also.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Money, of course, and also place. We may spend enormous sums of money on it and thereby stop some other work. Obviously, it cannot be added on. But the real thing is, having done it, what do we gain by it except some psychological advantage that we can do it? Or, suppose China does it, one day you hear that they have exploded a test device; it has not relevance to military capacity then, but it may have ten years later or twenty years later, but it will be evidence of a certain advance for China, and that psychologically may affect it. People should not be led away by these considerations.

I say then, from the most practical point of view, apart from the moral and the ethical which are important, that it is right that we should adhere to our decision not to use atomic energy for the production of any weapons, that is, nuclear weapons. On the one hand, we are asking the nuclear powers to give up their tests. How can we, without showing the utter insincerity of what we have



always said, go in for doing the very thing which we have repeatedly asked the other Powers not to do? But, as I have ventured to point out, apart from that, although that is an adequate reason for it, apart from that, it does not really add to our defensive strength. It may indeed reduce it by turning large sums of money, towards it instead of to other more practical uses.

Another hon. Member said “why do we spend so much money then if we are not going to use it for this purpose? And he said, “if we should not use it for making weapons, why do we spend so much money on this development of nuclear energy?” Now, that showed, if I may say so, with all respect, a strange misconception and misunderstanding of the whole business.

Nuclear power, or nuclear energy, is a very vital thing. We live on the threshold of the nuclear age; we have entered it, if you like. In the future, this power will be used more and more; we hope that it will not be used for destructive purposes but it will be used, let us hope, for constructive purposes, and a country which does not acquire knowledge of nuclear science fully and which cannot use that power will be left behind, as we have been left behind in the last century or more because of new development of electric power and steam power etc. Therefore, it is quite essential to live, if we want to, up-to-date in the modern age, and to profit by these new discoveries of power.

It is possible for you to write the history of the world in terms of the power resources used from time to time. For a long-long time power was limited to human power, animal power etc. or you may say, as they have said, as has been used in India for very long and even now, cow-dung power. Then came other things; then came steam; then came electricity. And suddenly, there is a huge spurt in the world's progress. So, it is power that makes all this difference, and there can be no doubt that in atomic power—it is likely to develop more and more in various ways, with cosmic energy being used and others—we must be up-to-date. And we are fortunate in having a very good atomic energy establishment in India which is doing very substantial work, and it is recognised all over the world that it is doing good work.

As hon. Members know, we are going to have a station at Tarapore in Maharashtra, another station in Rajasthan near Rana Pratap Sagar, and a third one in Madras. We hope that we shall be capable of building the third one entirely by ourselves.

As for the Tarapore station, we have been discussing with certain American agencies certain points in regard to which there is some difference of opinion. Nearly all the points have been resolved now by personal discussions, but one or two important points still remain. I hope that they will be resolved fairly soon, so that we can go ahead with this, but I cannot be absolutely sure.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

N.G. Ranga: May I seek a clarification? We were given to understand when this atomic power station was being set up that every care would be taken to look into the economics of it to see how it functions, whether its economics would not be too costly for us and the energy would not be too costly. But long before it is commissioned, how is it that Government have already launched two more projects, two more stations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Because all these calculations have been done.

N.G. Ranga: Only calculations. No experience so far.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, experience.

N.G. Ranga: We are still developing it. It has not yet been commissioned.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Still one can know it.

N.G. Ranga: How much is it going to cost?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is calculated fairly accurately with the experience of other countries and our own experience.

N.G. Ranga: In England they stopped it. We thought we were taking a lesson from English experience. We were told that at a later stage England thought it fit not to go ahead with atomic energy project because they found it too costly. Only recently they were again trying to discuss that matter.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot enter into the economics of it here. But the matter has been discussed quite adequately, and we have had Dr Bhabha addressing Members of Parliament at least on two occasions on this very subject. He has written about it on various occasions showing by facts and figures how the economics of it are quite feasible.

Hon. Member might remember that even in the President's Address to the joint sitting of the two Houses, reference was made to this matter. It is stated that in the particular areas, locations of the power projects, the economics of atomic energy are actually cheaper than the conventional methods of producing energy. That is, it would not be cheaper at the pithead where coal is available; it would not be cheaper where hydro-electric power is available in abundance, but as soon as you go away from those places and go to Rajasthan or somewhere else where coal has to be brought and transport charges are heavy, it is cheaper. Anyhow, that is generally admitted now.



N.G. Ranga: It is expected to be cheaper.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is generally admitted now by various authorities who have gone into this matter that economically it is cheaper in certain circumstances and it tends to become more and more cheap.

Anyhow, from the point of view of India and the demand for power here, it is of extreme importance that we try to encourage every attempt. It may be that the first attempt is not quite 100 per cent successful; it is only 90 or 80 per cent. It may be the first effort is not quite cheap; the second or third may be. But unless we go through those processes, we shall not reach that stage. But at the present moment, even the first power station that we are building is calculated by all normal processes of statistical calculations to produce power at a cheaper rate than in many of our hydroelectric and like schemes. Of course, they vary greatly—these schemes. If I may give some figures—these are based on actual tenders; so there is not much of guesswork about them—for the Tarapore atomic power station, the actual tender which we are likely to accept is Rs 1275 per kw. The cost per kw of installed capacity of Rihand station is Rs 1235 slightly less; of Yamuna Stage II Rs 140 per kw and Uhl Stage II Rs 1574 per kw.

N.G. Ranga: We compare it with the costliest on the other side and say it is economical. It has not yet produced.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am venturing to tell him some facts. Even though they have certain advantages—Rihand has a hydroelectric power station there—even there the cost is only slightly less; in some cases, it is far more.

Generally speaking, it is expected that with these atomic power produced, it will be very favourably comparable with the power produced by thermal stations. But I would submit that even if at that stage where it is not established—it is practically established because we are having reputable firms in this and no firm is going to take a chance to lose by it—even then it is desirable to carry on, because these are initial stages of development of new power, new energies, new sciences, and no country, specially a big country like India, can afford to ignore these developments. Normally, hydroelectric stations tend to be a little cheaper than thermal stations; that depends on how far you have to carry coal.

An hon. Member asked if the Tarapore station had been guaranteed by the American firm who are entrusted with the building of the stations and whether any penalty can be enforced in the event of shortfall of performance. The answer is yes; in the event of actual performance falling short of guaranteed performance, the firm will either rectify the defect in the plant responsible for the shortfall at their expense or will pay compensation which will be proportionate to the extent of the shortfall.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Dr K.L. Rao<sup>258</sup> wondered whether it was necessary to spend considerable time and effort at site selection. I am surprised at this, because the selection of a site is not at all a simple or easy matter. It has to be very carefully considered, quite apart from the desire of many States to have it. It is not that only. In fact, the selection of location of even major factory is not a simple matter. You have to consider all manner of things; but specially in the case of an atomic energy plant, it is of great importance that it should be selected where the most favourable conditions prevail.

He suggested that space research is an important branch of scientific activity and it should be entrusted to a different agency. Yes, it may be, if our work in it grows adequately. It is no good having a separate department for every piece of work that we do. After all, although we are doing well in all these works, the number of trained hands is limited. We have now in Trombay for atomic energy work something like—I do not remember the exact number—3000-4000 scientists. Space research is partly under the direction of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, which is under the administrative control of the Atomic Energy Department.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Are you launching anything or anybody into space?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot offer to take the hon. Member into space just yet.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: I would like to go together with you, good company.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Then there is a laboratory at Ahmedabad under Dr Vikram Sarabhai, which is also working under the Department of Atomic Energy in regard to space research. This laboratory is actively participating in the programme of space research undertaken by the Indian National Committee for Space Research.

Dr Gaitonde commented on the fact that the United States issue reports of the number of accidents that they have had in the working of atomic energy. He asked: why have we not produced some such figure or report? For the simple reason that we have had no accidents. We have taken quite enough care and precautions to avoid accidents and fortunately, we have had no accidents.

It is natural for some hon. Members to compare the growth of atomic energy work in India with China. It is difficult for me to do that. From time to time we hear reports that there is going to be a test explosion. In fact, some time ago it was even said that there had been an explosion somewhere in Sinkiang.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

It is rather doubtful whether there has been, because it has not been recorded in any foreign observation post. Other such explosions have been recorded even at Trombay. So, I doubt very much whether this has been taken place, and I cannot possibly say it will not take place. But our impression, based on such knowledge as we possess, is that, broadly speaking, our atomic energy work is more advanced generally—I do not say in any particular branch of it—than in China. It may be, of course, that they concentrate on one aspect of it, and show some results in that aspect, and manufacture a nuclear bomb. On the whole, I feel this House has reason to be satisfied with the kind of work we have been doing at Trombay and other places, and we can look forward hopefully to its progress.

Some hon. Member opposite said why do you start explorations, waste so much money on it, and then stop it? I do not quite understand that criticism, because we have to explore in various places. Where it leads to results, we carry on; where it does not, we stop it. We simply write off what has been spent there. That applies to every kind of exploration whether it is oil or anything else.

That is all I have to say.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: By your leave, may I ask a question? With which countries has India concluded bilateral agreements or other informal co-operative arrangements with regard to research on the peaceful and non-peaceful uses of atomic energy, and how many communist countries, China of course excepted, are cooperating with us in this respect?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not got all that information, but I have given that in answer to some question previously. The main countries, obviously, with which we are cooperating are the Soviet Union, USA, UK and France. We are in touch with some of the East European countries also.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Are there formal bilateral agreements or informal arrangements?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have bilateral agreements not for this particular purpose, but generally in the scope of the other bilateral agreements this work comes in.

Priya Gupta<sup>259</sup>: What about filling the post of the Director of the Minerals Division of the Atomic Energy Department after the death of Dr Ghosh,

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

which was raised by my hon. friend Shri Surendranath Dwivedy, and amenities to the staff employed therein?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am told that the search for a suitable person continues.

Priya Gupta: But you say there are many capable persons there.

Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh<sup>260</sup>: I had made the point that as a result of a change in the design of the Tarapore atomic power station, the atomic fuel which will be utilised there could not be processed in India and we would be totally relying on UK for the vital requirements. How far do we propose to proceed in processing the atomic fuel for Tarapore, and when can we hope to be self-sufficient?

N.G. Ranga: The same thing applies to the other two projects also.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What the hon. Member has said is very much in our mind. We would like to be as independent in this matter as possible, but any other procedure now would have involved huge burdens on us. So, for reasons of economy we tried it, but in future we shall depend upon ourselves more and more.

### **420. Science Research Committee<sup>261</sup>**

The Cabinet decided on February 23, 1963, that I should set up a small committee of three or four top-ranking scientists and an administrator to examine and report on the scientific work which is being done in the country, especially on research schemes, and indicate the steps that should be taken to enable the work to be carried on effectively, consistently with such economies as might be possible.

2. I have consulted Dr Homi Bhabha<sup>262</sup> in regard to this matter, and I believe he has had talks with you also.

3. The following committee should be appointed:

Dr Homi Bhabha, Chairman.

260. Congress.

261. Note, 28 March 1963, for S.S. Khera, PMO, File No. 17(528)/62-63-PMS, Sr. No. 6-A.

262. Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.



Dr D.S. Kothari<sup>263</sup>

Dr Husain Zaheer, Director-General, CSIR, and Cabinet Secretary.

4. The committee should have power to co-opt for each specific purpose in the discipline concerned.

5. Please, therefore, take necessary action in this matter.

### **421. To M.S. Kannamwar: More Land for Trombay Establishment** <sup>264</sup>

March 28, 1963

My dear Kannamwar,

I enclose a note which I have received from Dr Homi Bhabha of the Atomic Energy Commission. This note will explain to you the position he is in and some difficulty he is experiencing about land. There is no doubt that Atomic Energy establishment at Trombay requires some land for extension for the Electronics Division. The staff of the establishment, especially the scientists in it, has increased greatly. They are doing very good work and we should help them in every way. Our Defence Ministry has asked them to take some work in hand.

I hope, therefore, that you will be good enough to look into this matter and expedite the process of their getting the land near the Atomic Energy establishment at Trombay as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **422. In New Delhi: To the Aeronautical Society**<sup>265</sup>

Air Marshal Engineer<sup>266</sup> and friends,

You honoured me by making me the patron of this society but it is evident that the duties of the patron are very light indeed, because I do not remember having had anything to do with the society for the last dozen years or so, perhaps a

263. Chairman of the University Grants Commission.

264. Letter to Chief Minister of Maharashtra.

265. Speech, 4 April 1963, at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Aeronautical Society, at the inauguration of the new building of the Society. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 11333, NM No. 1964 (Cut II). See also report in *The Hindu*, 6 April 1963, p. 7.

266. Aspy Merwan Engineer (1912-2002); Chief of Air Staff from 1960 to 1964.

little less and when I received your invitation I had to wrack my memory as to when my original association with the Society began. As I said then referring back to some records, I was very glad to be associated with this and to help to the extent I could, this Society because I think it is of the utmost importance that we should make progress in aeronautics and create, shall I say, a mental atmosphere in favour of it. Curious thing in India, it overlaps so much, different centuries overlap. We travel here both by air and by bullock cart at the same time, not exactly at the same time, but simultaneously, and so while some aspects of Indian life take you back hundreds of years, other aspects make you look into the future. India has an enormous capacity for synthesis, whatever it finds, trying to find, trying to carry on with the old and the new everything together. There is virtue in that, and yet it may be carried too far. Anyhow, there can be no doubt that aeronautics is something which will concern itself more and more with the future, whatever the future may be. It is indeed, even now, very much affecting the future for the world. And if that is so, it is right, that we in India should keep, should try to keep abreast of developments, and the only way to keep abreast of developments is not merely to copy out what others have done but to try to think originally, if not keep in view of course what we should learn from others. The type of mentality which merely copies never gets ahead very far, in science or in technology. Therefore, research is necessary, therefore minds adapted to research is necessary and such society will no doubt give opportunities for that.

Even in my own lifetime, I have seen the growth of flying practically from the very beginning in so far as modern flying is concerned. I remember the excitement when I was a small school boy at the report of the Wright Brothers' performances in America and later others in their attempts to cross the English Channel<sup>267</sup> [inaudible]... did not and so on. I remember, I think during 1910 at Frankfurt, I went to an Aeronautical Exhibition where a plane was to come down slow, gather some impetus, I suppose, and it went up and came down after 200 yards. That very year 1910, two or three months later, I saw a plane flying over Paris the first plane called I think... [inaudible]. And so later, much later I find from Paris, Lyndbargh arrived crossing the Atlantic. Naturally, all this left powerful impressions on my mind, and I think that it is of the utmost importance for us to develop this mind and climate of aeronautics so that we may take our place somewhere in the front for the future developments.

So, I am glad to come here after many years and to justify to some extent my being patron of this society. I do not know what I have to do to declare it open, merely declare it open, to do something, say something. I wish it success.

267. Lois Breliot in 1909.



**423. To Subodh K. Ghose: Rain-Making<sup>268</sup>**

April 5, 1963

Dear Professor Ghose,

Thank you for your letter of March 31st.<sup>269</sup> Also the book on the *Later Poems of Tagore*.<sup>270</sup>

I am interested to know that you have been carrying on research in regard to possibilities of rain-making. It would certainly be desirable to have this research done on a wider scale.

I was a little disappointed to find that all the efforts in other countries, notably in Australia and, I think, in the United States, had not yielded any adequate results. That of course does not mean that we should not continue with this research work. I am sending your letter to Professor Humayun Kabir<sup>271</sup> so that he might give thought to the possibility of organising such research.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**424. To Y.B. Chavan: Science Committee to include Defence<sup>272</sup>**

April 11, 1963

My dear Chavan,

Your letter of the 11th April about the Committee to examine and report on scientific work. When I appointed this Committee, I did not have the Defence Scientific work in mind especially, but I think it will be desirable to include that and to appoint, as you suggest, Dr Bhagavantam<sup>273</sup> also as a Member. Before doing so, I should like to refer to the Chairman of the Committee, Dr Bhabha. I am doing that.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

268. Letter to a Professor at the Bhagalpur College of Engineering, Bhagalpur 3, Bihar.

269. Copy of letter available at NMML, not reproduced here.

270. Compiled and with an introduction by Professor Sisirkumar Bose; (Bombay: Advent Books Division Publication, 1978, 4<sup>th</sup> edition).

271. Minister for Culture.

272. Letter to the Defence Minister. PMO, File No. 17(528)/62-63-PMS, Sr. No. 11-A.

273. S. Bhagavantam, Defence Scientific Advisor.

**425. To H.J. Bhabha: Science Committee with Defence Research<sup>274</sup>**

April 11, 1963

My dear Homi,

The Defence Minister has written to me about the Committee I have appointed to examine and report on the scientific work which is being done in the country especially on research schemes etc. You will remember that in this Committee I appointed four persons, namely, you as Chairman, and Dr D.S. Kothari, Dr Hussain Zaheer and the Cabinet Secretary.

The Defence Minister says that, in view of the fact that all the scientific work is going to be examined and a large part of it is Defence Science work, it will be desirable for Dr S. Bhagavantam, Scientific Adviser and Head of the Research and Development in Defence, also to be made a member.<sup>275</sup>

I think this would be desirable as otherwise you will not have full facilities to examine the Defence work. I propose, therefore if you agree, to add Bhagavantam's name to the four already appointed.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**426. To S.H. Zaheer: Science Research Committee<sup>276</sup>**

13th April, 1963

My dear Munne,

You know that a small committee has been appointed by me to look into the work of our scientific laboratories, institutes, etc. This will also consider allotments made for them. This committee consists of Dr Homi Bhabha, Dr Kothari, yourself and the Cabinet Secretary. At the suggestion of the Defence Minister I have added Dr Bhagavantam to it also.

The committee is authorised to co-opt for specific purpose any other expert.

I have received a note from Professor Mahalanobis on the Planning of Scientific Research. I do not know if you have seen this. I am therefore enclosing

274. Letter to the Secretary of the Department of Atomic Energy. PMO, File No. 17(528)/62-63-PMS, Sr. No. 10-A.

275. See item 424.

276. Letter to the Director-General of the CSIR. PMO, File No. 17(528)/62-63-PMS, Sr. No. 14-A.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

it for your information. I think that the committee might well invite Professor Mahalanobis when they consider this entire question.<sup>277</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
J. Nehru

### (h) Urban Development

#### 427. To Partap Singh Kairon: Le Corbusier's Dues<sup>278</sup>

February 9, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose an English translation of a letter from Le Corbusier, which came to me some time ago. The original letter is addressed to one of your Secretaries to Government.

I do not understand all the figures he has given. It appears that he particularly wants payment of something that he says is due to him from Bhakra Dam. Some other sums which he says are due to him, he is prepared to relinquish.

Whatever is due to him, should be paid.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### (i) Welfare

#### 428. To Manmohini Sahgal: Funds for Arya Anathalaya<sup>279</sup>

February 23, 1963

My dear Manno,

Your letter of the 22nd February.

I am glad that the Arya Anathalaya is doing good work. I am afraid, however, that it will not be quite appropriate for me to give a grant from the

277. See also other correspondence on this subject in this subsection.

278. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

279. Letter to cousin (1909-1994); Board Member of Arya Anathalaya, Delhi, and former President of Indian Council of Child Welfare; address: 1 Link Road, Jangpura Extension, New Delhi-14.

Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. That Fund is not meant for such purposes and normally such grants are not given from it.

I am, however, sending you Rs 2,500/-from another fund specially meant for women and children, which I have at my disposal.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **429. Child Welfare<sup>280</sup>**

I am glad to know that an Integrated Child Welfare Demonstration Project is going to be started soon at Nilokheri in the Punjab. At long last we are paying some special attention to the problem of child welfare. And yet, the necessity of this should be obvious. The child, it is said, is father of the man. It is in childhood that the basic characteristics, both physical and mental, are laid down. Therefore, it seems to me of the greatest importance that we should begin with the child and help him or her to develop along right lines.

I hope that the Nilokheri project will make many people think of what should be done.

#### **430. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Land for Cooperation Institute<sup>281</sup>**

April 8, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

Shri V.T. Krishnamachari came to see me today. We discussed various matters and especially the Cooperative Movement. He pointed out that, in spite of our Cooperative Movement having existed in India for a long time, there was no proper history of it, nor any Central Research Institute for Cooperation. He thought this was necessary to give it a proper direction.

For this purpose, he wanted some land, about half an acre, for the Cooperative Union to build up a Central Research Institute. I wonder if it is possible for you to provide half an acre to him for this purpose. It is a worthwhile purpose and a Central Research Institute would certainly help the growth of the Movement.

280. Message, 22 March 1963, New Delhi.

281. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation. PMO, File No. 28(101)/63-71, Sr. No. 1-A.



## II. DEVELOPMENT

V.T.K. told me that there was probably some land available near the Azad Memorial Building. He told me that a large plot of land had been reserved for the Chief Commissioner of Delhi for his offices. He seemed to think that a small bit of it could probably be given for this Research Institute.

I do not know how matters stand, but it would be a good thing if you could provide a small piece of land for this Research Institute of Cooperation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

#### (a) General

#### 431. For the *Chicago Sun-Times*: US Aid and Non-Alignment<sup>1</sup>

An Exclusive Interview  
India's Nehru Sees Ray of Hope  
By Milburn P. Aker, Editor, *Chicago Sun-Times*

New Delhi, Feb. 4, 1963 – Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India since 1947, sees a ray of hope in troubled world.

“Russia’s changing attitude toward the United States,” he told me in an interview at the Prime Minister’s official residence, “creates the hope that these two great nations can reconcile their differences and live in peace. Germany and Berlin remain as big problems to be settled. But they are possible of settlement. In fact, it would appear Russia and the United States are moving toward that settlement.”

The Prime Minister, who received me in a large parlour adjacent to his residential office, slipped quietly into the room, greeted me, lit a cigarette, and seated himself while indicating I was to do likewise. Then he mentioned he had returned from speaking at a meeting of the parliamentary members of his Congress Party.

I had thought the recent Chinese invasion of his country would be uppermost on his mind. It may have been. But when I asked my first question—what constituted the biggest threat to peace in the world today—he immediately mentioned the strained relations between the United States and Russia.

However, he quickly followed that assertion with the suggestion that Russia’s attitude toward the United States appears to be changing and voiced his hope for a solution of the German problem.

So, I made specific reference to the Sino-Indian border dispute, inquiring as to its status.

“China is out of step with everybody, including its Communist allies,” he said. “Basically, the differences between China and India are continuing.

1. Interview to the Editor, *Chicago Sun-Times*, 27 January 1963; published on 4 February 1963, *Chicago Sun-Times*; NMML, JN Papers, F. No. 13A (3) – Box No. 110.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

This isn't a matter involving only a bit of territory: There is something more fundamental involved. We are constituted differently.

China doesn't believe in peaceful co-existence, the only alternative to which is war—atomic war, in this day and age. Something may happen some day—I don't know what—which will change China's attitude."

The Prime Minister dwelt at length on the efforts of Ceylon and the other Colombo Pact nations to bring about a settlement of the border dispute which led to the pre-Christmas invasion of north eastern India by Chinese troops, quickly followed by China's still largely unexplained pullback.

He emphasised by repetition that the Colombo plan was not, in itself, a settlement, that it was, instead, merely a basis for negotiations between China and India.

While on the subject of the border dispute, Nehru said: "The United States, the United Kingdom and others helped us greatly during the unfortunate course taken by China and are, I believe, prepared to help us more. For this, we are grateful."

When I inquired whether the help received by India from the West during that period would result in any change in India's neutrality, he smiled and said.

"India is not neutral. India has not been neutral. India is and has been non-aligned. There is a considerable difference. By non-alignment, India retains freedom of action. We would sacrifice that freedom of action if we joined any bloc."

#### Adheres to Non-Alignment

Earlier in the day, the Prime Minister had told the members of his Congress Party: "To give up this policy (non-alignment) would be a terrible moral failure," and a "loss of everything from Gandhian heritage to self-reliance."

Nehru asserted that opposition to non-alignment in India, which reportedly has grown considerably since the Chinese invasion, was confined to those who feared India could not face the Chinese.

"No power on earth can defeat India, whether she is armed or unarmed," Nehru said. "It is the people's spirit of non-submission and self-reliance that matters. All the arms in the world are secondary."

#### The Tie that Binds

In discussing US aid during the border crisis, the aging premier (he is 73) said: "We are very grateful for America's quick response to our needs during our troubles. That action brought us closer together. Still, there have been no

problems between the United States and India in the past. The two countries have always been friendly. They have no disputes involving each other. Sometimes they have seen other matters differently. But there are no issues between the United States and India.”

Nehru seemed in no hurry to terminate the interview even though a large entrance hall to his residence was filled with people who had appointments with him. He appeared intent on getting word of India’s gratitude for American assistance during the recent invasion crisis back to the United States and he underscored the idea by repeated reference.

I inquired as to indicated meetings of Western military leaders with Indian officials on the subject of air cover in event of a renewal of hostilities by China.

“It is not correct,” he said, “to refer to air cover. That is only one phase. India is anxious to improve its defences in every respect. We wish to be ready for any contingency. All phases of defense are to be discussed.”

#### Invasion Burden on Economy

At 7 p.m. the interview having lasted 45 minutes, I indicated a willingness to leave. The Prime Minister, lounging in a large easy chair and chain-smoking cigarettes, waved me back to my seat.

He told me the Chinese invasion had placed a great burden on India’s economy. In spite of the fact, India, he said, would continue its various internal development programmes, even though a forthcoming budget would illustrate the greatly increased burdens the people would have to carry.

He then spoke of the United Nations, declaring the UN has to evolve into an organisation capable of maintaining order and keeping the peace. If the UN would not do the job, then something else must take its place which can, he said.

“There must be order and peace, based on principle, throughout the world,” Nehru declared. “The alternative is conflict—and conflict, in the atomic age, would be disastrous.”

The Prime Minister indulged his penchant for philosophical discourse for 10 minutes as he probed the possibilities of establishing world order and maintaining peace.

He brought the interview to an end exactly one hour after it started. I inquired, as we walked out of the room: “I have read reports that Mr Menon (V.K. Krishna Menon, deposed minister of war and India’s long time UN delegate) may return to the government. Are they correct?”

He smiled and said: “There is no immediate prospect of Mr Menon’s return. What will take place in the future I cannot say.”



**432. To A.C. Guha: No Air Umbrella by USA and UK<sup>2</sup>**

February 5, 1963

My dear Guha,

Your letter of February 3rd. It is unfortunate that people who come to see me immediately rush to the press afterwards. I was sorry to read the press report about my talks with some Congress MPs who came to see me.<sup>3</sup>

We are all grateful to the USA, UK and other governments for their help to us in our emergency. But there has been no talk with them on what is called the "air umbrella" to which reference has been made in some newspapers. Personally, I do not think this question arises, at any rate, at present. Any such "air umbrella" would create a feeling of complacency in India and we would not be able to develop our air arm adequately. Also, it would mean changing some of our policies considerably. If and when the necessity arises, any such proposal might be considered.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**433. To Hamilton Fish Armstrong: Article for  
*Foreign Affairs*<sup>4</sup>**

February 6, 1963

Dear Mr. Armstrong,

I am enclosing,<sup>5</sup> as promised, an article for *Foreign Affairs*. I have called it "Changing India." I hope this will suit your purpose.

All good wishes.

Yours faithfully,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

2. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 4 Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi 1.
3. Congress MPs met Nehru on 1 February 1963, expressing their concern regarding the "air umbrella" issue. See *National Herald*, 3 February 1963, p.4.
4. Letter to the Editor of *Foreign Affairs*. NMML, J.N. Supplementary Papers, File No. 26, Box No. 134.
5. The article was published in the April 1963 issue of *Foreign Affairs*. See item 434.

#### 434. Article in *Foreign Affairs*<sup>6</sup>

Changing India  
By Jawaharlal Nehru

August 1947 brought independence to India. In spite of the long-drawn-out struggle that preceded it, it came in peace and goodwill. Suddenly all bitterness of past conflict was forgotten and a new era of peace and friendship began. Our relations with Britain became friendly and we appeared to have no inherited problems and conflicts with any other country.

We had been conditioned for 30 years by Mahatma Gandhi and his gospel of peace which had left a powerful imprint not only on the minds of those actively interested in politics but also on the mass mind. Our success in attaining freedom through peaceful methods confirmed this way of thinking. Thus, we entered the family of independent nations with a clean slate, without any inherited hatreds or enmities or territorial or other ambitions, determined to cultivate friendly and cooperative relations with all countries and to devote ourselves to the economic and social progress of India without getting entangled in national or international conflicts.

India had become free, but there were still some small parts of it under French and Portuguese control which were under colonial domination. Thus, in our minds the freedom of India was not quite complete. We felt certain that France and Portugal would also follow the British example and that these enclaves of colonial territory would inevitably, and through peaceful methods, join independent India. We made the necessary approaches to the French and Portuguese Governments. The French enclaves became a part of the Union of India peacefully by agreement with France. Portugal proved much more intractable and gave a lot of trouble. There was serious trouble in 1955 involving the killing and wounding of many Indian and Goan passive resisters by Portuguese soldiers. There was also severe internal repression in Goa. Such incidents continued, and it was only after some show of military force, following further incidents in 1961, that this last remnant of colonial rule in India was ended. After that the independence of India was complete.

August 1947 brought long-cherished freedom to our country. But in the wake of it came the Partition of India and, immediately after, mass killing on both sides of the new frontier and vast migrations. We had hoped that the Partition of India, which was brought about by agreement, would lead to the

6. Article published in *Foreign Affairs*, April 1963 issue; sent on 6 February 1963. NAI, MEA, File No. 118(43) w II/63, pp. 17-35/corr.



creation of two states which would be friendly neighbours and would cooperate with each other. That was natural, as not only geography but a common history and culture and the same language and many other factors common to both would, we thought, inevitably lead to friendly cooperation.

But this was not to be. The events after the Partition left a trail of great bitterness. We were trying to get over the immediate results of the Partition when the State of Kashmir was suddenly invaded from Pakistan and a new conflict arose. To us, trained and conditioned as we had been by Mahatma Gandhi, this came as a shock, for we had hoped that there would be no military conflicts with any other nation. After 14 months, a cease-fire was agreed to and actual fighting stopped. Since then, although the Kashmir problem remained with us and gave a great deal of trouble, feelings in both countries gradually lost their bitterness and approached normality, in so far as the people were concerned.

We devoted ourselves to the major problem that confronted us – economic and social progress and the betterment of our people. Even before independence, we had given much thought to this matter and had come to the conclusion that we should proceed by the method of planning. Our resources were limited, and we wanted to utilise them to the best advantage to attain declared objectives. After independence, a Constituent Assembly was formed to draw up the new Constitution of India; this declared that India was to be a sovereign, democratic Republic which should secure for all its citizens: justice-social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity. And among them all it was to promote fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

On January 26, 1950, this new Republic came into existence and all our efforts were directed toward realizing the objectives laid down-political democracy and economic justice. We called the objective socialistic without adhering to any doctrinaire definition of the word. The system we evolved was consciously directed toward the welfare of the common man rather than to enrichment of the few; it is democratic because its processes are ultimately controlled by public discussion and by Parliament elected on the basis of universal adult franchise, and not by the secret purposes of a privileged minority.

While benefiting from foreign experiences-more especially, in the constitutional sense, from England and the United States-we did not wish to copy any foreign models. We believed that India had, by virtue of her long history and traditions, an individuality of her own and we should retain this without adhering to outworn ideas or traditions. We realised that the world was rapidly changing and we must keep pace with these changes without being swept away by them. We wanted to help, however modestly, in this developing pattern of international relations. We had no desire to interfere with other countries



or impose our views on them. Thus, India started changes in her own life and institutions that are so decisive and far-reaching in their scope and intent that they may well be considered revolutionary, especially when viewed against the background of an ancient civilisation and its ingrained conservatism. In foreign affairs, in a period when cataclysmic conflicts seem never too far below the horizon, she has invariably taken her stand with those who are striving for the maintenance of peace and for reconciliation and cooperation.

The twin policies which have guided us since independence are, broadly, democratic planning for development at home and, externally, a policy which has come to be named, rather inadequately, "non-alignment." Like the basic policies of most countries, these are not the product of any inspiration or arbitrary choice, but have their roots in our past history and way of thinking as well as in fundamental national exigencies. India's overriding and most urgent task is to raise the standard of living of her people, and in order to achieve this, to carry out structural and organisational reforms not only as speedily as possible but with maximum popular support and participation. In foreign affairs, we had no interest other than to cultivate friendly cooperation with all countries and to help to keep world peace, as the *sine qua non* of everything else. In our approach to these problems, our attitude and ideas had inevitably been shaped by our own recent struggle for freedom, as well as by the accumulated experience of centuries, and above all by Mahatma Gandhi's teachings.

It is no sign of complacency to recognise that these policies have met with an encouraging measure of success. India, with a population of 446,000,000 and an electorate of over 200,000,000, remains the largest functioning democracy in the world. Without deviating from democratic principles and procedures, she has launched upon extensive programs of modernisation which are already bearing fruit. Far-reaching land reforms have taken place and our economy, still predominantly agricultural, is being steadily transformed by the spread of industrialisation and the completion of vast new projects in the fields of power, transport and irrigation. Our Community Development schemes represent a rural reconstruction program which promises to transform the countryside and the vast population that live there. Recently, the Community Development movement has been extended to what is called Panchayati Raj; that is, there has been decentralisation in favour of village-elected councils which have been given authority and resources to carry out schemes of development. Both industrial and agricultural production have increased substantially in volume as well as variety, and every effort is being made to ensure that the benefits of an expanding economy are shared equitably by all classes of the population. Education has spread remarkably at all stages and there are at present over 50,000,000 boys and girls in schools and colleges. Special attention has been



paid to scientific and technical education. The health conditions of the people have also made substantial progress. In the 1940s the expectation of life in India was 32; now it is approaching 50. Our planning, designed to equip the country with the technical skills and the productive facilities of a modern society, is essentially welfare-oriented. Two Five Year Plans have been completed and the third is now in mid-course.

What is called "non-alignment" has also not fared badly. This, strictly speaking, represents only one aspect of our policy; we have other positive aims also, such as the promotion of freedom from colonial rule, racial equality, peace and international cooperation, but "non-alignment" has become a summary description of this policy of friendship toward all nations, uncompromised by adherence to any military pacts. This was not due to any indifference to issues that arose, but rather to a desire to judge them for ourselves, in full freedom and without any preconceived partisan bias. It implied, basically, a conviction that good and evil are mixed up in this world, that the nations cannot be divided into sheep and goats, to be condemned or approved accordingly, and that if we were to join one military group rather than the other it was liable to increase and not diminish the risk of a major clash between them. Essentially, "non-alignment" is freedom of action which is a part of independence. This attitude no doubt displeased some people to begin with, but it has been of service to the cause of world peace at some critical moments in recent history. A large number of countries, including most of the newly independent states of Asia and Africa, have adopted a similar outlook on international affairs. It is possible that India has influenced their thinking to some extent in this matter; but however, that may be, "non-alignment" is now an integral part of the international pattern and is widely conceded to be a comprehensible and legitimate policy, particularly for the emergent Afro-Asian states.

## II

Consistent with our policy of promotion of peace and international cooperation, we welcomed the end of the civil war in our neighbouring country China and the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in December 1949. We began developing friendly and cooperative relations with our northern neighbour.

The wanton and massive invasion of last autumn has, however, brought an incalculable, ominous and explosive new element into the situation. Peking's propagandists have tried to sow confusion in the public mind over this; but no amount of sophistry can conjure away the fact that the People's Republic of China is guilty of premeditated aggression. In 1954 India and China signed

a general treaty on Tibet, in the preamble of which both parties pledged themselves to mutual nonaggression and respect for each other's territorial integrity. At that date, China knew precisely what the extent of India's territorial jurisdiction was; India, on the other hand, was not only not aware of the Chinese claims (they were not disclosed until five years later), but she had no reason even to suspect that there was any major question about the frontier.

All the fighting that has taken place, and the forcible seizure of territory by China, has been to the south and west, that is, on the Indian side, of the frontier as implicitly accepted by China herself in 1954. At no point have Indian troops ever gone beyond that line. The charge of aggression against the People's Republic of China thus holds, regardless of the controversy about the correct delineation of the border. This subject has been voluminously documented; what needs to be said here is that India's northern frontiers are not the result of any British imperialistic expansion, achieved in violation of China's rights or interests, but have their sanction in the facts of geography and history, and the generally accepted principles of international law.

It is difficult to forecast the further course of this dispute. Recently some non-aligned powers took the initiative in making certain proposals which, if accepted, could lead to talks between India and China on the merits of the question. We have accepted these proposals in their entirety. China has thus far not done so. We have suggested that we are prepared to refer these frontier disputes to the International Court of Justice at The Hague or to arbitration.

The initiative lies always with the aggressor, and the Chinese have been exceptionally devious and deceptive in their methods. What has happened so far serves to define, more clearly than before, certain considerations which must continue to govern our attitude and policy on this question.

First, it would be wrong and inexpedient, and also repugnant to every sentiment of national honour and self-respect, to acquiesce in aggression, as plainly established as it is in this case. We must, therefore, insist that the aggression be undone to our satisfaction before normal relations can be restored. Whether a peaceful settlement can eventually be reached, therefore, depends largely on China.

Secondly, despite our friendliness, China's behaviour toward us has shown such utter disregard of the ordinary canons of international behaviour that it has shaken severely our confidence in her good faith. We cannot, on the available evidence, look upon her as other than a country with profoundly inimical intentions toward our independence and institutions.

Thirdly, the Himalayan barrier has proved to be vulnerable. If it is breached, the way to the Indian plains and the ocean beyond would lie exposed; and the threat to India would then, likewise, be a threat to the other countries of South



and Southeast Asia. India's determination to resist aggression and retain her territorial integrity is, therefore, a vital factor in the safeguarding of peace and stability throughout this whole area.

This is no doubt appreciated by all the friendly countries whom we have asked for military and other assistance in the present emergency; and the prompt response that the request evoked, particularly from the United States and Great Britain, has been warmly acknowledged by the Government of India and the leaders of Indian opinion. It is obvious, however, that the defense of India in any long-term view calls for a sustained effort by India herself—an effort, moreover, which cannot be conceived entirely or directly in narrow military terms. In the past, our preoccupation with the human problems of poverty and illiteracy was such that we were content to assign a relatively low priority to defense requirements in the conventional sense. We will now clearly have to give considerably more attention to strengthening our armed forces and to the production within the country, to the extent possible, of all weapons and equipment needed by them.

Measures to this end have already been taken in hand. But, over and above these, even for the specific purpose of defense, the prime requisite is a solid and broad-based economy and a population increasingly trained to make full use of the resources of modern science and technology. Our development plans and programs have had precisely these objectives; and with such modifications and minor changes in emphasis as may be necessary, it is, if anything, more essential than ever to press forward with them. We are aware that the additional burden on our resources, entailed by the larger defense expenditure, must in any event call for further sacrifices on our part. We are making these sacrifices and are determined to carry through the current Five Year Plan without any significant scaling down. We hope external aid in adequate measure will be available in support of this special effort.

I have mentioned earlier that Indo-Pakistan relations had been steadily improving in recent years. The Chinese attack on India has, however, caused a setback. Pakistan authorities tended to regard the crisis in Sino-Indian relations as an opportunity to press India to make all sorts of concessions to them.

A new series of talks has been started between the two countries, and we in India would be the first to rejoice if they helped to ease the tension. Without prejudging the outcome of these discussions, it may be said, however, that they have no direct bearing on the problems we face with regard to China. The boundary to be protected delimits the territories of the Indian state and their defense is the responsibility of the Indian Government. What India needs is not manpower but weapons and other military equipment, which in the short run she must get from other sources, and in the long run manufacture herself.

Pakistan, like other states, can help by refraining from giving aid and encouragement to China and thereby enabling her to multiply her pressures against us. Unfortunately, the attitude of Pakistan ever since the Chinese aggression on India has been the reverse of this, and this has undoubtedly added to our difficulties. We are eager to come to agreement with Pakistan in regard to Kashmir and other problems, but it must be remembered that the question of moving toward a possible change in Kashmir is so pregnant with explosive possibilities that any incautious step might have far-reaching effects involving the internal stability of the sub-continent, and thus weaken instead of strengthen our defences. Also, the settlement reached must be such that it makes for permanent improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations.

The conflict provoked by Chinese aggression raises wider issues than the simple demarcation of a remote border. It is difficult to understand why China chose to conceal her territorial claims for many years, pleading subsequently that "the time was not ripe" for revising her maps; or why she had to mount large-scale, concerted attacks from one end to the other of the two-thousand-mile-long frontier; or why she rejects any approach to settlement other than through bilateral negotiations in the context of military force; or why she has been conducting world-wide anti-Indian propaganda denouncing the whole range of India's policies and depicting India as a tool of reactionaries and imperialists.

The fact appears to be that China's anti-Indian policy flows from her general analysis of the international situation, and reflects the aims and assumptions underlying her foreign policy as a whole. This policy itself, while formally subscribing to such ideals as peace and coexistence-though in the special Chinese meaning of these terms – leaves no room for non-alignment. If the world is viewed as divided essentially between imperialists and Communists, between whom war not only is inevitable in the end, but between whom tension in some form must be kept alive and even intensified as opportunity occurs, then there is indeed no place in it for the non-aligned. The non-aligned nations must, in this context, seem to be occupying an unstable, anomalous position from which, if they could be dislodged, either by cajolery or coercion, the result would be to accentuate the polarisation of world forces. It is logical to conclude that China's multiple campaign against India is an exercise in realpolitik on these lines. India is such an outstanding member of the non-aligned community that her defection, whether voluntary or enforced, cannot fail to bring grave and far-reaching consequences in its train.



## III

If this analysis is well-founded, the challenge from China, as it has revealed itself, is not only to our foreign policy, but to our domestic policy as well. Both are rooted in our needs and interests, and spring from the same cultural outlook and the same scale of moral values. Tolerance, friendliness, the protection of the rights and dignity of the individual, peaceful settlement of disputes, the persistent effort to reach agreement through compromise and persuasion—these are the values we have been trying to uphold, imperfectly no doubt, in the conduct of our internal affairs. They represent a way of life, if I may so put it, a way of life that is anathema to the ruling ideologists in Peking, with their faith in power and violence as the instruments of benevolent change.

We are far from being averse to change, we have embarked upon far-reaching changes and we propose to persevere with our plans and programs; but we are convinced that the methods by which changes are brought about are at least as important as the changes themselves. Means are more important than ends — this was the basic policy on which Mr. Gandhi laid constant stress. We believe that any change should come about through our own volition, as a result of our own experience, and that it should not be foisted on us through any kind of force or pressure. In the pursuit of change, we should seek to carry the mass of the people with us and win their support. This way of dealing with our problems may not result in as swift or spectacular transformation as we might wish, but at least the progress achieved will have a solid basis in the nation's consent and avoid a degree of dislocation and disorganisation that we can ill afford.

It is in this spirit that we have set our hands to the task of developing, in this ancient land, a system combining political democracy and economic justice.

Can this enterprise survive the new strains and tensions? The question goes to the heart of the issues involved in the present conflict, and the answer lies only in part, though perhaps in large part, with us in India. I am confident in my own mind that we cannot let ourselves be panicked into abandoning either the goal or the methods of our policy as I have stated it. The attack from across the Himalayas undoubtedly gave us a severe jolt; it aroused anger and disgust at what we felt to be a wanton betrayal of friendship. The immediate reaction was a spontaneous wave of national unity submerging all other disputes and dissensions. Even if some of them are revived, they are bound to be heavily coloured by the implications of China's policy for our security as well as for other aspects of our life.

In India there are groups which may be called Right and others which may be called Left. But the antithesis between Right and Left is not so clearcut as

in some other parts of the world, or as widely permeating in its intellectual and political language. To the vast mass of our people, the reality is a deeply felt but undoctrinaire demand for better economic and social conditions, to which has now been added a troubled awareness of the Chinese threat and of the paramount need for safeguarding the nation's independence and integrity. This is the basic situation that our policies are designed to meet. Undoubtedly, grave new problems have arisen which we did not previously anticipate and which could conceivably disturb our internal equilibrium. The diversion of resources to military preparedness may slow down to some extent the improvement in living conditions, and we will have to adapt ourselves, psychologically also, to the presence of a powerful and hostile neighbour. These are highly unwelcome and distasteful necessities, and their emergence has prompted an earnest reappraisal of the course we have been following these last 15 years. That reappraisal, however, has convinced us that the basic policies we pursued in earlier years should not be changed, but should only be adjusted in order to meet the new dangers that face us.

The central fact is that the impact of China, whether it again takes an acute military form or makes itself felt more insidiously, is forcing the pace of growth in India. Both the Right and the Left have been affected, and the nation as a whole is growing up. It is learning that in the world today it is not enough to be devoted to peace, or to mind one's own affairs, but that it is also necessary to have adequate armed strength, to adjust our relations with friendly countries in the light of the changing actualities of the international situation and, above all, to preserve and consolidate national unity.

There is an interplay of domestic and external factors here which no one can ignore; our responses will inevitably be affected by the policies that others adopt toward us. While uncertainties are inherent in the situation, the political ferment that has been at work in India during the past few months has confirmed for us the essential and continuing validity of the principles on which we have hitherto taken our stand. The defense of our freedom and the social progress to which we aspire can best be assured in our view by the flexible democratic structure that we have evolved for ourselves. This is not only in conformity with our larger interests, but also with the larger interests of the world.

The Right in India has become more clamorous, basing itself on an extreme form of nationalism; the Left, though also nationalistic, is to some extent weakened. The Communist Party of India is in disarray, and the great majority of it has condemned Chinese aggression and declared itself in favour of the national stand. There is much heart-searching even in the Congress Party. But, on the whole, the picture that is emerging confirms the domestic and international



policies that we have pursued, subject always to a general agreement about the necessity for increasing our armed strength for defense. If the frontier situation should deteriorate, we would naturally consider it desirable to take measures to tighten up the central authority. That is something that is likely to happen in a crisis under any system of government. But, even so, the basic democratic structure will, I think, continue.

It is pertinent to note that the Soviet Union and the Communist states of Europe allied to it have not considered it necessary to change their friendly attitude toward India in spite of open Chinese hostility toward us. Indeed, they have continued their aid to India in various ways. This implies a recognition on their part that India and other non-aligned countries have a vital role in the existing balance of forces.

I have endeavoured to give, above, some explanation of the basic policy which China appears to be following in regard to India. It may be that this policy is partly affected by the growing rift between the Soviet Union and China. This may have led China to demonstrate, by her attack on India, that non-alignment has no reality and that the Soviet policy toward the non-aligned countries is wrong; the only right course is to work for a polarisation of forces in the world. This might, according to Chinese thinking, justify their ideological difference with the Soviet Union.

Whatever temporary military success the Chinese may have gained by their aggression on India, I think it would be correct to say that they have failed thus far in their main endeavour. Not only have they converted a friendly country like India into one basically hostile to them and united and determined against them, but the policy of non-alignment has not broken down and stands confirmed. China has lost the goodwill of most of the non-aligned countries and even of many of her Communist allies. She stands isolated today.

Ever since the cease-fire and the Colombo proposals, the immediate excitement of day-to-day fighting on the border has naturally toned down. But it is generally recognised that the menace from China is a continuing one, and we must therefore prepare to meet it, whatever developments might take place in the near future.

The future is uncertain. But it may be said with some confidence that, while India continues to strengthen herself for defense, she is anxious that her economic development should not be impeded because of the increased expenditure on armaments. There is an increasing realisation that this double burden must be borne by our people. There is also the hope that our friends abroad will help us by sharing this burden to some extent. But we realise that in any event the people of India will have to carry the main load.

## IV

Whatever happens in India or elsewhere will be governed to some extent by international developments. Happily, there have been indications recently that a new phase may well be opening in international relations. Cuba suddenly revealed to us the thermonuclear brink on which we are all poised; it also brought reassuring evidence of restraint and moderation in high places, without which we cannot be sure of surviving the dangerous days yet to come. It may be that the cold war and the East-West antagonism of the 1950s will be gradually softened and transformed by the new pressures that have emerged within each bloc, as well as by the insistent demand of the "uncommitted" countries for a systematic and world-wide assault on hunger, disease and ignorance. But war, and nuclear war at that, still remains the spectre which must be exorcized before mankind can breathe freely again. That is why disarmament, particularly the abolition of nuclear weapons, beginning with the cessation of all further tests, is of such supreme importance. The technology of the arms race is acquiring a fearful momentum of its own, and is rapidly reaching a point where, if it is not checked and reversed in time, it may well pose insuperable problems of organised, social control. The responsibility for this naturally rests, in the first place, with the principal nuclear powers, and we must hope that they will be equal to it.

Meanwhile, Indo-American relations have seldom been as close and cordial as they are now. The deep sympathy and practical support received from the United States in meeting the Chinese aggression has created a wealth of good feeling and, apart from that, there is much in common between us on essentials. President Kennedy's vision of a world of free and independent nations, freely cooperating so as to bring about a world-wide system of interdependence, is entirely in accord with our own ideas. It is in this spirit that we have endeavoured to collaborate in peaceful and constructive work with the new Afro-Asian states, and with Britain and other Commonwealth countries with whom we have a long historical association. It is in this spirit also that we are doing our best to further the purposes of the United Nations as, most recently, in the Congo.

The United Nations admittedly has numerous shortcomings. The government of a country representing a large part of the world's population is still not subject to the discipline and the responsibilities that membership in the world organisation would impose. Often, moreover, the judgment and activities of the United Nations have been swayed or inhibited by the passions and prejudices of the cold war. None the less, the United Nations is the chief repository of our hopes for ever closer and more effective international cooperation for security as well as welfare. It is dedicated to peace, freedom



and justice--noble ideals which embody the aspirations of all mankind--and it may yet lead us out of this fear and strife-ridden age into a more settled future when the full potentialities of science and technology could be applied to the well-being of all peoples.

#### **435. To Gamel Abdel Nasser: World Politics<sup>7</sup>**

February 12, 1963

Dear friend,

I understand that our Secretary-General,<sup>8</sup> R.K. Nehru, is passing through Cairo on his way to some East European countries. He has been invited to these countries and I have suggested to him that he might spend a day or so in Cairo. I think such visits are useful as they enable us to keep in friendly contact with one another.

During my visit to Cairo last year, we had an interesting talk on the world situation.<sup>9</sup> Much has happened since then and I thought I might take the opportunity to share my thoughts with you. The situation today shows an encouraging trend towards moderation among the leading powers of both the blocs. This trend has met with opposition and the internal conflicts of the blocs have overshadowed other conflicts. In this situation, I think, there is greater need for close cooperation among the unaligned and developing countries. Their interest lies in strengthening the effort to bring about more peaceful international relations.

The effort which is now being made has been greatly influenced by the events in Cuba. The crisis which took place there some months ago gave rise to the imminent threat of a thermonuclear war. This has had a salutary effect and the narrow escape of the world from disaster will not easily be forgotten. Both President Kennedy and Mr Khrushchev showed wisdom and restraint in a difficult situation. The UN Secretary-General, U Thant, also played some part in resolving the crisis. All these factors have helped to bring about healthier trends in the international situation.

We welcome these trends and hope that they will be strengthened. In regard to Berlin, Mr Khrushchev has shown an accommodating attitude. The atmosphere of tension which existed in the past seems to have lessened. It is of course difficult to make much progress on disarmament while problems such

7. Letter to the President of the UAR.

8. Of the MEA.

9. On 30 September 1962. See SWJN/SS/78/item 329 notes.

as Berlin and Germany remain unsolved. However, some progress has been made in regard to nuclear tests. This is a definite gain and we hope that the Disarmament Conference, on which the unaligned countries are represented, will help to enlarge the area of agreement.

We believe that President Kennedy and Mr Khrushchev are sincere in their desire for a *détente*. Both are, however, facing serious difficulties from other members of their own blocs. This is a new development which shows that the unity of each bloc is being undermined by conflicting national interests. We ourselves have been opposed to the kind of unity which is imposed by military alliances and blocs. However, the present situation is such that while the leading powers seem to be anxious to reduce tension and to find ways of settling problems which are endangering peace, their own allies, in some cases, are coming in their way.

Thus, France is not only opposed to US leadership in Europe, but also to US policy in regard to an accommodation with the USSR. It has also rejected the moves which are being made to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In the Communist bloc, the rift is deeper between China and the other member States. China has challenged the whole concept of peaceful co-existence on which Soviet policy is based. While Soviet policy aims at the avoidance, or elimination, of war and lays greater stress on peaceful competition, China has proclaimed its adherence to a policy based on revolutionary violence and what are described as "just wars". China's main purpose seems to be to disrupt the policy of non-alignment which has gained widespread support, not only among the Afro-Asian countries, but also from the Great Powers.

I think our own conflict with China should be seen against this background. I have written to you about this in the past and I will only repeat that while we shall resist aggression and take all necessary measures for the defence of our country, there will be no change in our policy of peace and non-alignment. Our objective will always be to have a peaceful settlement which preserves the honour and dignity of our country. For this reason, we welcomed the initiative of the Colombo Conference and we also accepted the proposals, as clarified to us. As you are perhaps aware, China has not yet done so. Its so-called acceptance is subject to reservations which are completely at variance with the proposals.

Our Secretary-General will give you fuller details on this matter if you can spare him the time. I will only add that both our Government and people have greatly appreciated your own approach to this problem. Mr Aly Sabry<sup>10</sup> was very helpful, both in Colombo and in the meetings, which subsequently took

10. Premier of UAR.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

place in Delhi. We value the firm stand which he took on the basic issue that there should be no territorial gain as a result of aggression.

I look forward to the further strengthening of friendly cooperation and understanding between us in the interest of peace.

With my warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### 436. To Josip Broz Tito: World Politics<sup>11</sup>

February 12, 1963

Dear friend,

I wrote to you some days ago in reply to your message of 15th January.<sup>12</sup> As our Secretary-General, R.K. Nehru, is visiting Yugoslavia next week, I thought I might write again. I am glad that this visit is taking place and I hope that it will lead to a fruitful exchange of views on matters of mutual interest.

Since I wrote to you last, there have been no important developments in the international situation, apart from the events in Iraq. We have welcomed the trend towards a *détente* which has been developing in Soviet-American relations. There are internal conflicts in each Bloc, but the leading members of both the Blocs seem to be sincere in their desire to find solutions for problems which are endangering the peace of the world.

It is perhaps difficult to make much progress on disarmament while problems such as Berlin and Germany remain unsolved. However, in regard to Berlin, Mr Khrushchev has shown a more accommodating attitude. The atmosphere of tension and crisis which existed in the past seems to have lessened. The talks which were taking place in Washington in regard to nuclear tests have not yet succeeded. However, they have not been broken off and we hope that when they are resumed, the area of agreement will be widened. The differences which exist between the two sides do not seem to be insuperable. Thus, the outlook continues to be hopeful and if the help of the unaligned countries which are represented in the Disarmament Conference is needed by both the sides, I am sure it will be readily available.

My last message to you referred to our acceptance of the Colombo proposals. The Chinese have not yet accepted them. The reservations which they

11. Letter to President of Yugoslavia.

12. On 1 February 1963. See item 462.

have made are completely at variance with the proposals. What their intentions are, we do not know, but as their troop concentrations on our borders have not diminished, we are continuing our defence measures. We are determined to resist aggression, while adhering to our policy of peace and non-alignment and keeping the door open for a peaceful settlement which is consistent with the honour and dignity of our country.

Our Secretary-General will give you fuller details on this matter if you can spare him the time. I think it is important that there should be closer cooperation and understanding among the developing and unaligned countries. The value of their policy of non-alignment and peace has been recognised by the Great Powers. They could help to strengthen the healthier trends which are developing in international relations.

I send you once again my warm personal regards both for Madame Broz and for yourself.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 437. To Walter Galahad: Cuba<sup>13</sup>

February 14, 1963

Dear Mr Galahad,

Thank you for your letter of February 9, which I have just received.

I agree with you that President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev both desire peace and work for it. The recent incidents concerning Cuba, when we were on the brink of a terrible nuclear war and were saved from it by the action taken by these two statesmen, demonstrated their desire for peace.

You have referred to a Gandhi Peace Prize. There is no such peace prize in Mr Gandhi's name or any other, so far as I know, which is given by any organisation in India. I do not, therefore, understand how your wishes can be carried out.

I might inform you that, soon after the Cuba incident, I conveyed my respectful congratulations to both President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

13. Letter; address: 4125 Colonial Avenue, Montreal 18, Quebec, Canada.



**438. To Krishna Dave: Corrections on Note of Talks with Reed and Ulliyot<sup>14</sup>**

February 20, 1963

Dear Krishna,

Your letter of the 20th February and the note of my talk with Messrs Reed and Ulliyot.<sup>15</sup> I cannot say much about this note. Only I should like to indicate the wrong statements in it.

The reference to the King of Laos<sup>16</sup> coming to see me is not correct. He did not come to my office at all. Someone else was mistaken for him.

Later, on the same page, it is said that “even though it has not been changed to include military production ...”. Military production: we have considered it separately. There was no question of including it in the Plan, though, of course, it had to be borne in mind.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**439. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Greece Unhappy with Khosla<sup>17</sup>**

February 22, 1963

[Nan dear,]

Your letter of the 10th February.

I am a little surprised to learn that the King and Queen of Greece were not happy about our Ambassador Khosla.<sup>18</sup> Khosla is really our Ambassador in Belgrade. Greece has been added to his domain. I suppose he spends most of his time in Yugoslavia. He is a good man and, before he joined the Foreign Service, was a Professor.

I agree with you that an honorary doctorate of Oxford is an honour worth having. At the same time, just to go all the way to Oxford from here for the

14. Letter to Assistant in Charge of the Women's Department of the AICC; address: Office of the AICC, New Delhi.

15. James R. Ulliyot and Charles L. Reed. The meeting took place on 12 February 1963.

16. Savang Vatthana.

17. Letter to the Governor of Maharashtra.

18. Jagan Nath Khosla (1906-2001); professor of Law and Political Science in Punjab University from 1933 to 1944; ambassador to Belgrade with co-appointment in Sofia and Athens from 1961 to 1964.

degree only, seems not quite worthwhile. If it could be added to some other function, perhaps it might become more feasible. I am consulting the President.<sup>19</sup>

I was hoping to come to Bombay fairly soon. But I am afraid I shall not be able to go there now as early as I intended. I now propose to go there on the 20th March forenoon and to stay for the 21st also. On the 20th, there is a function of the Labour Central Training Institute. In the evening, I shall probably address a public meeting.

On the 21st, there is the opening of the Ciba Research Centre.

Probably there will be some other engagements also. If I have the time, I should like to pay another visit to the Atomic Energy Centre at Trombay.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **440. In the Rajya Sabha: Room for Biju Patnaik in MEA<sup>20</sup>**

Room reserved for Orissa Chief Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state<sup>21</sup>:

- (a) Whether a room has been reserved for the Chief Minister of Orissa, in the Ministry of External Affairs;
- (b) Whether any office assistance by way of personnel is being provided to him in his work, and if so, what is the nature thereof; and
- (c) What is the nature of the work he is doing in the Ministry?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):

- (a) Yes.
- (b) Some secretarial staff has been given to Shri Patnaik in connection with the work that he handles in the Ministry of External Affairs.
- (c) Shri Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa, is giving part of his time, at the invitation of the Prime Minister, in work connected with the present emergency, particularly in matters connected with the maintenance of

19. See item 102.

20. Oral Answers, 27 February 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Volume XLII, Nos. I-II, 18th February to 4th March, 1963, pp. 1008-1011.

21. A.D. Mani, Independent.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

supplies and services in the border areas. He pays periodic visits to Delhi for this purpose.

A.D. Mani: would the Minister be able to say how many times the Chief Minister, Mr. Patnaik, visited Delhi during the period of October, November and December?

Dinesh Singh: I could not say off hand how many times he visited Delhi.

A.D. Mani: The Minister has stated that he is doing work in connection with the Emergency, particularly regarding the border areas. Is there any proper liaison between him and the Defence Ministry in regard to such work?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir, there is liaison. He meets all those connected with these matters. Apart from meeting me occasionally and the External Affairs Ministry people, he meets various people, the Chief of Staff, the Cabinet Secretary, etc., consults them or he is consulted.

K. Santhanam:<sup>22</sup> May I know if it is not constitutionally inconsistent with the responsibilities of a Chief Minister to have this kind of assignment?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not see any impropriety constitutionally in a Chief Minister coming here occasionally and giving us the advantage of his special experiences and knowledge.

M.S. Gurupada Swamy:<sup>23</sup> What is the special reason for choosing the Chief Minister of a particular State for this assignment as it would mean dividing his time between Delhi and Orissa and it will be very difficult for him to function effectively either here or there? If such an arrangement either was necessary, would it not have been better to bring in some other individual who can give his whole time?

Chairman: I think the Prime Minister has already said that there is nothing improper.

22. Congress.

23. PSP.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

M.S. Gurupada Swamy: I want to know what is the special reason for choosing the Chief Minister of a particular State for this assignment.

Chairman: He is particularly competent.

M.S. Gurupada Swamy: Is there not some other arrangement ...

Chairman: He is particularly competent.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have not chosen him because he is a Chief Minister, but because of his particular experience of various matters. He is rather a person who has had unusual experience in positions of responsibility. That certainly does not fall to the lot of Chief Ministers as a rule or, for the matter of that, any Minister here. Therefore, we want to take advantage of that particular experience. I do not think that it comes in the way of his work in Orissa with which, even when he is here, he keeps in touch, and he comes over here for a few days. He is at present in Orissa, he is not here.

Bairagi Dwibedy:<sup>24</sup>In view of his past experience what is the difficulty that the Prime Minister finds in bringing him to the Central Cabinet?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Because he is doing important work in Orissa. May I just add something? There was a question here about payment to him. He is not paid anything by the Central Government for his coming here.

M. Ruthnaswamy:<sup>25</sup>Will the Prime Minister specify the particular knowledge and experience which qualify the Chief Minister of Orissa for this particular work? Has he any special experience of the border areas?

Chairman: Yes, that is what he means.

M. Ruthnaswamy: How and when?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, he has particular experience of the border areas. Even in the last war in the border areas between India and China—not this particular border, the other areas between India and China—he was a pilot. Perhaps some hon. Members may know that he is a very efficient pilot. And in other places, in Indonesia etc., he has had that experience.

24. Swatantra Party.

25. Swatantra Party.



**441. To Chaman Lall: World Peace Conference<sup>26</sup>**

March 25, 1963

My dear Chaman Lall,

I understand that the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace has decided to hold a national conference for Non-alignment and World Peace. Invitations are being extended to many organisations outside to attend the conference.

I am rather doubtful about the wisdom of holding such a conference next month and inviting people from abroad to come to it. Even if it is decided to hold it, it would require a good deal of preparation if it is to be at all worthwhile. I would have liked that no such conference be held in the near future.

I have a vague recollection that you wrote to me about this and asked me to attend the conference. I had no idea at that time that it was to be on this scale with foreign participants. I doubt very much if I shall be able to attend this conference.<sup>27</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**442. To Norodom Sihanouk: Kind Words<sup>28</sup>**

March 25, 1963

Your Royal Highness,

I thank you for your letter of the 2nd March in which you have referred in very kind terms to your visit to our country in January. It was an honour and a pleasure to receive Your Royal Highness and I sincerely hope that there will be other similar visits in the future.

26. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Congress; address: 30 Prithviraj Road, New Delhi.

27. Excerpt from Chaman Lall's reply of 29 March 1963: "Perhaps you have received the impression that we are proposing to hold an international conference of some kind. This is far from our intention. We have called a purely National Conference with a few observers from abroad.

However, in view of your letter, I am asking the Committee to postpone the Conference and wait for a more suitable opportunity unless, after you have re-considered the matter, you agree to our going ahead with the preparation and holding the Conference later at such time as you consider advisable and which may be suitable to you." NMML, Diwan Chaman Lall Papers, File No. 121.

28. Letter to the Chief of State of Cambodia.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I greatly appreciate Your Royal Highness's gracious invitation to me to visit Cambodia. It is a country that has always held a special place in the affections of myself and my countrymen and an opportunity to visit it would be great privilege. It is my hope that I will be able to do so when the present grave problems facing my country are somewhat resolved and it is possible for me to be absent from India.

I take this opportunity of assuring Your Royal Highness of my highest consideration and profound and constant esteem.

Jawaharlal Nehru

### **443. To Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah: Diplomatic Ties with Kuwait<sup>29</sup>**

March 27, 1963

Excellency,

I have pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your letters No. 1/50/73-607 and 608 dated 18th March, 1963. We were happy to receive your envoy, His Excellency Ambassador Abdul-Razzaq Rizouqi and to discuss with him the question of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries at Embassy level. In view of the ancient cultural and commercial ties between India and Kuwait and in order further to strengthen the existing bonds of friendship between our two countries, we cordially welcome your proposal. We greatly look forward to the development of closer relations between our two countries not only for their mutual benefit but also in the interest of promoting cooperation among the countries of Asia.

I take this opportunity to convey to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

Jawaharlal Nehru

29. Letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait.



**444. To S.R. Das: ILO Commission<sup>30</sup>**

March 29, 1963

My dear Shri Das,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th of March, enclosing a copy of a letter from the ILO regarding your proposed nomination on the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association.

2. This Commission was established jointly by the International Labour Office and the United Nations in 1950 and its function is to look into allegations of infringement of trade union rights made by aggrieved parties. The complaint is referred to the Commission only if the Government of the country concerned agrees to such a reference. Persons are nominated on the Commission in their individual capacity and not as representatives of their Governments or countries.

3. Since its constitution in 1950, no case has been referred to the Commission. The ILO, however, wished to re-activate the Commission and hence their request to you. About the time that Shri Pattabhiraman<sup>31</sup> spoke to you about this, the ILO Secretariat consulted us informally and we told them that we welcomed their suggestion, subject, of course, to your concurrence.

4. The Commission has not met at all since its constitution. It is, therefore, difficult to say what exactly your Membership would involve in time and labour. We doubt, however, whether you would be required to spend, if at all, more than a few weeks abroad. The Commission is required to make on the spot enquires in case a complaint is referred to it and in case you have to attend a meeting of the Commission, you will be paid travelling and subsistence allowances by the ILO. The ILO will, no doubt, send you further details on receiving your acceptance. Our Labour Ministry will also give you whatever assistance you need in the matter.

5. If you have no particular objection, I think it would be useful if you agreed to serve on the Commission.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

30. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati. PMO, File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS, Volume I, II & III, Sr. No. 228-A.

31. T.S. Pattabhiraman, Rajya Sabha MP, Congress.

**445. To Maya Devi Chettry: Peace Committee<sup>32</sup>**

April 10, 1963

Dear Maya Devi,

I have your letter of the 7th April.

I do not know much about the Peace Committee which you say has been formed by some Members of Parliament or of the Peace Conference it is proposed to hold here. If you like, you can attend the conference. I do not attach very much importance to this conference.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**446. To David Hicks: Suggestions Good<sup>33</sup>**

April 13, 1963

My dear David,

I must apologise to you for the long delay in acknowledging your letter dated 31st January and the report you have sent with it. When your letter and report reached me, I was heavily occupied with the problems created by the Chinese on our border. I put it by, therefore, to read at leisure. Hence the delay.

I have read your report and, as far as a layman can judge, your suggestions are good. I do not know how far our Government apparatus will be able to profit by them. Probably we will, but we move slowly in such matters more especially.

In another fortnight, Dickie<sup>34</sup> will be coming here, and we are greatly looking forward to his visit. I am excited to learn that Pammy is expecting another baby.

All my love to her.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

32. Letter to Congress MP; address: Chettry Bhavan, Kurseong, Darjeeling.

33. Letter to Designer and Interior Decorator; Louis Mountbatten's son-in-law; address: 25 Lowndes Street, London SW1.

34. Louis Mountbatten. See External Affairs, subsection (m1).



**447. To S. Radhakrishnan: Take IFS People on Iran and Afghanistan Tour<sup>35</sup>**

April 14, 1963

My dear President,

I have discussed your tour programme for Afghanistan and Iran with the Foreign Secretary. We feel that it would be desirable for Gopal<sup>36</sup> to go with you in addition to Rajeshwar Dayal and Mohd. Yunus. It is good for our Foreign Service people to visit these places and to get to know the background of what is happening. Both Afghanistan and Iran are in process of some change. We would, therefore, strongly recommend to you to accept these three men from External Affairs to accompany you to Afghanistan and Iran.<sup>37</sup>

You will be going in an IAF plane. So long as we do not exceed the number which that aircraft can carry, there will be no difficulty at all. I hope you will agree.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**448. To S. Radhakrishnan: Taking Diplomats to Iran<sup>38</sup>**

April 15, 1963

My dear President,

Thank you for your letter of April 15th.

I have a feeling that you are not happy at the decision to take three representatives of the External Affairs Ministry to Iran.<sup>39</sup> If you have at all any hesitation in this matter, we can easily drop one of them. Rajeshwar Dayal, I think, should go. We can leave out Mohammed Yunus.

About the slips which you have enclosed, what the Peking Radio has said is correct. In spite of all our efforts, we were told that the snowfall has been so heavy that it would be very difficult to clear a good passage before the end of the month. Unfortunately, they have not got modern implements for removing snow.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

35. Letter to President.

36. S. Gopal, Director of the MEA Research Division.

37. See also item 448.

38. Letter to the President.

39. See item 447.

**449. To S.K. Patil: Afro-Asian Rural Reconstruction Organisation<sup>40</sup>**

April 15, 1963

My dear SK,

I enclose a letter from Panjabrao Deshmukh.<sup>41</sup>

I was not greatly enamoured of the Afro-Asian Rural Reconstruction Organisation when it was started. But step by step, this has grown forward and we have been associated with it. Quite a number of important countries are members of it. I do not see how we can keep out of it now without irritating the others. I feel, therefore, that we should join the organisation formally.

I sent a message to its last meeting in Cairo. It would be odd if I did not send a message to its meeting being held in Delhi. I intend, therefore, to send a brief message.<sup>42</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**450. To N.R. Deshpande: Explaining Non-Alignment<sup>43</sup>**

April 15, 1963

Dear Dr Deshpande,

I have received your letter of the 13th April and the note on "Non-alignment and India's Foreign Policy". Thank you for them. I agree with you entirely that it is desirable to have discussions about our policies and specially about non-alignment.

I have read your note and, by and large, I agree with it.

Non-alignment is certainly a means and not an end in itself. But as means often control ends, it is important from the point of ends also. I hardly think it would be correct to say that it has a limited relevance to the cold war approach. It is indeed the opposite of the cold war approach. If the cold war approach is a bad one, as I think it is, then a policy of non-alignment helps to tone down that cold war approach and gradually perhaps to put an end to it.

40. Letter to the Minister of Food and Agriculture. NMML, S.K. Patil Papers.

41. See appendix 62.

42. See item 451.

43. Letter to member of the Department of Political Science, Nagpur University, North Ambazari Road, Nagpur.



It is true that the success of non-alignment has to be judged not with reference to any particular situation or issue, but rather because of its wider effects on the objectives aimed at, and yet any particular situation may be so important that any policy has to be judged from that point of view also. I think that even strictly in the context of the crisis that we face, non-alignment is right from the point of view of our national interests.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **451. For the Afro-Asian Rural Reconstruction Organisation<sup>44</sup>**

I send my good wishes to the meeting of the Executive of the Afro-Asian Rural Reconstruction Organisation.<sup>45</sup> In all the countries of Asia and Africa, the question of rural reconstruction is of the highest importance. We want industrialisation in our respective countries and a modernisation of techniques. But development of industry itself is based ultimately on the development of agriculture. Without a sound and productive agricultural base, industry will lag behind.

I think, therefore, that the Afro-Asian Rural Reconstruction Organisation plays a very important role. It can help in many ways and specially in exchanging information in regard to rural reconstruction between the different countries associated with it.

(b) Africa

#### **452. To Abubakar Tafawa Balewa: Nigeria in Commonwealth<sup>46</sup>**

March 27, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

I acknowledge with thanks, the receipt of your letter of March 22, 1963, in which you inform me of the decisions of your Government that Nigeria should

44. Message, 16 April 1963, PMO, File No. 42(51)/62-71-PMS, Sr. No. 16-B.

45. This was in response to a request from Panjabrao Deshmukh, see appendix 62; and item 449.

46. Letter to the Prime Minister of Nigeria.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

become a Republic by October of this year, and that it should continue as a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, accepting the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth.

2. We, for our part, would be happy to accept and recognise Nigeria's continued membership of the Commonwealth under its new status. As requested by you, we shall communicate our views regarding this matter to the Government of the United Kingdom.

3. I take this opportunity of sending to you, Mr Prime Minister, our cordial greetings and to the Government and people of Nigeria, our best wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

With the assurances of my highest consideration,

Jawaharlal Nehru

### 453. To Chaman Lall: Interfering in Kenya Elections<sup>47</sup>

April 2, 1963

My dear Chaman Lall,

Your letter of the 29th March.

I had a talk about it with Gundevia<sup>48</sup> and Rajeshwar Dayal.<sup>49</sup> We feel that your going to Nairobi in connection with the elections would inevitably give the impression that we are interfering in local politics. This would not be desirable. Normally we keep out of this election business outside. Perhaps, if you thought it necessary, you could go well before the elections and return also before the elections.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

47. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Congress; address: 30 Prithviraj Road, New Delhi.

48. Y.D. Gundevia, CS in the MEA.

49. Indian Diplomat; former Foreign Secretary; served as the head of UN Operations in Congo, 1960-1961.



**454. To Julius K. Nyerere: Rhodesia<sup>50</sup>**

April 18, 1963

My dear friend,

I am glad to have your letter of 6th April 1963<sup>51</sup> in which you have set out the serious problems surrounding the question of the future of Southern Rhodesia. The information which you have been good enough to convey, and the views which you have expressed, have received our most careful attention. We ourselves, although geographically distant, have been viewing recent developments there with much concern as they would inevitably affect the future and welfare of a significant part of the African continent. Our anxiety is to see a peaceful and orderly transition from colonialism to independence, in which the interests of all sections of the community receive due recognition. And any arrangement whereby a privileged minority is permitted to dominate over the majority is bound to give rise to conditions of great instability and to grave dissatisfaction which might well erupt into violence. Such a development, fraught with such grave consequences, it is the task of wise statesmanship to avoid.

We have, in this context, taken careful note of the views recently expressed by Mr Butler in the House of Commons regarding the question of Southern Rhodesia. We therefore cannot but agree with you that it should be possible to devise a solution based on the principles of the Commonwealth, in which any false racial theories, or the domination of the majority by a small racial minority can find no place.

We are in contact with the British Government in the matter, and you may rest assured, Mr President, of our deep interest and sympathy with all efforts to find a just, equitable and peaceful solution to the problem.

Thanking you again for giving us the benefit of your most valuable suggestions, and with my best wishes for your personal welfare and happiness.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

50. Letter to the President of Tanganyika.

51. See appendix 53.

(c) Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee

**455. To Walter Nash: Afro-Asian Conference<sup>52</sup>**

February 5, 1963

My dear Mr Nash,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th January which I have just received. It is always a pleasure to hear from you.

I am afraid I cannot give you much information about the Afro-Asian Conference which is going to hold some kind of a meeting at Saigon. I believe this is some kind of a counter move to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference. The latter was formed some time ago more or less under Communist auspices and it has played and is playing a fairly important role in Africa especially. Although the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference is not wholly Communist, and there are many non-communists in it, it has largely been guided by Communist elements. It has been chiefly helped financially by Russia, China and the UAR, each of them pulling its own way. None of these three countries cooperates with the others now. A conference is being held at some place in Tanganyika now. We have reports of Russia and China pulling in different directions.<sup>53</sup>

The Afro-Asian Conference to which you refer appears to me clearly an attempt to influence some Afro-Asian countries in a contrary direction from the cold war point of view. I rather doubt if it has grown in strength or importance. I do not know very much about it and can offer no advice to you as to whether it will be worthwhile going there.

With all good wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

52. Letter to former Prime Minister (1957-1960); and current Labour Party MP, New Zealand.

53. The Conference was held at Moshi, Tanganyika, from 4 February 1963. Nehru's message to the conference read, "We in India are addicted to peace and believe firmly in the principles of peaceful coexistence. Recent aggression committed against us has far from diminished our faith in those principles." Reported in the *National Herald*, 6 February 1963, p.5.



**456. To Vidya Charan Shukla: Attending Moshi and Other Conferences<sup>54</sup>**

February 23, 1963

Dear Vidya Charan,

Your letter of February 22nd. I do not think it is possible to issue a full and comprehensive list of organisations such as you suggest. You may, if you like, mention this matter to the Secretaries of the Congress Party, so that it might be discussed at a meeting of the Executive Committee.

As for the Moshi Conference,<sup>55</sup> at least one, and possibly two, of our Party members who went there asked me if they could go and I told them that they could do so.

I have just received a letter from Dr Gopal Singh<sup>56</sup> on the subject of the Moshi Conference and his attendance there. I am sending this to the Secretary of the Party, Shri Raghunath Singh.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**457. To Raghunath Singh: Moshi Conference<sup>57</sup>**

February 23, 1963

My dear Raghunath Singh,

I enclose a letter from Dr Gopal Singh, a member of our Party. This is about the Moshi Conference. I see that this matter was referred to at the Congress Party Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, where the conduct of the Congress [men] who attended this conference was criticised. As a matter of fact, Dr Gopal Singh asked me before going, as to whether he could go, and I told him that he could do so.

I think this letter of Dr Gopal Singh might well be laid before the Executive Committee for their information.<sup>58</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

54. Letter to the Convenor of the Standing Committee on External Affairs, CPP.

55. The Third Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference held at Moshi, Tanganyika, from 4-11 February 1963. See items 458 and 457.

56. Congress Party Member.

57. Letter to the Secretary of the CPP.

58. See also items 458 and 456.

## 458. In the Rajya Sabha: Moshi Conference<sup>59</sup>

Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity  
Organisation held at Moshi<sup>60</sup>

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state<sup>61</sup>:

- (a) Whether it is a fact that the Indian delegation participated in the Third Conference of the Afro-Asian People Solidarity Organisation which was held at Moshi in Tanganyika; and
- (b) If so, what were the instructions given to our delegates for the Conference?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon):

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) The delegation was an unofficial one and the question of the Government giving them any instructions did not arise. They were given information and some publicity materials relating to the Sino-Indian border conflict.

S.C. Deb: As a result of our Delegation's participation in this conference, may I know whether any benefit has accrued to India in spite of the mischief of the Chinese?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As has been said, Sir, this conference is purely a non-official one and the Government as such has nothing to do with it. When they approached for visas and we were told that no financial question was involved either rupee finance or foreign exchange we gave thought to this. Normally we allow people to go if there is no foreign exchange involved. But we also thought, although we did not wish to encourage this conference and we have not had any dealings with it in the past, nevertheless a very large number of African countries are represented there—I forget the exact number but it is a large number—and we thought that this conference would probably be utilised or exploited by the Chinese who are very intimately connected with this conference to the disadvantage of India. So, we permitted those people to go

59. Oral Answers, 27 February 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Volume XLII, Nos. I-II, 18th February to 4th March 1963, pp. 992-996.

60. See also items 456 and 457.

61. S.C. Deb, Congress.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

to the conference as delegates of their own organisation and we helped them by giving them some material on this Sino-Indian issue, pamphlets material, maps etc. I have said this merely to explain it. Now the answer to the question put by the hon. Member is, I think in the balance it did good, the people from India explaining India's case in regard to China; otherwise it would have gone without any explanation and most of those African countries, forty or fifty, I do not know how many of them, would have been deluded by Chinese propaganda. That was put an end to and our case was definitely understood by most of them.

M.S. Gurupada Swamy:<sup>62</sup>In view of the fact that this organisation is pro-communist and especially dominated by the Chinese Communists, may I know from the Prime Minister whether in future it would not be desirable to dissociate ourselves from such an organisation and find out other ways and means of countering the propaganda techniques adopted by the Chinese?

Chairman: What do you mean by "ourselves"? The Government was not associated with it.

M.S. Gurupada Swamy: I mean not only Government but also Indians; any Indian for that matter should dissociate himself from such an organisation.

Jawaharlal Nehru: As you were pleased to say, there is no question of dissociating ourselves because we have not associated. The question may arise as to whether we should go out of our way to prevent some Indians from attending it. Normally, the question does not arise except in regard to foreign exchange, etc. and we allow people to go. It is really a question to be considered on merits whenever such an occasion arises. There are many conferences being held which are not official and to which we go. Sometimes we encourage our people; sometimes we are neutral about it and sometimes we discourage them. Take this particular conference. It was not only one in which the Sino-Indian question came up and the representatives of India, the Indians there, and the Chinese there had some kind of a conflict in the conference. Another issue which gave rise to a conflict there was the Chinese and Soviet issue where they differed. It is not easy to lay down any firm rule about these matters. One has to judge as to what the circumstances are and whether it will be good or bad and one takes risks sometimes of even some misunderstanding, if we think in the balance, it will do some good.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Faridul Haq Ansari:<sup>63</sup> May I know whether the Government has any knowledge as to who paid the expenses of the Indian delegates?

Diwan Chaman Lall:<sup>64</sup> The delegates themselves.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as I know, the delegates themselves paid it; may be, partly their organisation here because delegates were chosen by the National Committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference. They are supposed to organise it but mostly, as far as I know, the delegates themselves paid here. As for the other end, they were treated as guests there.

A.D. Mani:<sup>65</sup> The Minister stated in answer to part (b) that no instructions were given to our delegates at the conference but the newspapers published a report that the Indian mission in Tanganyika had reached an informal agreement with the Chinese delegates that the border issue would not be raised at the conference and the delegates were confronted with this sort of agreement being reached between the Indian mission and China. Is that allegation true?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is completely wrong. No such agreement was reached. In fact, many days before the conference began, I sent a brief message to the conference dealing with Africa, etc. and there was a small paragraph—a couple of sentences—about Chinese aggression on India in my message. The Chinese having come to know that there was such a message they took exception to our message and I believe the organisers of the conference put out a suggestion to us that my message might be changed somewhat as this would bring a controversial issue in the conference. I did not agree to that, I said, “No, this message should go as it is; or not at all” and the message did go as it was.<sup>66</sup> I have mentioned this fact to demonstrate that there was not a shadow of excuse for the statement that any understanding was arrived at not to mention these things.

63. PSP.

64. Congress.

65. Independent.

66. The message read: “We in India are addicted to peace and believe firmly in the principles of peaceful co-existence. Recent aggression committed against us has far from diminished our faith in those principles. I hope the conference will renew its dedication to these principles.” *The National Herald*, 6 February 1963, p.5.



**459. To Rameshwari Nehru: Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee Dubious<sup>67</sup>**

April 10, 1963

My dear Bijju Bhabhi,  
Your letter of April 9th.

I am afraid we are not favourably inclined towards the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. It is largely controlled by elements we do not approve of. It is true, as I have said, that the delegations that went from it to Colombo and Moshi did some good work, but you know how much objection has been taken to them in Parliament.<sup>68</sup>

The rules governing permission to use foreign exchange are very strict at present. It is difficult for me to get over them for this purpose. I think the best course for you would be to inform the headquarters of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee at Cairo that, under our present rules you cannot get foreign exchange.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**(d) Ceylon**

**460. To P.C. Sen: Calcutta Press on Sirimavo Bandaranaike<sup>69</sup>**

February 2, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,  
I have been rather distressed to read some articles in the Calcutta papers. I had actually to refer to an article in the *Hindustan Standard* on the recent Lok Sabha debate. This referred in very improper terms to Mrs Bandaranaike.<sup>70</sup> I have since seen some articles in the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*. These have pained and surprised me. I do not mind or, at any rate, I do not care, very much for differences of

67. Letter to the President of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, 14-B Janpath Barracks, Films Division Auditorium Building, Janpath, New Delhi.

68. See item 149 section [Moshi Conference].

69. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. PMO, File No. 43(198)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

70. Prime Minister of Ceylon.

opinion. But a certain decency and decorum has to be kept up, especially about other countries. It would, of course, be still better if the writing exhibited some intelligence and not merely anger and resentment. We are a mature nation, I hope, and it does not become us to behave in an infantile manner.<sup>71</sup>

I am just writing to you to express my opinion. I am not suggesting that you should take any particular steps unless you feel this necessary.<sup>72</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 461. To Sirimavo Bandaranaike: Negative Press<sup>73</sup>

12th February 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

I have just received, through your High Commissioner here, your letter of the 11th February.<sup>74</sup> I was myself distressed to see the report in the *Times of India* to which you refer. I was sure it could not be true. Subsequently, I believe at the instance of your High Commissioner, it was contradicted in the *Times of India* and other papers.

You will have noticed that the news item that appeared in the *Times of India* was contained in a message from London. It was a little difficult for us to deal with it ourselves and I was glad when I saw your contradiction.

Our newspapers here, or most of them, are generally anti-government. Their favourite pastime is to criticise and condemn our government. We are

71. See also items 461 and 463.

72. P.C. Sen's reply of 12 February 1963: "I sent for Shri Asoke Sarkar, Editor of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and told him plainly that I thoroughly disapprove of the series of articles which have been published in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and *Hindustan Standard*, particularly the personal remarks against you and Shrimati Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, that appeared in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* in its issue of January 13, 1963. I expressed my indignation for the expression of such views in his paper.

On my return yesterday from Shillong, where we went to attend the meeting of the Eastern Zonal Council, Shastriji and myself again sent for Shri Asoke Sarkar and told him to give up the line that he has been pursuing. He has agreed to mend matters. I expect that there will not be a repetition of similar publication in future in his paper. Incidentally I may point out to you that *Amrita Bazar Partika* and its vernacular counterpart *Jugantar* have been supporting your basic policy."

73. Letter to Prime Minister of Ceylon.

74. See appendix 13.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

almost used to these activities of theirs. When they go beyond certain limits, we draw their attention to this.<sup>75</sup>

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) China

#### 462. To Josip Broz Tito: After the Chinese Invasion<sup>76</sup>

February 1, 1963

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your message of 15th January which your Ambassador in Delhi<sup>77</sup> handed over to me on the 16th.<sup>78</sup> I am grateful to you for having taken the trouble to inform me about your discussions with Mr Khrushchev and sharing your thoughts on the current international situation with me.

We are glad to learn that the Soviet leaders share your views in regard to the Chinese aggression on India. In the beginning, the Soviet authorities were rather hesitant and uncertain about the dimensions of the Chinese aggression but they have gradually begun to appreciate the correct position. The Chinese aggression on India does not merely involve the question of the territorial boundary between India and China but is really an attack on our policy of peace, peaceful co-existence and non-alignment with the power blocs. I am sure, your discussions with Mr Khrushchev have given the Soviet authorities a fuller and more correct appreciation of the vital issues involved.

Vice President Kardelj<sup>79</sup> had during his visit to Delhi in December, given us a deep, penetrating and interesting analysis of the motives underlying the Chinese aggression on India and of the Chinese differences with the Soviet Union, particularly as regards questions of peace and war and peaceful co-existence. We were happy to have had this opportunity of exchanging views with him not merely on the question of Chinese aggression but on other current

75. See items 460 and 463.

76. Letter to the President of Yugoslavia.

77. Dušan Kveder.

78. See appendix 1.

79. Edvard Kardelj, (1910-1979); Vice-President of Yugoslavia from 1946-1963. See SWJN/SS/80/items 317 and 319.

international questions and we hope the Vice-President enjoyed his brief visit to India.

I agree with you that there is an encouraging detente in the international situation following the accommodating attitude displayed by USA and the USSR in resolving the Cuban crisis. There is greater understanding of each other's problems and difficulties and, while there are still serious obstacles, there is a growing desire to settle difficult problems like Berlin and Germany on a mutually satisfactory basis. There has also been some progress on the question of control of nuclear testing and it is not too much to expect that the existing differences on this question, which have been narrowed down considerably, will soon be resolved. This will give further encouragement to the work of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament.

I agree with you that it is of the utmost importance, in the present international climate, for the non-aligned countries to show greater vigour and activity in the larger interests of peace in the world and of peaceful development which are of vital interest to all developing countries. I must say, however, that some of the non-aligned countries, which participated in the Colombo Conference, were rather timid and hesitant in regard to their attitude on the India-China conflict.

As you know, the Ceylon Prime Minister, Mrs Bandaranaike, visited Peking and Delhi to explain the Colombo Conference proposals. In Delhi, she was joined by Mr Ali Sabry<sup>80</sup> and Mr Kofi Asante Ofori-Atta<sup>81</sup>, her colleagues from the UAR and Ghana. She and her colleagues clarified the Colombo Conference proposals to us on the 12th and 13th and we accepted these in principle on the basis of the clarifications given. I also told her that I will place them for consideration before the Indian Parliament and give her a final reply a little later. The discussion in Parliament took place from 23rd to 25th and I have finally informed her on 26th that the Government of India accept the Colombo Conference proposals and the clarifications in toto. The Chinese Government are, however, raising various objections and asking for modifications of the Colombo Conference proposals in material particulars.<sup>82</sup>

This intransigent attitude of the Chinese Government coupled with reports of troop concentrations on our borders is a matter of continuing concern to us. As we have to be prepared to meet any eventuality, we are continuing our efforts to build up, with such assistance from friendly countries as available,

80. Premier of UAR, 1962-1965.

81. Aaron Eugene Kofi Asante Ofori-Atta (1912-1978); Minister for Local Government and Justice, 1957-1965, Ghana.

82. On the Colombo Conference, see SWJN/SS/80/items 284-294.



our defence potential to meet the Chinese threat. We are, however, determined to maintain our policy of non-alignment to which we are firmly attached both in our own interests and in the interests of world peace.

With kind regards to Madam Broz<sup>83</sup> and yourself,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 463. To Chief Ministers<sup>84</sup>

February 2, 1963

My dear Chief Minister,

Much is happening in India and abroad, but the situation created by the Chinese aggression overrides all other matters in our minds. You must have read reports of the debate in Parliament about the Colombo proposals. I endeavoured to explain our position as clearly as I could there, and both Houses of Parliament were pleased to express their approval of that position. Some of the opposition Parties expressed themselves with a great deal of heat, though not with much logic.

#### [Colombo Proposals]<sup>85</sup>

2. It is not necessary for us to take our cue from foreign nations or papers. But it is interesting to note that even relatively conservative papers in England and America have supported the attitude we have taken up in regard to the Colombo proposals. That attitude became inevitable if we had to follow up our previous proposal of the restoration of the 8th September line on our borders. The Colombo proposals certainly in essence restore that line. In one or two respects they are better than that line from a military point of view.

3. But, apart from this, our rejecting those proposals would have created a bad impression in most countries of the world and especially the so called nonaligned countries. Also, from the point of view of our military preparations, it was desirable for us not to leave things as they are and possibly bring about an early major conflict.

83. Jovanka Broz.

84. Letter to all Chief Ministers and Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, 2 February 1963.

85. See SWJN/SS/80/items 284-294.

4. The fact to remember is that the Colombo proposals do not envisage any settlement at this stage, but rather prepare the grounds for talks which may or may not lead ultimately to some kind of a settlement. I confess I do not see any reasonable settlement in the near future. But we have to take such steps as are advantageous to us and disadvantageous to China. We do not know at present what China's final response to the Colombo proposals will be. So far, they have not accepted them. If they accept them ultimately, that is certainly a diplomatic gain for us and helps us in the future. If they do not accept them, the burden of rejection lies on them, and that too is a diplomatic gain for us.

[Nature of Conflict with China]

5. As I have often stated, our conflict with China is a much deeper one and is likely to last a long time. We have, therefore, to think of the long term and not take any steps which weaken us in that respect but help us to build up our strength both from the purely defence point of view and from that of world opinion.

6. It is a little naïve to think that all this trouble with China is essentially due to a struggle over some territory. It has deeper reasons. Two of the largest countries in Asia confront each other over a vast border. They differ in many ways. And the test is as to whether anyone of them will have a more dominating position than the other in this border and in Asia itself. We do not desire to dominate any country, and we are content to live peacefully with other countries provided they do not interfere with us or commit aggression. China, on the other hand, clearly does not like the idea of such peaceful existence and wants to have a dominating position in Asia. We do not want Communism to come here and yet the essential conflict is more political and geographical than that of Communism, although Communism is an important factor in the background. Communism too is gradually developing two facets, one represented by the Soviet Union and the other by China. It is possible to live peacefully with the Soviet Union. But it does not appear to be possible to do that with China, hence the essential conflict.

[Soviet-China Rift]

7. Meanwhile, as is well known, Russia and China are on bad terms, which are growing worse from day to day. They differ ideologically and in various other ways. But, again, the basic difference between Russia and China is that of two huge land masses confronting each other and gradually coming into conflict over national interests and for political reasons. If Communism had



not been there, this would have still happened. Communism, to some extent, apparently lessens the conflict between them. But national interests are more important than any ideological affinity.

8. We are thus seeing an inherent conflict between Russia and China developing fairly rapidly for reasons which are not connected with Communism as such, although Communism affects that conflict to some extent. It would appear that this conflict between these two vast countries will grow, and their relations will have a great effect on the world situation.

9. This is perhaps too simple an analysis and there may certainly be other factors to be considered. But essentially, I think this is the basic cause.

10. So far as India is concerned, not only do the interest of India and China conflict, but also the conflict between China and Russia indirectly aggravates the situation between India and China.<sup>86</sup>

#### [Long Term Preparation]

11. In any event we have to look upon this from a long term and a world point of view and have to prepare ourselves accordingly. Our strength must necessarily depend on what we can do and that strength ultimately depends upon our industrial growth. We welcome and accept such help as can be given to us by friendly countries. But it would be wrong to rely wholly on those countries because that will mean a continuous weakness on our part resulting in dependence.

12. That is why we feel that the best way to prepare ourselves is to increase our strength by building up our own war manufactures and everything else that goes to strengthen a nation. At the same time, we shall try to get whatever we can from friendly countries. This process of getting it from other countries can only be looked upon from a relatively short term point of view.

13. This line of thinking leads us to the conclusion that industrial and agricultural growth of Power and Transport and the necessary education of various kinds to back all this up, is essential for us. To weaken on that front in order to strengthen our military position is a contradiction in terms, as the military position essentially depends upon growth in other directions. This is the reason for our proceeding with the implementation of the Third Five Year Plan in all its essential features. A certain turn can be given to it which will

86. See "Report from the Chinese Foreign Ministry, 'The Soviet Union's Stance on the Sino-Indian Boundary Question and Soviet-Indian Relations'," April 1963, PRC FMA 105-01272-01, 1-119. Wilson Centre digital library, <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116949> Accessed on 6 September 2018.

help directly the defence effort. Also, certain minor variations can be made in it from this point of view. But, essentially, it has to go on.

14. At the same time, we have to think continually of the military effort which may be required from us at any time. We cannot wait till our long term efforts bear fruit. Therefore, we have also to speed up our military machine, both in regard to production in India and by obtaining such help from friendly countries as we can and as soon as we can. All this involves a great burden on our economy, but there is no help for it and we have to shoulder that burden as any country has to do when it is faced with a crisis. If we shoulder that burden adequately, that will also impress other countries and make it easier for us to obtain help from them. If we rely on others alone and not make that effort ourselves, we will gradually lose our independence and drift into a weak state of dependence on others. What is worse, that will produce a mentality in our own country which will not be good.

[Non-Alignment]

15. There has been much talk about our policy of non-alignment. Except for a few diehards, who want us to give this up, most people not only in India but from abroad realise that that policy is essential for us from the practical point of view. From other points of view also, it is equally necessary. I am surprised that anyone should not realise this. It seems to me that those who talk of giving up non-alignment have no faith in our own people and our capacity to protect ourselves. It is true that in China we have a mighty adversary and it is no easy matter to fight it. Still, from the point of view of defending ourselves, it certainly is not and will not be beyond our capacity. If we thought of an aggressive war against China, the balance would be much against us. But to defend our own country tilts the balance wholly in our favour, I am not thinking of an odd battle or two, but rather of the basic and long-standing struggle which we have to carry on both by war and by other means.

16. When national interests of great countries come into conflict, we cannot take a short-term view or be dispirited because of the initial turn of events which may go against us. What counts is the ultimate result and our policy should aim at that. That policy should consider the internal situation, the military situation as well as the context of events in the world. The international situation is a changing and dynamic one and we have to keep that in view all the time. Fortunately for us China is becoming increasingly isolated in the world. To a greater or lesser degree, most countries sympathise and support us. We should encourage this trend of events and not do anything which injures us internationally. The Western Powers have certainly shown their friendship for



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

us by the generous help that they are giving. In the world context, whatever we do against China helps the Western Powers. This is not so clear in regard to the Soviet Union. But, essentially, the same argument applies. Russia is not sympathetic towards China and is helping us indirectly and to some extent even directly, not just because of friendly feelings to us, but because in the longer run its national interests require it to do so.

17. But whichever way we look at it, we come back to the basic question of our strengthening ourselves and trying to carry this burden ourselves. The moment we think that we cannot do so and must basically rely on others, we lose the *raison d'être* of independence. Other factors come into play, which gradually undermine our freedom.

18. There has been some talk in the newspapers about so called "air umbrella." I do not quite know how this talk has begun because there has been no discussion of this subject between us and the Anglo-American teams that have come here. No one can say what in an extreme crisis a country might have to do. No one can say that an actual war between China and India might not develop into a world war. We have to watch carefully developments and prepare ourselves accordingly. But in the present circumstances it will be quite wrong to think of an "air umbrella" and be complacent about it. That will not only be politically wrong, but also will produce a feeling in the country which comes in the way of active preparation.

19. There is also no question of our having foreign bases in India, even though foreign help is welcomed by us.

20. I think that our preparations for strengthening our defences are making progress, though I wish that progress was faster. We have to speed up our governmental apparatus much more and I hope it will be possible for us to do it. We have to continue to look upon the situation as one of urgency and not relapse into a complacent attitude. It is curious that some of our people who are constantly telling us to keep up the sense of urgency, at the same time, advise us to withdraw the Emergency. If we withdraw the Emergency laws or regulations, this will immediately put an end to all thoughts of crisis or urgency and produce that very feeling of complacency which weakens more than anything else.<sup>87</sup>

#### [Media on Colombo Proposals]

21. I have noticed with regret that some of our newspapers, in dealing with the Colombo proposals, have written very ungenerously and often wrongly about the Colombo Powers as well as the other unaligned countries. Differences

87. See item 160.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

of opinion can and do occur and we must put up with them. But it is utter lack of wisdom and an essential weakness of spirit to go about condemning other countries because they do not say ditto to us. Some of these articles in the press have shown an utter lack of decorum which has been most distressing. This creates feelings against us in other countries and spoils all the good publicity or propaganda that we might be endeavouring to do.<sup>88</sup>

### [No Abuse of China]

22. May I also suggest to you that while we want to produce and continue a feeling of resistance against all aggression and especially Chinese aggression, this does not mean that we should go about cursing the Chinese people. This is not only wholly against our traditions, but, even from the point of view of other civilised countries, is not considered right or wise. I am venturing to point this out to you as sometimes speeches delivered or poems recited at public gatherings go over the mark of decency and civilised behaviour. That is not a sign of strength, but merely of temporary anger.

### [Coercion in Fund Collection]

23. Another matter to which I should like to draw your attention is the complaint that has come to me from some parts of the country about compulsion in the collection of funds for the National Defence Fund. We have had a wonderful and spontaneous response all over the country in regard to these funds as well as gold and gold ornaments that have been given. To spoil this by pressures applied would be most unfortunate.<sup>89</sup>

### [The Pakistan Factor]

24. We have to consider not only our immediate trouble with China and all that it entails in the present and the future, but our continuing difficulties with Pakistan. I think I can truthfully say that we have wanted a peaceful and satisfactory settlement with Pakistan ever since trouble arose between us after Partition. We have been strong and perhaps rigid about certain matters relating to Kashmir and other problems between us, but that was because those particular

88. See item 460; see also, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol-XII, 24 January 1963, col. 6249.

89. See report of response to Gayatri Devi on the subject stating, "any pressure would spoil the spontaneity of popular support", *The Hindu*, 3 February 1963, p.1. See items 167-170, 173, 174, 176, 177, 184, 185, 191.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

matters were of vital significance to us and not because we wanted to have any ill will and continuing tension between India and Pakistan. One of the basic issues that is of the highest importance to us is not to accept anything which is based on a communal approach or some aspect of the Two Nation theory. There are of course other important considerations which I need not go into here. It surprises and distresses me that some of our countrymen do not realise these basic issues but talk loosely of what we should do or not do in this matter. As a matter of fact, events have brought about a certain connection between our problems with China and our difficulties with Pakistan. What we do in regard to one affects the other.

25. The recent announcement of Pakistan agreeing in principle to some boundary adjustment with China in the Kashmir area occupied by Pakistan is objectionable in principle and we have protested against it. There is one aspect of this which has been rather glossed over, especially by some of our friends and others in other countries. Gilgit, which is also a part of the area of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan, has been made into a powerful military and air centre with the help of the United States. The agreement to give more territory on this frontier to China by Pakistan will enable China to build up a rival major centre which may affect Gilgit. We have deliberately avoided saying much on this issue or other issues connected with Pakistan because we want to lessen these controversies especially at the present moment when talks are taking place between us. But I am afraid Pakistan has not reacted in the same way. The surprising part of it is that the Pakistan Foreign Secretary<sup>90</sup> has recently undertaken a lengthy tour in Europe specially to defame India and her policies and, more particularly, to prevent the Western countries from giving us any help. The line taken up is that our trouble with China is not only a petty affair, but almost a put-up job so that we might get a good deal of military assistance from America and England etc., which can be used by us against Pakistan later. The fact that we have repeatedly pressed for a “No War declaration” with Pakistan without success is conveniently forgotten. As a matter of fact, we have gone beyond that and given a unilateral assurance to Pakistan some years ago that we will not take the initiative in regard to war and only if we are attacked shall we defend ourselves.

#### [Voluntary Bodies]

26. On Republic Day a step was taken by us which is of great significance and which should bring about far reaching results. This was the pledge that

90. S.K. Dehlavi.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

was taken all over rural India by tens of millions of people to start volunteer organisations in all the villages for three main purposes: (1) higher production, (2) education, and (3) defence and law and order purposes. I hope you will encourage this in every way.

[Foreign Affairs in General]

27. In foreign affairs, I should like to mention the development in the Congo where at last the secessionist movement in Katanga has been scotched. The part that the Indian military contingent took in this affair has met with high appreciation everywhere. There has been some advance in regard to nuclear test ban talks and the prospects of Russia and the Western Powers coming to an agreement are better than they have been for a long time. President de Gaulle's rigid line about the entry of the United Kingdom into the ECM has created a difficult situation in the Western lines.

28. We have recently had a number of distinguished visitors from abroad. Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr Aly Sabry, Premier of the UAR, and the Minister of Justice of Ghana<sup>91</sup> came here in connection with the Colombo Conference proposals. Other visitors have been Dr Rachid Karame, Prime Minister of Lebanon, Mr Adam Rapacki, Foreign Minister of Poland, who became famous because he made the proposal called the Rapacki proposal for making Central Europe free of atomic weapons, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Chief of State of Cambodia, and Dr Subandrio, Foreign Minister of Indonesia. At present we have the King and Queen of Greece<sup>92</sup> in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **464. To V.N. Datta: Explaining Position on China<sup>93</sup>**

2nd February 1963

My dear Shri Datta,

Thank you for your letter of February 1st. I have read it with some interest. I am afraid I cannot afford the time to write to you a long letter in reply to explain the various positions in regard to the fronts.

91. Aaron Eugene Kofi Asante Ofori-Atta.

92. Paul I (1901-1964) and Frederica (1917-1981).

93. Letter to Professor of history at Kurukshetra University. NMML, JN Papers – V.N. Datta. Also available in the JN Collection.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Late in November, in answer to the Chinese proposals which we have rejected, we proposed that the Chinese should vacate all the areas which they had occupied by their latest aggression and restore the position as on the 8th September. We made this as a preliminary condition before we could discuss with them the question on merits. This did not mean that we were forgetting their previous aggression, but that we were prepared to consider the problem in its entirety only when this recent aggression was wiped out. What was suggested, was not a settlement.

The Colombo proposals, as made, have to be considered in the light of the 8th September proposal of ours and not independently. Seeing from that point of view, this was not only a substance of the September proposal, but an improvement on it in certain parts of Ladakh. If we reverted to the 8th September position in Ladakh completely, this would have left all the strong military posts that China had in the proposed corridor intact. These were strategic posts of great importance threatening us. Their going away from there is not only psychologically important, but practically, and in a military sense, advantageous to us. The fact that we had some posts mixed up with them there was of no great advantage to us as we were dominated completely by the Chinese posts who could wipe out our small posts whenever they chose.

The question of power is a basic one which depends in the final analysis on the industrial development of India and China. Communism itself is an important element on the side of China, but the real fact is that two great land powers like China and India are confronting each other on a long frontier and inevitably there is a clash, just as in regard to Russia and China the present tension is due far more to two huge land masses confronting each other than differences in ideological interpretation.

I agree with you that we must rely essentially on ourselves. That ultimately means, in terms of power today, rapid process of industrialisation and making all kinds of war materials ourselves, apart from raising the economic level.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 465. For the *Guardian*: Not much Chance of Peace Talks<sup>94</sup>

There is “not much chance” of peace talks between India and China, Nehru told me in an interview today. This statement coming so soon after the departure from New Delhi of Dr Subandrio, one of the principal mediators in the India-China dispute, is an indication of the Government’s concern over the immediate future.

Asked what he thought of the hopeful forecasts of “final” Chinese acceptance of their proposals by some of the Colombo powers, especially Subandrio- Nehru said: “these people are anxious to have their proposal accepted. They hope that somehow India and China can be persuaded to get together for a conference.”

India’s position, however, was clear. She had accepted the proposals in toto and wanted the Chinese to do the same. So far there was no sign of a Chinese acceptance. This suggested all kinds of dangerous possibilities.

To the question whether he foresaw a renewed Chinese offensive in the spring, Nehru’s reply was: We do not know. It may well happen. We have to be prepared for that. China was a continuing menace.”

India’s capacity for military confrontation with China depended on “our real objective.” If the objective was only self defence this could be achieved. With available resources supplemented by such military aid as had been promised from outside. He did not wish to go into details of external assistance which is now being discussed with the West.

Chinese aims in India, Nehru emphasised, amounted to “something deeper than a quest for territory.” He thought that the Chinese aggression was linked with China’s “basic conflicts” with Russia. These conflicts were not only ideological but also geo political. China’s differences with Russia are going “further and further”.

We then turned to the question of subcontinent’s defence and China’s closer relations with Pakistan. Nehru said, he had failed to understand “Pakistan’s attitude to the Chinese aggression against India.” Nor had he understood the British and American reactions to Pakistan’s attitude. These reactions did not fit in with the “entire policy which Pakistan has pursued towards them.”

Asked what he thought of the reasons why the Labour Party in Britain had not supported India’s case over Kashmir, Nehru replied: “At the time of Indian independence the Labour Government started on the assumption that partition of the subcontinent was based on the theory that Hindus and Muslims were

94. Report of interview to Prem Bhatia, the correspondent of the *Guardian*, 4 February 1963. MHA, File No. 49/10/63-Poll.II.pp.11-12.



two separate Nations. As a consequence, the belief continued that a state with a Muslim majority population such as Kashmir, should go to Pakistan.” In private conversations Attlee had repeatedly reminded him of this basis for partition.

But added Nehru: “The principle of religious division had never been accepted by India. For that reason, India could not agree to Kashmir going to Pakistan.” There was no possibility of a settlement being reached on the basis of a plebiscite which would be held “largely on communal issues.” The result of such a plebiscite would be unfortunate in India and Pakistan.

#### 466. To Presspersons from Greece<sup>95</sup>

Question: What is your opinion on the royal visit and what were the results of your talks with Mr Averoff?<sup>96</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: We were very happy to receive the visit of the Greek sovereign<sup>97</sup> and I feel certain that his visit will lead to still closer relations between the two countries. We had friendly talks with your Foreign Minister, Mr Averoff, and I think we were in agreement on most of the questions.

Question: Is the Indo-Chinese difference still in suspense? What were the causes that provoked it and what steps do the Indian Government propose to take in order to reach a settlement of the frontier problem?

#### Chinese Aims

Jawaharlal Nehru: Although hostilities have ceased, the dispute still remains. We consider that the difference has a deeper significance than that of a single territorial dispute. Therefore, whatever may happen in the immediate future, the difference will survive for some time to come. I am unable to explain the reasons behind the aggression. I can only make suppositions in regard to why they attacked us. Basically, the Chinese do not believe in the peaceful development of mankind. They hold that war is inevitable. Unlike the Soviet Union, they do not believe in peaceful co-existence. Nor do they accept that a country can pursue an uncommitted policy. Possibly, they regard us as obstacles

95. Interview, 6 February 1963. Extracted from report “PM: Conflict will Last Long” in the *National Herald*, 13 February 1963, p. 1, citing an Athens News Agency Bulletin. The text has been edited to replace “Answer” with “Jawaharlal Nehru”.

96. Evangelos Averoff-Tositas (1910-1990); Foreign Minister of Greece, 1956-1963.

97. Paul I (1901-1964)

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

to their aims in Asia. Very likely, they aspire to become the predominant nation in Asia. We have no desire to interfere in any way in their internal affairs. But nor do we accept their interference in ours. Such are the deeper causes of the conflict and we think it will last a long time, possibly for years. Perhaps, too, they wish to prove to the Soviet Union and other countries that the former's policy is a mistaken one and their own right.

### Soviet-China Rift

Question: What is your opinion on the Soviet-China dispute?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think that the dispute is deep lying and not superficial, and I believe that, possibly, it will become more acute. It is not merely a difference on ideological points but a difference between two giants who find themselves face to face and mistrust each other. It is really a difference of a national character.

Question: Do you think that the establishment of "De-atomised" zones in various areas can contribute to world peace?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Certainly, up to a point. "De-atomised" zones do not solve the problem but they do create an atmosphere of détente. That is the real meaning of the Rapacki plan.<sup>98</sup> It reduces tension, and that is important.

### Co-Existence

Question: Do you believe that the same applies to the Balkans?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I believe that in the area the Balkans too, a détente can come about through the creation of a "de-atomised" zone.

Question: What is your opinion about the peaceful co-existence of the two worlds?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think there is any other way for the world than to recognise that co-existence is possible even between different social systems. Any other way leads to war. Consequently, I do believe in peaceful co-existence.

98. Adam Rapacki, the Polish Foreign Minister, had submitted a plan to the UN General Assembly on 2 October 1957 about creating a nuclear free zone in Central Europe.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

#### Pakistan's Attitude

Question: What is the attitude of Pakistan towards the Indo-Chinese difference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Pakistan supports the Chinese views in all manner of ways. Pakistan's attitude is very strange considering that she is linked with the west through SEATO and a number of other alliances.

Question: Do possibilities exist for a development of commercial and economic relations between India and Greece?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think there are possibilities, but I can't specify to what degree.

#### **467. To P.R. Biyani: No Foreign Troops<sup>99</sup>**

February 7, 1963

Dear Shri Biyani,

I have your letter of 4th February. We are following Chinese moves as well as we can and also trying to take necessary steps to meet possible developments. We are getting help and equipment etc. from friendly countries.

It is neither possible nor desirable to ask for troops from foreign countries to come to India to defend our frontiers. Quite apart from political implications of such a move, it will not be helpful to us. Foreign troops are not better than ours. Indeed, they will be less accustomed to the terrain. There is no lack of good manpower in India. It is equipment that we want. We are trying to produce it ourselves. Meanwhile, we are trying to obtain it from other countries.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

99. Letter; address: No. 10 Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta 13.

**468. To S.G. Kini: No Commonwealth Action  
Against China<sup>100</sup>**

9th February 1963

Dear Shri Kini,

I have your letter of the 7th February which I have read with interest.

You have suggested that we should have a Commonwealth Conference to impose an embargo on trade with China. I do not think that this will be proper for us to do. As a matter of fact, both Australia and Canada have been supplying foodgrains to China. There is some opposition to this in their own countries. Commonwealth Conferences, however, do not usually come to any decisions on such subjects and it would be improper for us to put it forward to them.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**469. To Louis Mountbatten: Defence Preparedness<sup>101</sup>**

February 9, 1963

[My dear Dickie,]

Your letter of the 31st December reached me a little over a month ago. I did not send an answer then partly because I was heavily occupied but also because the questions you had raised required a good deal of thought.

As you know, we have formed a Military Affairs Committee of our Defence Council. This consists of Thimayya,<sup>102</sup> Rajendrasinhji,<sup>103</sup> Thorat<sup>104</sup> and the three Chiefs of Staff. The Defence Minister<sup>105</sup> is the Chairman of it. To some extent, what you suggest has been done, though not in a formal way. We are giving thought to your proposal; however, you will appreciate that there are all manners of considerations to be borne in mind.

We do not know what the Chinese intend doing in the spring. As a matter of fact, conditions on the NEFA border are not good for any military action in April onwards. There are heavy blizzards and then a little later, heavy rains

100. Letter; address: 48 Todar Mal Road, New Delhi.

101. Letter to the Chief of Defence Staff, UK.

102. K.S. Thimayya, former Chief of the Army Staff.

103. K.S. Rajendrasinhji, former Chief of the Army Staff.

104. S.P.P. Thorat, retired Lieutenant General.

105. Y.B. Chavan.



follow them. On the other hand, that is a good time in Ladakh from the military point of view.

We are reorganising and adding to our Army. What we particularly require is some new machines for our Ordnance Depots. The old ones are worn out. The Air Force also requires strengthening.

We are at present giving much thought to our developmental programme. How far would this be affected by the additional burden of defence? We have come to the conclusion that it would be harmful for us to cut down the developmental programme to any considerable extent. In fact, most of it is essential for defence. Apart from agriculture, which is always important, we are anxious to develop our industry so that we might have an adequate base for whatever we may require to do. As I mentioned to you previously, we have not only our immediate problems to face in regard to China, but that this is a long drawn out affair, and we must prepare accordingly.

A very intriguing position is that created by the rift between Russia and China. I think this will grow. I imagine that China's attack on India was really caused by their view of the world situation and partly by their attempt to demonstrate to Russia as to others, that the policy they were pursuing was the correct one.

I see from the newspapers that you are wandering about the United States.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **470. K. Chandrasekharan on China's Scientific Base<sup>106</sup>**

Dr K. Chandrasekharan<sup>107</sup> of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research has prepared a paper on "Science and Technology in China." This is entirely a digest of information collected from public sources. It is an interesting account of the rapid growth of science and technology in China, largely with the help of the Soviet Union.

You may not have time to read this full study. I am, therefore, giving you below Dr Chandrasekharan's conclusions:

1. The Chinese have established a vast and strong scientific and technological base, with the primary purpose of acquiring industrial,

106. Note, 13 February 1963, for K.D. Malaviya, the Minister of Mines and Fuel. NMML, K.D. Malaviya Papers.

107. (1920-2017); Founding member of the Faculty of the School of Mathematics at the TIFR.

and particularly, military power, as rapidly as possible. Their educational system is geared to this end.

2. Their contributions to basic research, in recent years, cannot be considered to be as impressive as their work in applied research. There can be little doubt, however, that the situation in this regard will improve.
3. Their investment in education and science is many times greater than ours. And the spirit of urgency, specialisation, and concentration that goes with that investment is bound to produce striking results.
4. The Chinese scientists are, at present, physically isolated from the rest of the world. While this is certainly a disadvantage, especially in basic research, its effect on research of the type the Chinese are engaged in at present may not be as serious as one might think.
5. While the best achievements of Indian scientists may be comparable with the best achievements of Chinese scientists, the number of technicians and engineers, with specialised skills, at their disposal, seems to be greater, and their deployment on specific projects seems to be very efficient, partly due to the totalitarian system under which they operate, but partly due also to their long scholarly tradition.

#### **471. Discrimination against Chinese<sup>108</sup>**

[Note by Y.D. Gundevia, CS, for Nehru, 16 February 1963, begins]

The Malayan High Commissioner,<sup>109</sup> Mr McIntyre, called on me on 15.2.1963, and spoke to me about the visa restrictions we have placed on persons of Chinese origin. He said that he had not been asked to take this up with us, officially, so far, but he was almost sure he would very soon have to, because there was considerable agitation in Malaya over the restrictions we have imposed.

2. He said that, on one occasion, some 14 persons were coming to India from Malaya on a technical delegation. One of them was a person of "Chinese origin", and the Air India refused to let him board the plane. Thereupon, his 13 other companions threatened not to go to India and the Malayan-Chinese gentleman was allowed to board the plane. He said that these restrictions were bound to have repercussions against persons of Indian origin in Malaya, who were, both, Indian and Malayan citizens. There were already threats of boycotting Indian goods and Indian shops and he and his government would

108. Noting. MEA, File No. SI/121/102/62, pp. 17-18/notes.

109. S. Chelvasingam MacIntyre, 1957-1964.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

be most pained if there were any adverse reactions against persons of Indian origin in Malaya at a time when they were so anxious to support India against China.

3. The Malayan High Commissioner said if anyone in Asia could understand India's point of view, today, on this subject, it should be the Malayan Government; but, nonetheless, Malayan citizens were bound to react very badly against India and Indian nationals in Malaya, if something was not done to improve on these recent hard restrictions. The High Commissioner said that they would not object if every Malayan citizen was required to have a visa to enter India. May be, they might impose similar visa restrictions on Indians entering Malaya. But this would be, just, reciprocity and not as a result of any bad blood between the two countries.

4. The High Commissioner said that Malayan-Chinese students were also being put to a great deal of hardship. On the one hand, at our instance, the Education Ministry had been giving letters to all Vice-Chancellors to protect Malayan-Chinese students and ensure that they were not subjected to discrimination. On the other hand, police regulations treated them as "foreigners" and local police required the Malayan-Chinese students to report, every time they left their residential locality. All this was having a very bad effect on the morale of these boys. There are over 50 Malayan students in the various Indian medical colleges.

5. The High Commissioner begged of me to take all this into account, specially when relations between India and Malaya had never been more cordial than they are today.

6. I told the High Commissioner the matter was under careful examination and I would try and speak to him later again.

Y.D. Gundevia  
16.2.1963

PM

[Note by Y.D. Gundevia, CS, for Nehru, 16 February 1963, ends]

[Note, 16 February 1963, by Nehru, for Y.D. Gundevia, begins]

I can quite understand the reaction of the Malayan Government to our treatment of persons of Chinese origin in Malaya. I do not quite know what has been done and who has done it. But, *prima facie*, it seems to me wrong. It is absurd for us to annoy a country and large numbers of people there in our effort to keep out possible undesirable Chinese.

What has Air India got to do with it? Please enquire into this matter and get rid of this discrimination.

J. Nehru  
16-2-1963

CS

[Note, 16 February 1963, by Nehru, for Y.D. Gundevia, ends]

## **472. To Ganesha Singh Pakhtoon: China's Motives<sup>110</sup>**

February 16, 1963

My dear Ganesha Singhji,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th February with a photostat copy of Sir Olaf Caroe's<sup>111</sup> letter. I have read both of these with interest.

I am unable to answer your question about China's attacks on India. This is not from any lack of boldness, but because it is not an easy question for me to answer. All of us can of course guess about China's motives.

I do not think China is anxious just to take territory, whether it is in India or in Nepal. But I think that China wants other countries round about here to be in her sphere of influence. In other words, China wants to be the dominating power in Asia. Therefore, the struggle between India and China is a basic struggle, apart from some little territory that may be involved in it.

I do not think that you should release Sir Olaf Caroe's letter for publication.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## **473. To Mohammed Daoud: China Obstructive<sup>112</sup>**

February 19, 1963

Excellency,

I thank you for your message of 6th February 1963, sent through our Ambassador in Kabul, and I warmly reciprocate the good wishes conveyed by

110. Letter to freedom fighter from NWFP; address: 2 Doctor's Lane, New Delhi.

111. Olaf Kirkpatrick Kruuse Caroe (1892-1981); British civil servant, Governor of NWFP in 1946-1947.

112. Letter to the Prime Minister of Afghanistan.



Your Excellency to me personally and to the people of India. We in India have the friendliest relations with your historic land and people and the forthcoming visit to Afghanistan of the President of India will, I am sure, contribute further to strengthening them.

In accordance with our basic approach of seeking peaceful solutions, we have accepted in full the proposals made by the Colombo Conference. China however, for reasons of its own, has put forward conditions which amount to their rejection. We do not know what China's intensions are, but we for our part, despite the unprovoked aggression committed against us, are always ready to seek peaceful solutions which are consistent with national honour, dignity and justice. We are happy to know that our just stand has been received with appreciation in Afghanistan.

I take this opportunity of offering to Your Excellency my best wishes for your personal welfare and for the happiness and prosperity of the people of Afghanistan.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **474. To Shankerrao Deo: Friendship March to Peking<sup>113</sup>**

February 22, 1963

My dear Shankerrao Deo,  
Your letter of February 18.

You have all my good wishes for your brave venture, but I confess I am still rather vague about it. I had suggested to you when you came here to approach the Chinese Embassy in Delhi. I do not know if this has been done. Professor Tan Yun-shan<sup>114</sup> may write to Chou En-lai and others, but I do not think that will help much. And anyhow that will take too long a time to get an answer. There should be a formal approach to the Embassy here.

I should have thought that these preliminaries should have been dealt with before final arrangements were made. Also you should get permission from the Pakistan and the Burma Governments to pass through their territories.

113. Letter to Gandhian freedom fighter from Maharashtra; address: Friendship-March: Delhi-Peking, Rajghat, Varanasi.

114. (1898-1983); Buddhist scholar, close associate of Rabindranath Tagore; founder Director of "Cheena- Bhavana", Department of Chinese Language and Culture, Visva-Bharati.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

As for Professor Tan Yun-shan and Shri Sen<sup>115</sup> joining you, personally I have no objection, but I think he should formally refer to the Vice-Chancellor, Shri S.R. Das.<sup>116</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **475. To T. T. Krishnamachari: Sudhir Ghosh's Letter from Moscow<sup>117</sup>**

February 23, 1963

My dear TT,

I have received a letter from Sudhir Ghosh from Moscow.<sup>118</sup> As this might interest you, I am sending you a copy.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **476. For the Speaker: Pakistan-China Border Agreement<sup>119</sup>**

Calling Attention Notice on 25.2.63 by Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri<sup>120</sup>

I would submit to Mr Speaker that this Calling Attention Notice may not be taken up. The facts are well known and have been stated fully and repeatedly in the press and in statements of the Government of India. In May 1962, the Governments of Pakistan and China announced their decision to negotiate the location and alignment of Kashmir's border with Sinkiang. We lodged protests with both the Governments.

115. Most probably, Amiya Kumar Sen, [younger brother of A.K. Sen, the Law Minister] doing research on Tagore and lecturer of English in Calcutta University.

116. See also items 481 and 491.

117. Letter to the Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination. NMML, T. T. Krishnamachari Papers, File 1963, Auto.

118. See appendix 20.

119. Note, 23 February 1963.

120. RSP.



2. The Government of Pakistan and the Government of China announced on December 28, 1962 that they had reached an agreement in principle on the location and alignment of the boundary actually existing between the two countries. The two parties also agreed that the boundary agreement should be signed on this basis as soon as possible.

3. It appears that the Pakistan Foreign Minister is going soon to Peking to sign this agreement.

4. The territory in question is under Pakistan's control. We have already questioned the authority of the two Governments to negotiate this matter and to sign any agreement. We have also made it clear that any agreement, if signed, would not be binding on us. Our legal and constitutional position has therefore, been put on record, and there is little further that we can do in the matter.

5. I would submit that it would not be helpful or appropriate to discuss this matter under a Calling Attention Notice in the Lok Sabha when talks are going on between India and Pakistan.

#### 477. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Forces in Ladakh<sup>121</sup>

म० ला० द्विवेदी

क्या प्रधान मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या चीनी लद्दाख से हट गये हैं :

(ख) यदि हां, तो किन क्षेत्रों से : और

(ग) क्या वहां से चीनियों के हट जाने के बारे में चीन सरकार से अब तक कोई सूचना मिली है?

[Translation begins:

Question<sup>122</sup>:

Will the Prime Minister state:

- a) Have the Chinese withdrawn from Ladakh;
- b) If yes, then from which areas; and
- c) Has there been any message from the Government of China regarding the troop retreat from Ladakh?

Translation ends]

121. Oral Answers, 25 February 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XLII, 18th February to 2nd March 1963, pp.877-82.

122. M.L. Dwivedi, Congress, and 7 others.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Shri Dinesh Singh):

- (a) and (b). According to information received, Chinese forces have withdrawn in Ladakh to the east of the so called "line of actual control" as claimed by them.
- (c) The Chinese Government had intimated that their military forces had withdrawn from areas 20 kilometers to the east of the so called "line of actual control" in the Western sector.

म० ला० द्विवेदी: जिस सीमा की रेखा को हमने बताया था कि यहां तक चीन की फौजें रहनी चाहियें, उसके कितनी अधिक सीमा चीनी फौज दबाये हुए हैं और वापिस नहीं गई हैं। एक्चुअल लाइन आफ कन्ट्रोल जिसे वे कहते हैं वह हमरी सीमा के कितनी भीतर तक है और उसके हटने के लिए चीन सरकार क्या कह रही है।

प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री तथा अणु शक्ति मंत्री: मैं समझा नहीं आपकी बात। हमने यह कहा था कि वे ८ सितम्बर की लाइन पर चली जायें। ८ सितम्बर की लाइन कोई एक सीधी लाइन नहीं थी। वह घूमती घामती थी। उसे नापें तो कहीं से तो वे तीस किलोमीटर पीछे चले गये हैं, कहीं से अठारह, कहीं से कम और कहीं से ज्यादा। किधर से नापें, देखा जाता है। इस वक्त जो हालत है वह यह है कि कोलम्बो तज्जीजों को उन्होंने मंजूर नहीं किया है। वे हट तो गये हैं उन सब जगहों से लेकिन वे इस पर ऐतराज करते हैं की हमारे अड्डे वहां कायम हों।

म० ला० द्विवेदी: कोलम्बो सम्मेलन ने जिन प्रस्तावों को पेश किया था और जिसे भारत सरकार ने स्वीकार कर लिया था इस सम्बन्ध में चीन सरकार के कौन कौन से ऐतराज बाकी हैं और हमारी सिविल पोस्ट्स कायम हो सकी हैं या नहीं जहां से चीनी फौजें हट गई हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: लद्दाख की निस्वत आप कह रहे हैं? इसी का तो मैंने जवाब दिया है।

[Translation begins:

M.L. Dwivedi: How much area is under Chinese control after the line that we had specified that the Chinese army should stay beyond? How much of our territory are the Chinese occupying according to what they call the actual line of control and what is the Chinese Government saying about it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not understand your question. We had said that they retreat to the line of 8 September. The 8 September line is not a straight line.



It was a wobbly line. If we measure it, from some points they have gone back 30 kilometres, and somewhere 18 kilometres and somewhere less and somewhere more. The present situation is that they have not agreed to the Colombo proposals. They have retreated from many places, but they object that our posts are still in those areas.

M.L. Dwivedi: What are the objections of the Chinese Government to the Colombo Proposals, which the Government of India has accepted? Have our civil posts been re-established from the area vacated by the Chinese?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You are talking about Ladakh? I just replied to that question.

Translation ends]

Hem Barua<sup>123</sup>: Is it a fact that China has obstructed our sending civil or military personnel to this demilitarised Zone and if so, may I know what is the actual position of these areas vacated by the Chinese in Ladakh? Are they just merely no man's land or we have our civil control there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Chinese have vacated large areas, in fact probably over the whole area—it is rather difficult to be quite accurate—which they said they would vacate. But in the southern parts, some patrols of theirs come and in most of those parts vacated by them, we have established no civil post yet.

Speaker: Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri<sup>124</sup>.

Hari Vishnu Kamath<sup>125</sup>: The question was: are they preventing us? That has to be answered.

Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: The Colombo powers suggested that Chinese forces should withdraw twenty kilometres from the positions in which they were. Do those withdrawals broadly correspond to that suggestion?

Jawaharlal Nehru: They have withdrawn 20 kilometres from there and that withdrawal constitutes the so-called demilitarised corridor; so they are out of it. But, as I just answered the hon. Member opposite, in most of these areas we have not opened any civil posts yet.

123. PSP.

124. RSP.

125. PSP.

Basumatari:<sup>126</sup>In regard to Ladakh, the Prime Minister said that the Chinese have not accepted the Colombo proposals in writing, but still, may I know whether they have gone up to that extent which the Prime Minister referred to as favourable to us?

Speaker: Order, order. इसका जवाब दे दिया गया है।

गोविन्द दास: अभी भी क्या चीनी लद्दाख से हट रहे हैं या उनका यह हटना अब बन्द हो गया है और अब नहीं हट रहे हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जिस जमीन से वे हटने वाले थे बीस किलोमीटर वह तो हट चुके हैं। अब अपनी उस लाइन से पीछे हट रहे हैं या जमे हुए हैं, मैं नहीं कह सकता हूँ। वह तो अलग बात है।

[Translation begins:

Speaker: This has been answered.

Govind Das<sup>127</sup>: Are the Chinese still retreating or that has stopped now?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The 20 kilometres that they were supposed to withdraw has been done. But whether they have gone beyond our areas or not I cannot say. It is a different thing.

Translation ends]

Hari Vishnu Kamath: What are the reasons for adopting a different line in Ladakh, different from that in NEFA area? In NEFA we have occupied those areas; we have sent our civil authorities and patrols to those areas evacuated by the Chinese forces. But in Ladakh the Prime Minister has said we have not done that. What are the reasons for adopting a different line? Have we been prevented from doing as we have done in NEFA?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Nobody has prevented us, actually, physically, and we have actually moved up in some places and it is entirely for the military, the army, to decide their convenience and feasibility—what they should do, the timing, etc.

126. Congress.

127. Congress.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

N.G. Ranga:<sup>128</sup> Are we to understand that Government had consulted the military and given them the freedom to occupy the area that has been vacated, and it is only for the military to decide when and to what extent they can begin to occupy and place our check posts there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is essentially a military matter which they have to decide; I cannot say. There is no question of our giving them freedom or not, but they discuss the matter sometimes with our officials of the External Affairs Ministry, but the decision is theirs.

N.G. Ranga: We are not able to follow.

M.S. Aney:<sup>129</sup> Am I to understand that the present non-occupation of certain areas is due to military considerations and there is no kind of undertaking given by us to anybody that we shall not occupy that place during the intervening period?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): There are two reservations as far as the Chinese are concerned with regard to the Colombo Proposals. One was the movement of military, armed forces, up to the MacMahon line and the other is the control of the posts in the area that is vacated by them in Ladakh. The Chinese want their actual posts to be maintained because they say they were there before 1959, and the other posts that were established by us were established after 1959 and therefore, we should abandon them. It is on this basis that the Chinese are not accepting the Colombo Proposals. So, it is really the point at dispute.

N.G. Ranga: I would like to have a clarification. Have we made it very clear to our military, barring considerations of weather, that they should take the earliest possible opportunity of reoccupying the areas that have been vacated by the Chinese even if we are not strong enough to go even far beyond?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have moved forward and occupied and established civil posts in many places, but it is largely a military matter. He has asked, "if it has been made clear to them." Of course, it is, but these are not matters which are decided in this way. I believe, from time to time, almost every other day, they

128. Swatantra Party.

129. Independent.

meet the Foreign Secretary or somebody and discuss it with him. The essential decision lies with the military.

#### **478. In the Lok Sabha: Pakistan-China Border Agreement<sup>130</sup>**

हरिशचन्द्र माथुर

क्या प्रधान मंत्री २१ जनवरी १९६३ के अतारंकित प्रश्न संख्या ९०४ के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

- (क) क्या पाकिस्तान और चीन के बीच हुए सीमा करार के बारे में भेजे गये विरोधपत्र का उत्तर पाकिस्तान सरकार से मिल गया है।
- (ख) यदि हां, तो उसका व्योरा क्या है? और
- (ग) क्या सीमा करार का व्योरा उपलब्ध है?

[Translation begins:

Question<sup>131</sup>: Will the Prime Minister state with reference to the question no. 904 of 21 January 1963, a) Has the Note of Protest sent by Government of India to the Pakistan Government regarding Sino-Pak border treaty drawn any response? b) If yes, what does it say? c) Is the treaty agreement available with us?

Translation ends]

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Dinesh Singh):

- (a) No formal reply has been received to our protest note so far.
- (b) Does not arise.
- (c) No Sir.

Harish Chandra Mathur: I think it is very well known that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan is on his way to China to finalise this agreement. May I know what is the Government of India's reaction to this matter?

130. Oral Answers, 25 February 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol.XIII, 18th February to 2nd March 1963, pp.903-907.

131. Harish Chandra Mathur, Congress; and 13 others.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

The Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): The Government of India's reaction is obviously unfavourable. It does not mean either the purpose of the visit is right or the timing of the visit is right. We have made that perfectly clear to the Pakistan Government, and although they have sent us no formal reply, our High Commissioner met the Foreign Minister of Pakistan<sup>132</sup> and made this perfectly clear; and the Foreign Minister gave some kind of reply to him.

Harish Chnadra Mathur: As a matter of fact, the reply has already come by their action. No more forceful reply could have been given. What justification remains for our continuing any negotiations with Pakistan on the same subject over which Pakistan is completely ignoring us and hobnobbing with China on the one hand, and on the other, carrying on a violent propaganda against us in Asian countries? Yesterday, one of their Ministers was reported to have said something in Ceylon; they have done the same in Africa also. In the circumstances, does the Prime Minister think there is any justification for continuing negotiations with them with the unsettling effect which it has on our population?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather difficult for me to balance justifications. I think the hon. Member is right in challenging what the Pakistan Government has done and the timing of it. There is certainly some justification for what he has said. Nevertheless, we have to consider everything together; we are considering it and we shall decide as the circumstances induce us to decide. But I cannot definitely say about that matter now.

Sonavane:<sup>133</sup> It has been reported that Pakistan is going to sign a border agreement with China on the 27th of this month. Have we kept our friendly countries informed of this development and sought their advice in this connection?

Speaker: Our friendly countries?

Sonavane: Friendly countries like the Western countries and the USSR.

Speaker: Nath Pai.<sup>134</sup>

132. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

133. Congress.

134. PSP.

Nath Pai: Is the Government quite sure that this so called pact which is actually an unholy alliance between two countries both of which have committed aggression against India is limited to demarcating what they call their territory but which is Indian territory, and secondly, that there are no secret clauses in this treaty between these two aggressors of some future concerted action against India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We do not know anything about this treaty and I cannot answer the hon. Member's question. All that is said is that they are demarcating the boundary as they conceive it.

P.K. Deo:<sup>135</sup>This morning's paper says that 41 pillars are to be constructed on the so-called Pakistan-Sinkiang border. May I know from which point or tri-junction the construction will start?

Speaker: How could this information be given? Shri Trivedi.

U.M. Trivedi:<sup>136</sup>In view of our having expressed our disapproval of the visit of their Foreign Minister to Peking, may I know if we have informed Pakistan that all our further negotiations on the question of Kashmir should be immediately dropped?

Speaker: The answer has been given.

U.M. Trivedi: I want to know whether it would be dropped immediately or not.

Speaker: The answer has been given that Government is considering as to what is to be done.

Hari Vishnu Kamath:<sup>137</sup>Has the Government in its protest note to Pakistan signified that the Government would regard the conclusion of such a border agreement as an unfriendly act on the part of Pakistan? Was this matter raised directly or indirectly during the course of the discussion at Rawalpindi or Karachi with the Pakistan representative?

135. Swatantra Party.

136. Jana Sangh.

137. PSP.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir; we have done so and we have further said that whatever agreement they may come to will not be recognised by us.

Inder J. Malhotra:<sup>138</sup> May I know if at any time during the recent past the point of view of the United States and the United Kingdom Governments have been communicated to the Government of India regarding this position taken up by Pakistan?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The UK and USA Governments are fairly wide awake and they know very well what is happening. There is no question of our communicating it to them.

Speaker: It is about their communicating to us. Whether they have communicated to us their attitude or reaction—that is the question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know who is to communicate to whom. But there have been talks about it with their representatives here.

M.S. Aney:<sup>139</sup> In as much as the conduct of the Pakistan representative, Mr Bhutto, amounts to a complete denial of Indian sovereignty over the territories about which negotiations are going on, I want to know what is the common ground on which the two parties cannot negotiate except submitting to the fact that there is a desire...

Speaker: The same question was put in a different form.

प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री: काश्मीर की बहुत सी समस्याओं के समाधान के सम्बन्ध में संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ भी मध्य में आ जाता है क्योंकि अब तक हमारा केस वहां हैं। क्या हमने चीन और पाकिस्तान के इस करार के सम्बन्ध में विरोध पत्र भेजे जाने के साथ साथ संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ को भी कुछ लिखा है, यदि लिखा है, तो उस पर उनकी क्या प्रतिक्रिया है?

दिनेश सिंह: इस सम्बन्ध में हमारे जो नुमाइन्दे हैं, उन्होंने सुरक्षा परिषद् के सामने 4 मई को और 22 जून 1962 को हमारे जो इस बारे में ख्यालात हैं, वे रखे थे।

138. Congress.

139. Independent.

[Translation begins:

Prakash Vir Shastri:<sup>140</sup> Many aspects of the Kashmir issue are not yet resolved because the UN comes in between and our case is pending with them. Apart from sending Notes of Protest to Pakistan and China, have we informed the UN regarding this issue? If so, then what is their response?

Dinesh Singh: Our Representatives in the UN have submitted to the Security Council our views regarding this on 4 May and 22 June 1962.

Translation ends]

#### **479. In the Lok Sabha: Civil Administration in NEFA<sup>141</sup>**

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state<sup>142</sup>:

- (a) The areas in NEFA since vacated by the Chinese where civil administration has been set up;
- (b) Whether there has been any obstruction from the Chinese; and
- (c) Whether any spies have been planted by the Chinese in the areas vacated by the Chinese in NEFA?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon):

- (a) After the Chinese withdrawal from NEFA, civil administration has been restored in: Bomdi La, Tawang, Nacho, Mechukha, Manigong, Gelling, Wallong, Kibithoo areas.
- (b) The Government has received no report of obstruction from the Chinese to the restoration of civil administration in NEFA.
- (c) The Government has received no definite information to indicate the planting of spies by the Chinese in areas vacated by them in NEFA.

P.K. Deo: From the reply we find that we established our civil administration only at the mercy of the aggressor. May I know ...

140. Independent.

141. Oral Answers, 25 February 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XIII, 18th February to 2nd March 1963, pp. 907-912.

142. P.K. Deo, Swatantra Party; and 21 others.



Lakshmi Menon: There is no such thing in the reply, Sir.

P.K. Deo: It can be easily inferred that when we established our civil administration...

Speaker: Let him put the question straight.

P.K. Deo: May I know whether, the establishment of civil administration—we have started the usual functioning of the civil administration—means that the realisation of rent and the maintenance of law and order have started?

Lakshmi Menon: Yes, Sir. The normal civil administration as was prevailing before the 8th September will function.

Hem Barua:<sup>143</sup>In view of the fact that we are debarred from sending our military personnel even into an inch of NEFA, may I know what steps Government propose to take or have taken to ensure security to the civil administrators as well as the civil population there in the case of the Chinese come back? All subversive activities are located there.

Lakshmi Menon: It is a hypothetical question—in the case of Chinese aggression, what steps should we take and so on?

Hem Barua: It was very clear. In view of the fact that we have extended our civil administration to NEFA and also in view of the fact that we are not sending our army personnel into NEFA, what guarantee is afforded to the civil administrators as well as the civil population there in case the Chinese step on them, and since there are subversive activities by guerrillas, saboteurs and spies who have been stationed there by the Chinese?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member has referred to various views and facts, what may happen and what we may do. The civil administration means civil administration with the police and armed police etc. They are all functioning there; there is no difficulty, but he asks, in case the Chinese attack again, what is there to protect, how they can be protected. That is a question for the military etc., to consider. He is wrong in saying that we are debarred from sending troops there.

143. PSP.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Hem Barua: We are not sending.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We are taking step by step. We are taking possession of those civil places. We are not sending our patrols all over and we may, whenever we choose send some forces, troops right up there. It is entirely up to us.

Hem Barua: The Chinese agreeing to it; (Interruption).

Speaker: Order, order. Shri Tyagi.<sup>144</sup>

Mahavir Tyagi: May I take it that according to the Colombo Proposals, there are no restrictions on our armed forces moving right up to the MacMahon line? May I also take it that if we are not moving up to that line, it is only on strategic grounds or on account of our voluntary restraint that we have applied on us, or, is it on account of any other pressure from outside that we are restricting our forces?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member is completely right: according to the Colombo Proposals we can move our troops right up to the frontier except to a little area—Dhola area and Longju.

जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती: असैनिक प्रशासित नेफा क्षेत्र में क्या कुछ उन भारतीय सैनिकों का पता मिला है जिनको आक्रमण के समय कहा गया था कि वह गुम हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मालूम नहीं आप किस वक्त से हिसाब लगाते हैं। बहुतों का पता लगा है, लेकिन मेरा ख्याल है कि अभी तक सबों का पता नहीं लगा है।

[Translation begins:

Jagdev Singh Sidhanti:<sup>145</sup>Have we got any information regarding those soldiers who were declared missing during the attack in these non-militarised zones?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know from what time are you calculating. Many have been found and I think that still some are missing.

Translation ends]

144. Congress.

145. Haryana Lok Samiti.



Surendranath Dwivedy:<sup>146</sup>Am I to understand that with the return of our civil administration we are also sending our military police and not the army to the area under our occupation now, where our civil administration is functioning, to give protection to the civilian population?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know whom he refers to as military police. Armed police is one thing. They go. Military police looks after the military. They do not go to look after others. Where the army goes, the military police goes. The military police does not go by itself anywhere.

Surendranath Dwivedy: There are military police forces in the State which look after and come to the aid whenever there is any civilian difficulty anywhere. That is part of the police force; not part of the military, armed force.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think that is a quite correct statement. The military police has to keep order in the military regularly. The armed police is another thing which is part of the civil administration.

Surendranath Dwivedy: So, we are sending armed police to those areas?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir; the armed police are there.

N.G. Ranga:<sup>147</sup>On the one side, we understood that the Colombo Proposals are as good as dead. On the other side, from the answer given by the Prime Minister, it looks as if our activity in NEFA is being inhibited by what we consider to be the Colombo Proposals and therefore our military is not going into the vacated area.

Mahavir Tyagi:<sup>148</sup>He has made it clear.

यश पाल सिंह: जैसा दो बार आल इंडिया रेडियो से कहा गया कि अब भी चीनी सैनिक नेफा के बार्डर के ऊपर दिखाई देते हैं, क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि आज उन की क्या पोजीशन है?

146. PSP.

147. Swatantra Party.

148. Congress.

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि माननीय सदस्य किस बार्डर की चर्चा करते हैं। बार्डर के कितनी दूर के ऊपर, बार्डर के एक मील इधर या उधर दस मील।

[Translation begins:

Yashpal Singh:<sup>149</sup> Like it was announced over All India Radio twice that the Chinese forces have been sighted in NEFA border, may I know what is their position today?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am unable to understand which border is being referred to by the Hon. Member. How far from the border, one mile on this side or ten miles on the other side.

Translation ends]

Tyagi: May I appeal to you not to permit questions which seek information about army movement on the border side?

Ranga: We want to know whether we are going to occupy that area.

Speaker: I have allowed those questions.

Ranga: He is objecting while I am submitting to you. (Interruptions).

Speaker: Order, Order. Shrimati Renuka Ray.<sup>150</sup>

Renuka Ray: In answer to part (C), the minister stated that Government have no definite information regarding the spies in NEFA. May I know, in view of the fact that so many people have come back, telling us that these activities are taking place and evidence is available what steps will be taken to see that such activities are stopped?

Speaker: That is a suggestion for action. Next question.

149. Independent.

150. Congress.



# **480. In the Rajya Sabha: Passport for Vinoba Bhave for Peking<sup>151</sup>**

Issue of Passports to Shri Vinoba Bhave for Peking March

B.D. Khobragade:<sup>152</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether passports have been issued to Shri Vinoba Bhave and others who are proposing to undertake a peaceful march from Delhi to Peking.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi N. Menon): Applications for passport have not been received by Government so far from any member of the party. Government understand that Shri Vinoba Bhave is not a member of this party.

B.D. Khobragade: If passports are not issued may I know whether the gentlemen would be allowed to cross the Indian border?

Chairman: Mr Vinoba Bhave is not in the party. So, the question of crossing ...

B.D. Khobragade: I am not asking about Mr Vinoba Bhave but I mean some other gentlemen also.

Chairman: You cannot mean other gentleman and say Vinoba Bhave.

B.D. Khobragade: I had said Shri Vinoba Bhave and others in the question itself. There are other gentlemen who are proposing to stage a peaceful march to Peking and if no applications have been made by these gentlemen for passports, would the Government allow these gentlemen to cross the Indian border?

Jawaharlal Nehru: People can always cross. So far as these people are concerned, although no applications for passports have been made to us, we have given them to understand that when they apply for passports they will be given. There is no difficulty. But the crossing of the Indian border does not depend on our passports. That depends on the action that might be taken by the other country

151. Oral Answers, 27 February 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Volume XLII, Nos. I-II, 18th February to 4th March 1963, pp. 996-998.

152. Republican Party of India.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

which they enter. Anyhow, in this matter we have told them that there will be no difficulty. Although we have nothing to do with this so-called peace march, we have said that there will be no difficulty raised on the part of our Government.

B.D. Khobragade: May I know, Sir, whether it is the opinion of the Government that this peace march would be useful in solving the problem of border disputes and, if not, what is the propriety in allowing those gentlemen to stage this demonstration?

Chairman: The Government is not responsible for the propriety of every action taken by anybody.

B.D. Khobragade: No, Sir. It is in allowing them. They should not be allowed to go.

Jawaharlal Nehru: In this matter, Government permits many things which it does not agree with. Hon. Members opposite would strongly object if Government took any other attitude. If we only allow people we approve of, that would be quite wrong.

Arjun Arora:<sup>153</sup> May I know, Sir, who are the members of this peace party to Peking?

Lakshmi N. Menon: There are representatives from five different countries. They are: UK – Mr Michael Scott, Mr Max Maxwell; USA – Mr Bert Bigelow, Mr E.D. Lazar; Austria – Mr Gerhard Tschonerl; Japan – Mr Gopalbhai; India – Shankarrao Deo, Dr M. Aram, Jawaharlal Jain, Janki Tschonerl, Govindrao Deshpande, Tripurari Sharansing, Tara Bhagwat, S.R. Subramaniam, Chandrashekhar.

Arjun Arora: May I know, Sir, if this Mr Michael Scott is the same gentleman who harboured Phizo Cato and other Naga rebels in the UK?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know if that description of him is quite correct, but he is the same gentleman.

B.D. Khobragade: May I know, Sir, whether the Government have considered the question of the risk involved in their passing through

153. Congress.



Pakistan and Burmese territory and, if so, who would be responsible if anything untoward happened to these people?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The country where they are, is responsible, obviously we can take no responsibility in other countries, whether it is Pakistan or Burma or China.

#### **481. To Sundarlal: Friendship March to Peking<sup>154</sup>**

March 1, 1963

My dear Sundarlal,

Your letter of the 1st March. I do not know what particular restrictions you are writing about in regard to Professor Tan Yun Shan's movements. The only question was whether he could leave Visva-Bharati in order to participate in this march. If he left it for any length of time, that would mean practically closing the Cheena Bhavana there for that period. I do not think that will be desirable. Also, I rather doubt if a man of his age should be made to undergo anything which will cause him heavy physical strain.

I shall find out from the Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati<sup>155</sup> what his views are. Perhaps it may be possible for him to join the march for a few days. I am not clear in my mind about his joining it in China itself. If he goes there, he will have to continue for some considerable time.<sup>156</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **482. To N.C. Thimma Reddy: Air Umbrella<sup>157</sup>**

March 1, 1963

Dear Thimma Reddy,

I have your letter the 25th February.

I have dealt with this matter fairly fully in my speeches in Parliament recently. We are taking as much help from friendly countries as they are prepared

154. Letter to Congress MP, Lok Sabha; address: 40 Hanuman Lane, New Delhi.

155. S.R. Das.

156. See also items 474 and 491.

157. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 93 South Avenue, New Delhi. NMML, Jawaharlal Nehru Supplementary Papers.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

to give. There is no difficulty on our part. As for on air umbrella, even if we agree to this, it would take a considerable time for them to function and in case of real air attack by China, great damage would be done to us before they come into the picture. Therefore, it is far more important for us to have the aircraft here in readiness for such an attack, with their radar equipment etc. That is why we are laying stress on our Air Force being adequately increased.

I do not think it will add to our security now or in the future by agreeing to this kind of thing.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 483. To S.N. Dwivedy: Hague Court or Arbitration<sup>158</sup>

March 2, 1963

Dear Shri Dwivedy,

I have your letter of March 2nd.<sup>159</sup>

As far as I can remember, I have in one of my letters to the Chinese Government, referred to the proposal to refer our dispute to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. I have also, I think, referred once to the possibility of arbitration. This was not done firmly as a proposal, but the idea was thrown out to see what reaction the Chinese had to it. We have had no response of any kind to this suggestion.

Of course, if there is a question of reference to the Hague Court or to arbitration, the matter will naturally have to be placed before Parliament. I hardly think it necessary or desirable to make a statement on this subject in the Lok Sabha at this stage.

You may remember that Jayaprakash Narayan has more than once suggested arbitration in this matter. I do not think there is anything improper in this course. Naturally much will depend upon the persons or countries chosen for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

158. Letter to PSP MP; address: 21 Canning Lane, New Delhi.

159. See appendix 25.



#### 484. Hague Court and Arbitration<sup>160</sup>

[Note, 2 March 1963, for M.J. Desai, the FS, begins]

Please see Shri S. N. Dwivedy's letter to me and my answer to him.  
I should like to see the references which we have made in our letters to the Chinese Government, both to the International Court of Justice at The Hague and the possibility of an arbitration.

J. Nehru  
2-3-1963

FS

[Note, 2 March 1963, for M.J. Desai, the FS, ends]

[Note, 3 March 1963, by M.J. Desai, for the Director (C), N.B. Menon, begins]

Please first ref. References to arbitration are in PM's public speeches and in the latest statement in Parliament.

M.J. Desai  
3.3.63

Director (C)

[Note, 3 March 1963, by M.J. Desai, for the Director (C), N.B. Menon, ends]

[Note, 4 March 1963, by N.B. Menon, begins]

The first indication given in regard to possibilities of arbitration was in Prime Minister's letter of 27th October to Premier Chou En-lai in which he had stated that the differences could be settled either in one stage or in several stages and if we still fail, we could consider what other agreed peaceful method of settling our differences should be adopted.<sup>161</sup>

During the debate on the border situation in the Lok Sabha on the 10th December the Prime Minister clarified his idea and stated: "I am prepared when the time comes, provided there is approval of Parliament, even to refer the basic dispute of the claims on the frontier to an international body like the

160. Noting. MEA, File No. C/103/ (13) CH/63, p.1/notes.

161. See SWJN/SS/79/item 247

International Court of Justice at the Hague.” He repeated this again in the Rajya Sabha on the 12th December.<sup>162</sup>

Subsequently he referred to this possibility in a letter to Premier Chou En-lai on January 1, 1963.<sup>163</sup> This was also repeated in our note to the Chinese Government on January 4, 1963.

PM’s statement of February 27 in the Lok Sabha is flagged?

N. B. Menon  
4-3-1963

[Note, 4 March 1963, by N.B. Menon, ends]

#### **485. To Bertrand Russell: Meeting British Peace Movement Members<sup>164</sup>**

March 3, 1963

Dear Lord Russell,

Thank you for your letter of the 26th February.<sup>165</sup>

As you perhaps know, we have accepted the proposals put forward by six non-aligned countries, which are known as the Colombo proposals without any reservation. Thus far, however, the Chinese Government have not accepted them and have made important qualifications to them. We still hope that they will ultimately accept them without any reservations.

I would be glad to meet the young leaders of the British Peace Movement to whom you refer in your letter. The only difficulty is our finding the money for their travel expenses to India. I cannot ask our Government to pay for this as it is outside the scope of the work of Government. I have, therefore, forwarded your letter to the Chairman of the Gandhi Peace Foundation and he will place it before the next meeting of that foundation.<sup>166</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

162. See SWJN/SS/80/ items 312 and 314

163. See *White Paper*, Vol.VIII, pp. 48-51.

164. Letter to the philosopher.

165. See appendix 24.

166. See item 486; Russell’s reply, appendix 32.



**486. To R.R. Diwakar: Hosting British Peace Movement Members<sup>167</sup>**

March 4, 1963

My dear Diwakar,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Bertrand Russell.<sup>168</sup> You will see that he suggests our inviting two young men who will discuss with us questions relating to the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and the work it intends to do. He wants us to pay the travel expenses of these two young men and also their expenses in India.

I do not think Government can undertake this responsibility.<sup>169</sup> I am, therefore, sending his letter to you so that the Gandhi Peace Foundation may consider this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**487. In the Lok Sabha: Sino-Pakistan Border Agreement<sup>170</sup>**

Hem Barua<sup>171</sup>: I call the attention of the Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:

“The Sino-Pakistan Border Agreement and the reaction of the Government of India thereto.”

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): As the House is aware, the representatives of the Governments of Pakistan and the People’s Republic of China have signed what has been described as an agreement regarding the alignment of the boundary between Sinkiang and that part of the Indian territory in Jammu and Kashmir which is under Pakistan’s illegal occupation. Details of the agreement have

167. Letter to the Chairman of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund.

168. See appendix 24.

169. See item 485.

170. Calling attention motion, 5 March 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XIV, March 4-16, 1963, pp. 2162-2169.

171. PSP.

already appeared in the press. A copy of the agreement as released by the Government of Pakistan in Karachi is being laid on the Table of the House. (Placed in Library, See No. LT – 904/63).

2. According to details released officially in Karachi, the Government of Pakistan first informally sounded China and then sent a diplomatic note on March 28, 1961, expressing the desire to negotiate demarcation of the boundary. The Chinese Government reacted formally to this offer, about a year later, that is in February, 1962. On May 3, 1962 the Government of Pakistan and China issued a joint communiqué, in which they agreed to conduct negotiations on the subject. We protested against this development to both Governments. In view of these developments, our representative in the Security Council stated our position, authoritatively, during the debates on Kashmir, on May 4 and June 22, 1962.

3. On the eve of the Indo-Pakistan talks on Kashmir and other related matters, the Governments of China and Pakistan announced an agreement, in principle, on the alignment of the border of the illegally occupied area of Kashmir with Sinkiang. Sardar Swaran Singh, Leader of the Indian Delegation, immediately made our position clear to President Ayub Khan and Mr Bhutto,<sup>172</sup> in Rawalpindi, and again to Mr Bhutto, later, when the talks were resumed in Delhi, the January last. On January 26, we lodged a protest with the Government of Pakistan against the decision announced in the joint communiqué issued by them on December 28, 1962. Another protest is being lodged with the Government of Pakistan against the signing of this Sino-Pakistan border alignment agreement in Peking.

4. It has been stated in Karachi that the difference between the Chinese claim line and the Pakistan claim line was 3,400 square miles. In the final agreement, Pakistan claims to have received 1,350 square miles, including 700 square miles of area which was in China's possession. The Chinese have been given 2,000 square miles under the agreement.

5. According to the survey of Pakistan maps, even those published in 1962, about 1,000 square miles of Sinkiang territory formed part of Kashmir. If one goes by these maps, Pakistan has obviously surrendered over 13,000 square miles of territory.

6. Although, according to the agreement, the parties have agreed to delimit the boundary on the basis of traditional customary boundary line, including natural features, the boundary as agreed to, does not do so. The Pakistan line of actual control, according to the map, which the Government of Pakistan had supplied to our High Commission, lay, across the Kilik, Mintaka, Khunjerab

172. Pakistan Foreign Minister.



Passes; but, thereafter, nor the Karakoram Range along which the alignment claimed by the Government of China lay. In fact, the Pakistan line of actual control ran along no definite natural features, but cut across the tributaries of the Shaksgam river and sometime lay half way up the slopes. It then reached the Karakoram Pass. Running south of the traditional alignment, the Pakistan line of actual control surrendered about 1,600 square miles to China. The difference between the Pakistan and Chinese alignment was about 2,100 square miles.

7. The agreement claims to be provisional, and yet so much haste has been shown in concluding it. It is significant that it is not subject to ratification. Thus, the National Assembly, the press and the public of Pakistan have been given and will be given no opportunity to examine the terms of this agreement.

8. I have already stated in this House, that we are, naturally anxious to have a settlement with Pakistan; but I cannot help feeling that the joint announcement on December 26, the Pakistan Government's announcement on February 22 to sign the border agreement in Peking, and finally the signing of this agreement have been timed to prejudice the outcome of the joint talks on Kashmir and other related matters. However, as an earnest of our desire for an honourable and equitable settlement with Pakistan, we propose to continue with the talks in Calcutta. I have also stated that a settlement does not mean that we accept whatever is proposed by Pakistan, right or wrong. We cannot abandon the principles we have always valued.

9. The other party to the agreement, namely China, in spite of its professions that it has never involved itself in the dispute over Kashmir or its absurd claim that the boundary negotiations have promoted friendship between the Chinese and Pakistani peoples and are in the interests of Asia and world peace, is directly interfering in Indo-Pakistan relations. By doing this, China, is seeking to exploit differences between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir question to further its own expansionist policy. The Government of India have made their position clear in a protest against this agreement which has been lodged with the Government of the People's Republic of China.

बागड़ी: प्रधानमंत्री साहब अगर हिन्दी में इस का तर्जुमा कर दें तो बड़ा अच्छा होगा।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: यह तो बहुत लम्बा स्टेटमेंट है। इसका तर्जुमा करने में बड़ी मुश्किल होगी। आप इस सवाल को समझने की कोशिश करें।

बागड़ी: अध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर कोई न समझे तो क्या हो?

अध्यक्ष महोदय: आप अपने किसी साथी से समझ लें।

बागड़ी: मेरे साथी भी मेरे ही बराबर हैं।

[Translation begins:

Mani Ram Bagri:<sup>173</sup> If the Prime Minister could please translate this in Hindi, it would be very good.

Speaker: This is a very long statement. Translating this would be difficult. You please try to understand the question.

Bagri: Hon. Speaker, if nobody understood then what would happen.

Speaker: You can understand it from any of your friends.

Bagri: My friends are also like me.

Translation ends]

Hem Barua:<sup>174</sup> In view of the fact that the Sino-Pakistan Agreement is a direct affront to us, on the top of which President Ayub Khan has added insult to injury by his statement to the effect that it is Mr Nehru's pride that is standing in the way of an understanding between Pakistan and India on Kashmir—he even ventures to suggest some two other names of Indians who ...

Speaker: Order, order. Such a long statement cannot be allowed.

Hem Barua: May I know why is it that Government have considered it reasonable to pin their faith on the illusion of talks even in the context of this perfidious conduct of Pakistan?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have already answered that question in the statement that I have made.

Hem Barua: I asked why it is considered reasonable even in the context of ...

173. Socialist.

174. PSP.



Speaker: Government's stand has been made clear.

Hem Barua: I have pointed out a new development, and I ask in the context of these developments, why is it that Government considers it still advisable or still reasonable to pin its faith to the illusion of talks with Pakistan?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The only new fact apparently that the hon. Member points out is the statement by President Ayub Khan in which he has expressed his displeasure of me. I am sorry I have displeased him. That is all I can say. But that will not make us change our policies.

Speaker: Shri Priya Gupta, Shri Ram Sewak Yadav.

रामसेवक यादव: मैं प्रधानमंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि चीन ने पाकिस्तान के साथ काश्मीर की सीमा पर जारे समझौता कर लिया है उस समझौते को दृष्टिकोण में रखते हुए क्या सरकार कोलम्बों प्रस्ताव के बारे में अपने रुख को तब्दील करने का कोई विचार कर रही है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जी नहीं, उस से इसका कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है।

बड़े: क्या यह बात सच है कि पाकिस्तान और चीन के समझौता करने के बाद इस के बारे में यू0एन0ओ0 को लिखा गया है और जो प्रोटेस्ट हम ने दाखिल की है उसका पाकिस्तान से कोई जवाब आया है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैंने तो अपने बयान में भी कहा है कि पारसाल मई और जून में यू0एन0 सिक्योरिटी कौंसिल में इसव की चर्चा हुई थी और हम ने अपना एतराज पेश किया था। इस वक्त जहां तक मुझे मालूम है वह अब तक यू0एन0ओ0 में नहीं गया। इस पर हम गौर करेंगे कि ऐसा करने की जरूरत है या नहीं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: पाकिस्तान से कोई जवाब आया है,

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैं एकाएक तो नहीं कह सकता। उन के जबानी जवाब तो हुए हैं लेकिन मैं इस वक्त ठीक नहीं कह सकता कि उनका कोई लिखा हुआ लम्बा बयान आया है।

बरेवा: मैं प्रधान मंत्री महोदय से यह जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या यह सही है कि चीन और पाकिस्तान के इस समझौते में चीन वालों द्वारा लद्दाख के पास के इलाकों में सर्वे करने की बात भी शामिल है? अगर हां, तो क्या इसका लद्दाख की स्ट्रेटजी पर प्रभाव नहीं पड़ेगा?

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जो उन में समझौता हुआ है वह तो मैंने रख दिया है और वह अखबारों में छपा है, मैम्बर साहब उसे देख सकते हैं। उस में तो इस बात की चर्चा नहीं है। पर्दे के पीछे क्या बातें हुई हैं इसका मैं क्या जवाब दे सकता हूं।

[Translation begins:

Ram Sewak Yadav:<sup>175</sup> I wish to ask the Prime Minister that keeping in view the agreement that China has reached with Pakistan on the Kashmir border, is the Government rethinking about its stance on the Colombo Proposals?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. There is no relationship between the two.

Bade:<sup>176</sup> Is it correct that after the China- Pakistan border agreement, it was put up to the UN and there has been a response to our protest note from Pakistan?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have already stated that last year in May and June the UN Security Council discussed this and we had put in our protest note. As far as I know, now this issue has not reached the UN. We will think about whether it is necessary for us to do so.

Speaker: Has there been any reply from Pakistan?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot reply outrightly. Some oral response was there, but there has been no proper written statement from their side.

Onkarlal Berwa:<sup>177</sup> I want to ask the Prime Minister that does the China- Pakistan border agreement contain anything about any survey by China near the Ladakh area? If yes, then would it not affect our Ladakh strategy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The agreement reached between them have been stated by me and the newspapers, too, have published it. The member can see them. There is no mention of such a thing in them. What goes on behind the scene, I cannot answer.

Translation ends]

175. Socialist.

176. Jana Sangh.

177. Jana Sangh.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

S.M. Banerjee<sup>178</sup>: Has the Government of India made it clear to both countries, China and Pakistan, that it repudiates this agreement and that it will not be bound by this agreement at all. India is free to act as it likes?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir, that is clear.

बागड़ी: अध्यक्ष महोदय थोड़ा हिन्दुस्तानी में

अध्यक्ष महोदय: आप अपना प्रश्न कीजिये।

बागड़ी: प्रश्न तो मैं करूंगा लेकिन मेरे खिलाफ यह शिकवा है...

अध्यक्ष महोदय: आप सवाल कीजिये।

बागड़ी: मैं आपके माफ़त यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की विदेश नीति का पंचशील के आधार पर होने का हमारे प्रधानमंत्री साहब ने सारी दुनियां में ढिंढोरा पीटा है, अब चीन और पाकिस्तान के समझौते के बाद भी क्या क्या उस पंचशील की मुर्दा लाशको जिन्दा रखने का ख्याल या उसे दफनाने का ख्याल है।

[Translation begins:

Maniram Bagri: Please speak in Hindustani ...

Speaker: Please ask your question.

Maniram Bagri: I will ask, but the grievance against me is ...

Speaker: Please ask your question.

Maniram Bagri: Since the Prime Minister has been trumpeting the world over that India's foreign policy is based on Panchsheel, I want to know whether we will be carrying around the corpse of Panchsheel or do we have plans for burying it.

Translation ends]

Speaker: That is too wide a question to be answered here.

178. Independent.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Hari Vishnu Kamath<sup>179</sup>: During the last few months when this rather shady deal was under the consideration of the Governments of China and Pakistan, what measures were taken by our Government to apprise all friendly countries of the matter that was going on between the two countries—particularly by means of pamphlets, maps, etc. so as to enlist their support and sympathy for our case and, secondly, are there reasons to apprehend that there are secret clauses in this agreement between Pakistan and China?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The fact that we placed this matter before the Security Council was an attempt on our part not only to reach the Security Council but all the members thereof. They are perfectly aware of it (Interruption).

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Did our Mission abroad issue maps, etc.?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not say whether this was done. But there was no need. Before we know the details of the clauses and detailed terms of agreement, it could not have been done. But the major fact remains that this is part of Jammu and Kashmir State which has been in occupation by the Pakistan Government and they are agreeing to a treaty on this illegally occupied border. That is a major fact. Whether you show it on a map or not, it does not carry one very further.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: But one will understand it better.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We did not know till yesterday what the exact position was.

### **488. To Chou En-lai<sup>180</sup>**

March 5, 1965

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 3rd March handed over to the Indian Chargé d'Affaires in Peking.<sup>181</sup> He has telegraphed the text of your letter as well as of the Chinese Government's note of March 2. Your Chargé d'Affaires in Delhi also gave copies of these communications to our Foreign Office on the evening of the 3rd.

179. PSP.

180. Letter to the Prime Minister of China. MEA, File No. C/103(13) CH/63, pp 6-8/corr.

181. See appendix 26.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

We have noted the action taken by the Government of China in implementation of their unilateral declaration regarding ceasefire and withdrawals of November 21, 1962. As you know, so far as this declaration is concerned, the Government of India's attitude was communicated to the Government of China in my letter of 1st December 1962 addressed to you and in the note handed over by the Ministry of External Affairs to your Chargé d'Affaires in Delhi on 19th December, 1962.

Since then, as Your Excellency is aware, the six non-aligned Afro-Asian countries met at Colombo on December 10, 1962, to consider what recommendations, honourable to both sides, they might make to resolve the differences between India and China. The discussions of the Colombo Conference countries resulted in the unanimous adoption by the Conference of the Colombo Conference proposals which were communicated both to you and to me and later personally explained by the Hon'ble Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, during her visit to China from 1st to 9th January, 1963, and her visit to Delhi from 10th to 14th January 1963.

The Colombo Conference proposals as explained by the Hon'ble Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, during her visit to Delhi were placed before our Parliament and, after consideration of the proposals in Parliament, I informed the Ceylon Prime Minister that the Government of India accept the Colombo Conference proposals and the clarifications given by the Ceylon Prime Minister during her visit to Delhi in toto. This was on 26th January. I mentioned in this communication that further action to implement the Colombo Conference proposals by direct discussions between India and China of the various points left over for settlement between the two parties concerned can only be taken up after the Government of China have similarly accepted the Colombo Conference proposals without any reservations. The Government of India have since then been waiting for a communication from the Ceylon Prime Minister about acceptance of the Colombo Conference proposals by the Government of China.

You have stated in your message that "the Chinese Government has responded positively to the appeal of the Colombo Conference and accepted in principle the proposals of the Conference as a basis for direct negotiations between China and India." This does not constitute an acceptance of the Colombo Conference proposals by China without reservations as China still reserves its two points of interpretation of the Colombo Conference proposals.

I regret I cannot understand your claim that "in order to promote direct Sino-Indian negotiations, the Chinese Government has done all that is possible for it to do". The obvious thing, if the Government of China are sincere in their professions regarding peaceful settlement, is to accept the Colombo Conference

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

proposals without reservations just as the Government of India have done. We can go to the second stage of talks and discussions only thereafter.

It is because of the sincere desire of the Government of India to settle the boundary question peacefully that we accepted the Colombo Conference proposals without any reservations and did not insist on the position stated in my letter of 1st December to you. The Government of China, on the other hand, do not still accept the Colombo Conference proposals without reservations and insist on unilateral implementation of the Chinese Government's statement of November 21, 1962. This is the only obstacle to the next step of talks and discussions to implement the Colombo Conference proposals with a view to the creation of the appropriate climate for resolving peacefully the differences between India and China on the boundary question.

As you are already aware, I stated in Parliament on 10th December, 1962, that "I am prepared, when the time comes, provided there is approval of Parliament, even to refer the basic dispute of the claims on the frontier to an international body like the International Court of Justice at The Hague". There could be no fairer and more reasonable approach than this proposal for peaceful resolving, of our differences, once the appropriate climate is created.

You have, in your letter, referred to four areas where there is a dispute about ceasefire arrangements. There is no dispute, so far as the Government of India are concerned, with the Colombo Conference proposals in respect of these four areas. The dispute if any, is the one raised by the Government of China with the Colombo Conference countries by their reservation on the Colombo Conference proposals. Once these reservations are dropped, the Governments of India, and China can undertake direct talks and discussions to settle the ceasefire arrangements for the Thagla Ridge area and Longju in the Eastern sector, the maintenance of the status quo in the Middle sector and the question of establishment of civilian posts of both sides in the demilitarised zone of 20 kilometres in the Western sector as required under the Colombo Conference proposals.

I hope that the Government of China will, on fuller consideration, decide to comply with the unanimous recommendations of the Colombo Conference countries and accept the Colombo Conference proposals without any reservations. We can then go on to the next stage of talks and discussions for implementation of these proposals and create the appropriate atmosphere of peace in the border areas to enable us to make a further attempt to resolve peacefully the differences between India and China on the boundary question.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]



**489. To Mahavir Tyagi: Action over Chinese-Malayan Wrong<sup>182</sup>**

March 8, 1963

My dear Mahavir,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th March.<sup>183</sup>

I am afraid the action taken by our Home Ministry in applying certain general regulations to Malayan nationals who are Chinese was unhappy. We withdrew this action as soon as our attention was drawn to it.

We are fully aware of the strained relations between Indonesia and Malaya.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**490. Discrimination Against Chinese Origin Persons<sup>184</sup>**

The Prime Minister wants that no distinction, whatever, should be made against Malayan and Singapore nationals of Chinese origin.<sup>185</sup> We had briefly explained the position to the Prime Minister that we are now not implementing the rule requiring Malayan and Singapore nationals of Chinese origin to have a visa; but we did want to keep certain categories of these persons, after their arrival in India, under observation, as it were, as foreigners under the Foreigners Act; and that we are placing no restrictions on Government officials, members of Government delegations and students from Malaya and Singapore. The Prime Minister has said that he cannot agree to any distinction whatever being made between national of Malaya and Singapore, whether they are of Chinese origin or not of Chinese origin, and all restrictions must be forthwith withdrawn.

2. I have not seen the file after our discussions in the Foreign Secretary's room, and I do not know what restrictions exactly are now being applied to Malaya and Singapore nationals of Chinese origin. May I have the papers immediately?

Y.D. Gundevia

182. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress. NMML, Mahavir Tyagi Papers.

183. See appendix 29.

184. Note, 8 March 1963, by the Commonwealth Secretary. MHA (Ministry of External Affairs), File No. SI/121/102/62, p. 35 notes.

185. See item 489.

#### 491. To Sundarlal: Peking Friendship March<sup>186</sup>

March 12, 1963

My dear Sundarlal,  
Your letter of the 8th March.

It seems to me that the Chinese will not allow the Peace Marchers to enter Chinese territory. They have bitterly criticised this whole concept of a peace march.

Apart from that, I rather doubt if Professor Tan Yun-shan's going to China with this group will be helpful to him or to the group. He can, of course, be helpful, but the Chinese Government will disapprove of it utterly. However, I suggest that you might find out from the Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati<sup>187</sup> later in the year as to what the position is.

I am sorry there were restrictions on Professor Tan Yun-shan's movements.<sup>188</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### 492. In the Rajya Sabha: Psychological Warfare<sup>189</sup>

M. Ruthnaswamy<sup>190</sup>: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether in view of the fact that psychological warfare has played an effective part in modern warfare, any use has been made of that weapon in connection with the India – China border dispute, and if so, to what extent?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): If by the term “psychological warfare” is meant the skilful use of all media of information for putting across our views on the India-China border dispute and exposing of false Chinese propaganda on the subject, Government have made full use of them. Our publicity is, however, based on truth and conducted with dignity and sobriety in keeping with the best traditions of our country.

186. Letter to Peace Activist; address: 40 Hanuman Lane, New Delhi.

187. S.R. Das.

188. See items 474 and 481.

189. Written Answers, 19 March 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLII, Nos. 12-22, 5th to 20th March 1963, pp. 3386-3387.

190. Swatantra Party.



**493. In the Lok Sabha: China Policy<sup>191</sup>**

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to the Members that have spoken in this debate, both to those that have commended our policies and to those who have criticised them. We try to profit by all the criticisms that are made here, though sometimes I feel they are not justified or based on a knowledge of the facts.

Now, in a debate of this kind on the Demands for Grants, a great deal might be said. Something has been said about the necessity for economy etc. The general policy is discussed and, more specially two matters have come up: our foreign service and our foreign publicity. In particular, the foreign publicity has been referred to by many hon. Members on both sides of the House.

So far as the question of economy is concerned, it is rather curious that we are asked for economy. I might inform the House that lately economy amounting to Rs 150 lakhs has been made in the Ministry of External Affairs. But at the same time, our foreign service and foreign publicity is criticised vigorously when, partly at least, this might be dealt with greater expenditure. Some hon. Members have indeed accused us of not having more foreign missions abroad, more foreign posts and, generally not in spending such more money on our publicity. It is a fact that we have been restricted a great deal by our desire to limit expenditure. It is natural that if we could spend much more on publicity, and if it is rightly spent it will have greater effect. And, compared to other countries, I believe, we are very much on the side of spending less than what they do. I am not talking about great countries like United States of America or England who have an enormous apparatus of publicity; but even smaller countries, countries of Asia and some countries even of Africa, spend a great deal on publicity; relatively speaking, much more than we do.

So far as our foreign service is concerned, it has been referred to on many occasions. I do not quite know what I can say about it. But I will endeavour, with all humility, to give my impression of it. The foreign service has been built up in the last fourteen or fifteen years. It started with a number of people from the government service; some, not many—I suppose about one-third or less, of the old ICS element, some from other government services in India who were transferred. Some were Political Officers in the old British regime, some were professors, educationists, etc. and others, some of them, were public men. Gradually we tried to build up a foreign service, as every country has to, with

191. Statement on Demands for Grants, 19 March 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XV, 18th-28th March 1963, pp. 4814-4848.

adequate training as far as we could. It was built up partly by recruiting people generally from outside and not so much from the services—a few might have gone, not many went later. Mostly they were recruited from outside, including educationists and others. Some professors and others joined our foreign service and also some who have been engaged in public affairs. As we went on building the foreign service, gradually the cadre of foreign servicemen became trained. And when we have to train a service, it cannot be done in a day or two; it is bound to take time. Also, we cannot function without a trained cadre in any particular service, whatever it might be. That training consisted, apart from the original competitive examination, which itself is a difficult one, of two or three years of training, of which the first six months were spent in going to some places in India some districts, to watch the work in the districts and to get some local knowledge, to see some of our development works in India and so on. Then they work as apprentices to learn the languages of the countries where they are going to be posted, one or two languages, sometimes even three. Then they have to serve in a relatively humble capacity in some of our posts abroad and gradually work themselves up.

Now, it is obvious that any generalisation, about such a service would probably be not justified. If we say that the entire service is a brilliant one and everyone is brilliant, of course, that would not be justified. On the other hand, if we condemn the entire service, it would be equally unjustified. The foreign service consists of about 250 to 300 people, all kinds of men; some are remarkably good, many others are good average, some others not good average and so on, as we find in every service.

So far as non-officials are concerned, I should like to remove the impression which the hon. Member had that I had stated that the non-officials were not very successful. Some of the non-officials in our service have been outstanding people and it is not very easy to get such outstanding people, either in service or from outside. They are always relatively few but on the whole, we had quite a number of persons who have been very much above the average, not only our average but the average of foreign services of other countries.

It is a fact, I venture to say, that, generally speaking, our diplomatic service is supposed among the diplomatic circles all over the world to be a high grade one and is supposed to have reached that stage quite rapidly. In fact, reading a book about the foreign services of the various countries, there were two countries mentioned specially, whose foreign service had come up remarkably well, and one of the two was India. Now, that does not mean that all of them are brilliant or good; they are good, as one can normally expect, good average with some really brilliant persons.



Nowadays, in these days of telegrams and telephones, the foreign service constantly refers matters to headquarters. In the old days when it took weeks to get directions, they had to rely on their own judgment, whether good or bad. Nowadays, every morning, I have to go through a sheaf of telegrams from various embassies and in the course of the day also they go on coming so that, so far as policy is concerned, it is very largely governed by headquarters. Of course, a person may put across a suggestion or a hint, but they are individual cases.

A general remark was made about our services. As I have said, there are all kinds of people, but their average is fairly good. The kind of instances that were given—I think Shri Nath Pai gave one or two instances—were remarkable. One was that after the Sino-Pakistan Treaty was signed, it was not put across properly in Washington and London. I think he mentioned something like that. As it happens, this work was particularly well done in Washington and London.

Hem Barua<sup>192</sup>: It was reported that our Ambassador to USA<sup>193</sup> was not in Washington when the Sino-Pakistan treaty was signed. He was not there to explain our viewpoint.

Jawaharlal Nehru: He was in America.

Hem Barua: He was in America but in San Francisco; not in Washington.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Anyhow, I can assure the House that both Ambassadors in Washington and London have done a remarkable piece of good work from any point of view. And we have a high opinion of them.

Now, take another case mentioned by some other Member about Indonesia and our Ambassador there,<sup>194</sup> because of an unfortunate incident that happened there in regard to Asian Games. Asian Games, of course, had directly nothing to do with our Missions. Of course, some people had gone from here and the question arose that one of the representatives of our contingent, who was the leader, was of certain views which were disapproved by Indonesians.<sup>195</sup> Our Ambassador in Indonesia, probably fulfills all the qualification that hon. Members have been laying stress on. He is most popular in Indonesia. He is an able man and a hard-working man devoted to Indonesia, as he is devoted to India, with many approaches to every kind of people there. Yet, how is he

192. PSP.

193. B.K. Nehru.

194. Apa Pant.

195. See SWJN/SS/79/App 11; item 212.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

to be blamed because of some incident that happened there which is beyond, as a matter of fact...

Nath Pai<sup>196</sup>: Everybody has very great regard for the magnificent services of Mr Pant. The point sought to be made was that you did not draw the necessary inference from the portentous warning you got in the burning of the tricolour in Jakarta. The blame was laid at the Foreign Ministry, not at Mr Pant. It was a warning which was ignored.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think any warning was ignored. But what having received the warning could he have done? As a matter of fact, this particular instance was largely engineered by the Chinese in Jakarta or in Indonesia, probably the Chinese communists. It is unfortunate. But I would say we cannot blame our Ambassadors for all the turns of events that may take place in the world which we do not like. We do not leave our Ambassadors, as a Government, as a country, control the world or countries or the way they act. Many things that happen in the world which we do not approve. We cannot control them. We can sometimes express our opinions about them. Sometimes, we do not even do that because it does no good expressing our opinions strongly when there is no possibility of any action to be followed by that opinion. The world today is a very odd place. I suppose, It has always been odd. But now that we live in it, we have to deal with it some way; we come nearer to curious manifestations. It is at the present moment—I think, even more than at other times—full of contradictions, full of incipient countries. Some hon. Members find it very easy for them to get over all these conflicts, to get over all the difficulties that arise from them by not thinking or acting oneself but allowing the thinking to be done by somebody else, by some other country for us; whether that some other country is America or Russia depends on the party. But they want to dispose of this burden of thinking and acting by casting it to somebody else and then live in some kind of a mental ease at somebody else's responsibility, whether it is for our defence or whether it is for solution of any problem. Somebody has warned us. Do not rely too much on the fact that there is a rift between Russia and China; that may not do much good; something else may happen. Well, if I may say so, a country should always be trying to be friendly with other countries and should never rely upon them absolutely. That in common sense. Because, to be friendly does not mean to sell yourself body and soul to any other country. It is not only the right policy always, more particularly because of our background, it is right. It always helps to have a friendly atmosphere even when

196. PSP.



we disagree with a country. It is easier to impress others. I do not pretend to say that we have been always right. Of course, not. The normal criticism appears to be that we should side with this group or that group. Then the responsibility goes to that group, not to us very much. That is not, I venture to say, the attitude which a mature nation or a self respecting nation should adopt.

As a matter of fact, take the strongest and the biggest countries, America and Russia or any others. They are constantly faced with developments which they dislike intensely, where their diplomatic service, their policies have failed completely for the time being—the countries have not failed, but a particular action has failed. That is almost a regular recurrence. People who have well established foreign services, who have definite policies, who have enormous resources and propaganda--yet they fail. In fact, compared to the failures of others, I should think our failures are very small. Of course, our responsibilities are small too, compared to them. I would beg of the House to remember this that there is no country today which you can pick out, it does not matter whether it is in Europe or Asia or elsewhere—where the country is not continuously coming up against great difficulties, difficulties of a kind which they do not always expect, of failures of their policy, and trying to find out how to make it good, how to profit by it. That is the nature of the world today.

In spite of two very great powers dominating it, the world is not amenable to domination today. Not even the smallest country likes to be dominated, much less any other, and the result is this continuous conflict. Now we see in Africa, the extraordinary kaleidoscopic picture, changing all the time; a large number of countries gaining independence and finding the future difficult; wanting help and yet not wanting anybody's domination. They get help where they can. They themselves are split up into various groups. Take the Arab world which is, again, undergoing a great transformation. There is greater prospect of some unity in the Arab world than there has been for many years. All these are changing phenomena. One lives in a period of the current of history running on and on. We have to keep pace with it and understand it. Nath Pai, I think, talked about ossification of those who control our foreign policy or ...

Nath Pai: Ossification of tensions: I said there has been an ossification of tensions which threatened to engulf the world in a conflagration.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, I misunderstood. What I was going to say was, whether you call it ossification or something else...

Nath Pai: I did criticise your policy. That was not the phrase I used.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru: All right. I find a curious repetition of things dead and gone, which have no relevance today and yet they fill the minds of some of our critics so much that they cannot think of the present day things. The hon. Member speaking last got eloquent about Hungary. Tibet, of course, is often referred to, as if our attitude to Tibet twelve years ago is a natural cause of everything that happened subsequently.

Hem Barua: To some extent it is true.

N.G. Ranga<sup>197</sup>: That is indicative of your present attitudes also.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I can quite understand hon. Members opposite, especially the learned Acharya not being able to catch up to events. He is living in the past. It is unfortunate.

The whole structure is changing today in the so-called communist and non-communist world, the so called two major blocs standing opposed to each other. They are still opposed to each other; yet basically that position is being undermined. We see within the two blocs, whether it is the Western bloc full of internal conflicts between nations, or the Eastern bloc very much affected by the conflict between Russia and China, that those solid monolithic structures of West and East are changing. Russia and America are definitely coming somewhat nearer to each other; I do not say that anything wonderful is going to happen soon.

Narasimha Reddy<sup>198</sup>: Is that going to save us?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, but I hope it will enlighten you a little.

So, any policy that we have to follow has essentially to be based—well, every foreign policy has to be based on the interests of that country, not only the immediate interests, but the longer interests; one has to see ahead, one cannot live from day to day thinking of the interests today which may turn out to be harmful to us tomorrow—on the interests of the country plus, I hope, certain basic policies that we believe in. Foreign policy, as any policy, must be determined by that. A foreign policy, of course, is intimately connected with one's domestic policy; it is a projection of it in a wider field; it is not the same thing, because it deals with other matters, but it is a projection and it must fit in with it. Otherwise, there is a confusion between our domestic policy and our

197. Swatantra Party.

198. Swatantra Party.



foreign policy. I think that some of the hon. Members who have criticised our foreign policy really dislike much more our domestic policy, and, therefore, they criticise the foreign policy.

Narasimha Reddy: A faulty conclusion.

Nath Pai: That is good rhetoric, but not really very convincing. We criticised your China policy.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Shri Nath Pai need not accuse me of rhetoric because he indulged in rhetoric far more than I can ever do.

I am merely pointing out that foreign policy or external policy and domestic policy have to be related. Otherwise, there is a confusion all the time. If one disagrees with the one, it follows that the disagreement goes to the other.

Now, take the question of Tibet to which repeated references were made. I am yet unable to understand—nobody likes what happened in Tibet; I am quite unable to understand—although I have given much thought to it, how much people have thought or what any hon. Member has thought we could do at the time or later.

N.G. Ranga: We could have protested at least. We could have raised our voice. In so many other causes, we went abroad all the way like king Herod to the UN to raise our voice when it was not wanted.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member might have raised his voice, and no doubt, having raised his voice, got into very deep waters where he could not keep his hand up, because one only raises one's voice when one follows it up, or when that voice is meant to be followed by some particular action. We could not take any action in Tibet at that time or later. In fact ...

N.G. Ranga: We do not agree with you at all. That was a total failure on your part, a moral failure.

L. M. Singhvi<sup>199</sup>: We have done nothing in South Africa; still we have raised our voice against the apartheid policy of South Africa and the denial of human rights. We have done precious little and yet we have raised our voice.

199. Independent.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Nath Pai: Only once, finally please tell us this.

Speaker: Order, order.

Nath Pai: I have referred to it. Only once and finally let him tell us whether it was a question of “unwilling” or “unable”. The ground has been continuously shifting. Sometimes you say that we could not do something; at other times, you say that we ought not to have done something; what is your true position? Let me point to your latest remark. You told the Rajya Sabha that we inherited this situation from the British. That is not true. . . .

I read out from Mr Anthony Eden’s letter.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It does not matter. Mr Anthony Eden is no authority for me. I say this is true, and Mr Anthony Eden, as you have read him out, too does not contradict me in the slightest.

N.G. Ranga: Anyhow, they were only simple failures of ours.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Who is sinful and who is not? Now, take the case of Tibet. From the very first day when China came into Tibet, I think I have often said in this House that we have had to consider this fact of a great, dynamic and powerful country, aggressive and expansive, coming nearer our borders. We had all the time to consider it and adapt our policy accordingly. That did not mean that I expected them suddenly to attack India immediately. But it was potentially threat to us; the potential threat might materialise in ten years or twenty years—that nobody could say. That was the position and we have adapted our policy to a considerable extent on our borders and elsewhere. It is our adapting our policy to that threat to which the Chinese refer now saying in connection with NEFA that we were not in NEFA, we came into NEFA afterwards. They interpret that way. It is quite different of course; it is absurd because NEFA was theoretically and constitutionally always part of India for a long-long time.

Hem Barua: Practically also.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But the fact that we were always working in NEFA, developing NEFA, sitting on the borders there makes them say that we entered NEFA then, otherwise it was theirs all the time. But they have a remarkable way of stating their case. That is a different matter. It is a little difficult for some of us trained otherwise to keep pace with the perversities of truth that they utter.



The whole point was that there is this potential threat and danger, which might become a real one, might become a big one. There were only two ways of dealing with it, to be pursued simultaneously. One was to strengthen our position gradually, and secondly, to be friendly to China, not to bring about such a conflict and crisis much sooner than it might otherwise do. That is the normal policy which any nation adopts. We followed both those policies.

Then other things happened. The Tibetan rebellion happened and that encouraged and induced the Chinese to send vast numbers of troops into Tibet in those days; they sent to Tibet a greater number of troops than the whole Indian Army, and gradually approached our borders, frontiers, and started aggression in the Ladakh area. Then you come to the next stage when actually aggression is taking place quietly, without much fuss. They did not come on the NEFA side, but on the other side. Again, we tried to protect ourselves, to strengthen ourselves in the Ladakh area. It was not an easy matter because of the tremendous difficulty of communications. We had to build roads, airfields and such like things. We did build them. We sent everything by air to them. Roads became the most important thing in NEFA and in Ladakh. Those roads were built. I think they were built fairly rapidly, such as had been built; they might have been built a little more rapidly or perhaps not. But anyhow, that was the policy, and roads were built because that was essential. It was impossible to do anything without them.

An hon. Member asked: why don't we march across NEFA and put our armies on the border? The simple thing is that one has to feed an army—food, supplies and everything. It is difficult to feed an army where there are no proper communications. Communications are being built, and it is not right for any military commander to take a powerful enemy on disadvantageous ground. He has to choose his own ground. The choosing of the ground is not for me, not for this House, if I may say so. We lay down the principles. It is for our military people to choose how, where and in what manner they have to fight.

Hem Barua: Have you taken into consideration the danger to the security of NEFA because of not sending troops there? The Chinese might walk in at any time. There are also subversive activities.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member will not expect me to discuss these matters with him. It is obvious that these matters have to be considered. But when you have to live under the menace of a powerful country with a powerful army, one has to meet the menace with strength, not with declarations, not with strong resolutions. One has to meet that with strength, with a strength which enables you to think that you will win. You do not do things in an adventurist way which will react against us. All these factors have to be considered.

So far as our general policy is concerned, except perhaps for the hon. Members of the Swatantra Party, almost everyone is broadly in agreement—though not in all the details; it may not be—with the general policy we have pursued. What is the general policy, of course, any foreign policy must deal with the protection of one's country; that is inevitable. That is foreign policy or domestic policy, call it what you like. The foreign policy has been to further our interests by friendship with other nations, all nations whoever they might be, because we were convinced of it. That is why we followed policy of non-alignment. If we became entangled in military groupings, that would be practically harmful, apart from any moral or ethical view of it. Alignment means limiting your independence to that extent ...(Interruptions). Some countries may have to do it; it is a different matter but for a country specially situated as India is, there is no meaning in alignment. It is harmful, harmful psychologically apart from practical considerations. It is harmful in the sense that one begins to think of others doing your own job and defending; thereby you weaken the moral fibre of the nation. It is a very important thing when danger threatens it. It is one thing to get help from others. And I am grateful for the help that comes. But it is quite another thing to do something which makes one think that somebody else will look after us and protect us and we need not do very much. That is a dangerous mentality to develop among the people, especially situated as we are, when we happen to be in friendly relations with countries of the two blocs of nation, apart from China. It would be a folly in the extreme for us to give up this friendship of others in the hope of getting some more help or protection from one party. That would be practically, apart from any theory, a folly. That is why I said that it was recognised by all persons claiming any degree of intelligence or wisdom in most countries, whether it is the countries of the western alliance or the eastern alliance. It is only in India that some people appear to doubt it. I venture to say that the doubt is raised by their timidity, their lack of facing their own country and what the country can do. I think it is a wrong approach for anybody, for any country, especially for our country. Apart from other things—we get arms, aircraft, etc. that is a different matter....

N.G. Ranga: How do you put it? That must be coming in anyhow; yet we are free, independent?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member's logic is not apparent to me. However, what I said was that the main thing in this country—I will repeat it—is the spirit of the country, morale of the country and the unity of the country. I throw away all the big arms and big aircraft if I have the morale, the spirit of unity in the country. I am prepared.



N.G. Ranga: That is bravado.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not decry other weapons. They are very important in modern warfare at any time; therefore, we get them. We hope to get them. But I would like to assure this House that the attitude they represent has a greater effect and a greater influence on outsiders than the other attitude.

Take our budget, apart from what you like or dislike in it. The fact that it was a budget with courage—it went all out—has had a tremendous effect in other countries: that we are out to face this and are not waiting for doles from other people. It is the whole difference of mental approach, whether it is to war, or to finances or to development. We want all the help we can. We are trying to get it. But we rely on ourselves ultimately. I have no doubt in my mind that, whatever the near future might show, this is the only policy that will tell in our favour and that will be appreciated the world over, because a country wants to help another country when that other country is doing the job itself.

Take the other countries. It is all very well to think that we can cast ourselves on the protection of others completely, but one might think whether the others like it or not, whether the others are prepared to shoulder the burden. It is no easy burden for anyone to carry. Some newspapermen and others might say so, but responsible people are not prepared to take that burden. So, inevitably you arrive at this conclusion, now of course especially with the Chinese menace there, that our policy of non-alignment and strengthening ourselves and taking help from every country that we can is the right policy, and that we should pursue it. It is right positively; it is right negatively. It is right positively for the reasons that I have stated; it is right negatively because, not doing so would mean the cutting off of all kinds of psychological and other help that comes to us or that may come to us.

One of the biggest questions in the world today which is agitating every chancellery of the powers, great and small, is the future of Russian-Chinese relations. Nobody knows. I am not saying that, or banking on the Soviet Union rushing to our help. I am merely saying that this is the biggest question in the world today. It affects the whole future of the world – as to what and how the Russian-Chinese relation will develop. And it is rather an immature way of thinking that because both are communists, they will necessarily support each other, however much they may disagree with each other. The fact of the matter is gradually people are beginning to think that communism and anti-communism, important as they are in some respects, are outworn cries, because policies are determined by countries from the point of view of their national interests. Their interpretation itself of communism or anti-communism is determined by their national interests and nothing else. Opinions may vary about the national

interests, but that is a different matter. But broadly speaking, these are the determining factors. If the Soviet Union and China disagree on ideologies of interpretation of the Marxist doctrine, I think you will find that fundamentally those disagreements are due to their national interests, how they interpret it from the point of view of their own national interests.

Narendra Singh Mahida<sup>200</sup>: Do you think that they will fight among themselves—China and Russia?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not a jyotishi. How can I tell him what will happen? I am merely pointing out the trends in the world and the problems in the world, and they are not quite so simple as some hon. Members opposite seem to imagine. History is being made; this strong current of history is running. You will have to keep pace with it and try to adapt yourselves, remembering always that one can only act vigorously with strength. Many of us still think of an old agitational approach, of taking out processions and shouting a lot and thinking that we have done something. Any procession or any shouting that we do have does not affect China. They might be affected by our strength on the border. That is a different matter. Of course, they will be affected. Therefore, we have to build up that strength and not take any adventurist action. That is the normal thinking, normal caution, that every country displays.

Mr Nath Pai adjured me to go and repeat to the public that I am the same old Jawaharlal, this and that, and show that I am a man of courage.

Nath Pai: Did I make a mistake?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Of course, you did. You made a mistake in thinking that I am somebody different. Naturally, as one grows, one matures. But the unfortunate thing is that some people even after growth do not mature.

N.G. Ranga: I am glad you have made that discovery.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I congratulate the Acharya, who does not mature, however old he may be.

Hem Barua: Maturity is a process.

200. Congress.



Jawaharlal Nehru: In regard to the general policy, I do submit that apart from the policy of serving one's own interest, serving our narrow interests of today and forgetting our interests of tomorrow or day after, there is the wider point of view. Apart from the point of view of serving our interests, we have served the cause of peace and I think that is essential that we should continue to do so. That cause of peace in the world is important to us, as to every other country and it has brought a good deal of sympathy for us and even affection for us in other countries.

I do not know where they have got it from—some hon. Members talked about our reading homilies to other countries on ethical and moral grounds. I think they must have read it from some foreign newspaper, because I am not aware of any ethical or moral homilies to any country that we have given from India. If we stand for something in the United Nations, naturally we have to support it. We are not delivering homilies to other countries that we are holier than they are. We are not holy at all. We are pretty bad in many ways, I think. I have never been guilty of that.

Nath Pai: But the tone of all your speeches before the Chinese aggression shows that we took other people's difficulties very lightly and told them how to behave.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Perhaps it depends on the context, when one says it and in what context.

Anyhow, we must stand for peace and every country must stand for peace. Of course, I still stand for peace, but I have to fight a war if China attacks. That is a different matter. That does not mean that I do not stand for peace in the world, because if we do not stand for peace in the world, the world will be shattered to bits. I think that difference has to be kept in mind that we have to defend ourselves and defend ourselves by warlike means. I am sorry I do not know myself how we can defend ourselves by non-violent means against an aggression by China. I do not know it and therefore, if I do not know it and understand it, I cannot do it. But the mentality of peace must remain there all the same, not with China, but with the whole world. Even with China, when a peaceful method is found of resolving these disputes with honour, we should accept it. We should not merely for the love of fighting and killing refuse peace.

Nath Pai: We did not kill one Chinese; we did not take one single prisoner.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not quite correct; we killed a number of Chinese. I am not talking of what we did, but of the mentality of some people who rejoice in killing. I do not rejoice in killing even an animal much less a human being.

Then, the third thing in our policy that is generally encouraged is the elimination, the ending of colonial control anywhere. That has made great progress. But some colonial areas still remain, chiefly in Africa and a few elsewhere, and we should like to help them morally, help them otherwise if we can to the best of our ability.

There has been some criticism that we have not been helping the African nations. Well — I do not know -- the African nations are, many of them, newly freed. They have fine leaders and they are full of dynamism and vitality. Sometimes, in the United Nations or elsewhere, they have advanced a policy in regard to some matter which we thought would not ultimately benefit them or the world or Africa. We have had to argue with them. May be, because of their youth and dynamism they have still a belief in achieving results by strong resolutions. We passed that stage some years ago, and if we have tried to hold them back or tried to argue with them, they have been slightly disappointed in us. That is a minor thing. Fundamentally, I think, we have the goodwill of Africa and they certainly have our goodwill—all the countries of Africa require it.

Some hon. Member—I forgot now—here suggested about the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, that we should train their people and all that. We are prepared to train them. We have trained hundreds and thousands of foreign scholars in India. My colleague tells me that at the present moment there are 5000 foreign students in India—not all are scholars, many of them are scholars and many are not. We have not got many people from Angola or Mozambique. It is not that we do not like to have them, but normally these arrangements are made with the Governments of the other countries and the Portuguese will not allow them to come here. We cannot go and kidnap people and bring them here to be trained. It is difficult. If they can come somehow, certainly we will be happy to train them. In other countries there are large numbers of our teachers—they have gone to Africa and other experts.

So, that is our broad policy. Now, of course, in a changing world a policy is affected by circumstances, by changes that take place, and we have to be wide awake and adapt it.

I have already said about our foreign service. I am not prepared to defend everything that they have done but, by and large, it is a good service of some very good men, outstanding men and women. We are improving. We hope to improve. There is some advantage sometimes in having non-service people. Non-service people we have a good number. But the non-service people, when they remain for a long time, practically become like servicemen. But it takes time for a person to adapt himself to the routines of the foreign service. We have had both experience in it. Some of our non-service people have been brilliant, extraordinarily good; some of them have been, if I may say so, in all confidence, flops. There it is.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Hem Barua: It is a nice admission.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That applies to service people too, naturally. We cannot generalise about this. But, normally, the work that is done by the head of missions is very much circumscribed, except in America. Normally, the heads of missions are not supposed to go about delivering public speeches. That is not the practice for them. Americans, apparently, have developed that practice both in America and in India. That is a different matter.

Hem Barua: Our people also do that. There is a lot of delivering speeches, television and all that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am saying that in America that is done, but normally that is not done. In Europe or England rarely something like that might happen. They are much more conservative in these matters.

Coming to publicity in these places, it can always be criticised and it can always be improved. I think it has improved considerably lately, specially since this invasion, this aggression, by China. I think we have done pretty well in the last few months especially. Somebody, I think Shri Prakash Vir Shastri, said something about Hindi publicity material. It is produced originally in English, immediately it is handed over to the Information and Broadcasting Ministry for translation and Hindi translations are brought out. Therefore, there is a little gap between the two. In fact, it is done not only in English and Hindi only but in a dozen or more foreign languages, French, German, Arabic, Spanish etc.

If hon. Members would make any specific suggestions, we will consider them. It is difficult to consider vague charges of inefficiency. When it is a large organisation, there are bound to be some matters worthy of improvement. I welcome any specific suggestions made to that end.

Nath Pai: We did ask for a parliamentary committee like the Senate Committee of the USA. The House of Commons has now appointed a Committee under Lord Inchera to look into their working and their services. I gave that instance. Why do you not take Parliament into confidence and allow them to have a look at your embassies?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not quite understand what the hon. Member said in the course of his speech when he suggested that we have objected to any inspection by others. I do not know what he means by inspection by others. I do not know what he means by inspection. Inspection of what? They can inspect the way of working; they can hardly inspect the policies; that will take time; they can

only inspect routine matters, much more than anything else. I do not mind members of Parliament going and seeing the working of embassies, but I do feel that it will be a long tour, a costly tour, without too much of effect, because they can only go and see the normal working of it. Also, obviously many hon. Members cannot go.

One matter of grievance I have heard, sometimes from some Members of Parliament and sometimes even from pressmen, is want of cooperation from embassies. They go to a country and want, well, to see the Prime Minister of that place immediately, or the President of that place, or they want to be feted etc. It is rather difficult especially when a large number of people go to foreign countries. For example, a pressman was annoyed very much because our embassy could not arrange an interview for him with Mr Churchill when Mr Churchill was the Prime Minister of England. Mr Churchill was a very busy man then, as Prime Ministers normally are and, therefore, he could not arrange an interview for the pressman with Mr Churchill or with the other Ministers there, especially because he wanted it immediately in two or three days, and so he got annoyed and wrote that the High Commissioner of India did not serve India well, because a party was not given in his honour by the High Commission.

Then, on the one hand, we are trying to economise. But every person who goes from here wants a car to be put at his disposal. Sometime, in big cities like London, Paris and Washington, plenty of people from India, eminent people, go, and it is rather difficult to put a car at the disposal of everyone. These are little things.

Hanumanthaiya<sup>201</sup>: That is one side of the story. Please do not emphasise only the official version. I have many things to tell, but I do not want to.

Harish Chnadra Mathur<sup>202</sup>: Many such complaints were made and certain specific instances were quoted.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know why Mr Hanumanthaiya or Mr Mathur should think that complaints were made by them or about them.

Hanumanthaiya: I have never made a complaint. But you are defending the officials all the time. There is another side also to the picture.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no doubt that there is another side.

201. Congress.

202. Congress.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Hanumanthaiya: Shri Sri Prakasa has written an article recently and he has given, what is called, the secret psychology of these ICS Ambassadors.

Joachim Alva<sup>203</sup>: The Indian Members of Parliament do not get that much respect that the British Government gives to their MPs.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I know.

Hanumanthaiya: I beg you to raise the status of the Members of Parliament.

Jawaharlal Nehru: If a service, of which I am in-charge, is criticised, I have to say something on their behalf. I am responsible for that. I do not pretend to say they are not in error. They are often in error, often being pulled up. I have no doubt that Mr Hanumanthaiya can tell me many things to their disadvantage. I accept that. But I have to put that side, because they are not here to defend themselves. I have to defend them. Take the American Embassy here. It is a big Embassy with a vast staff and every American Senator and every businessman who comes here is treated well by the Embassy. But, secretly they may perhaps tell you that they are embarrassed by the visits of these crowds, senators and others.

Hem Barua: Where is the secrecy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now, there are one or two matters that I should like to mention.

Mahavir Tyagi<sup>204</sup>: Something about our relations with Nepal and Pakistan.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think, it was Mr Nath Pai, probably, who drew my attention to Kalimpong appearing here.

Nath Pai: Pardon, Sir? I did not.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not you. Some other Member drew my attention to Appendix II in this book—*Indian Information Units Abroad*. In that list, Kalimpong also appears, as was quite rightly pointed out. Obviously, it is wrong. It has no business to be there. It is a mistake.

203. Congress.

204. Congress.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Nath Pai: Do you sometimes read the reports? We have pointed out many things.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I read them about the same time as the hon. Member does.

Nath Pai: They are shown to you before they are prepared.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes; sometimes.

Hem Barua: They are prepared by you. That is how it appears.

Nath Pai: His compositions are bound to be better.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now, may I tell you about Kalimpong? It has a special information centre which was opened when the Tibetans started coming in large numbers. It was for that. It should not have been put here. But we had to open it because many problems arose because of those Tibetan refugees coming there and many living there.

Then, there is another matter. I think, this was by Mr Nath Pai. He was quite worked up about the fact that our Chargé d'affaires went to a dinner party or something in Peking which was given in honour of Mr Bhutto. Well, I did not know much about it. I enquired and I found that he had referred the matter to our Ministry.

Hem Barua: That is true. We know that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: And our Ministry had told him that this was a normal function and that he should go.

Nath Pai: Was it a normal function? It was an occasion when Mr Bhutto was there to sign a pact against India. And it makes it all the worse that the Ministry had given a consent. What you tell makes the affair worse.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. I am not inclined to agree with the hon. Member. But, normally, in these matters, these normal formalities are observed unless you want...

Nath Pai: Signing a pact against India is a normal protocol function?



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not want to argue this matter. There was the Foreign Minister there and a party was given in his honour by his opposite number in the other Government.

Hem Barua: To celebrate India's disgrace.

Nath Pai: That is not the truth of the matter. He knows it. He himself is uncomfortable about it.

Hem Barua: He was disturbed mentally. That is why he consulted you. We know the details of that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are no other details except that he referred the matter to the Ministry and our Ministry told him that he had better go.

N.G. Ranga: Your Ministry has committed a blunder and you are not prepared to agree.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No.

N.G. Ranga: Were there not many occasions when the Russian Ambassador had walked out just because a few observations were made against Russia in many countries where dinners were being held. And we seem to draw a lot of lessons from Russia.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Everybody has occasionally walked out. People even walk out of this sovereign Parliament. What to do? (Interruptions).

Speaker: Order, order.

N.G. Ranga: We certainly wish to censure your Ministry as well as your Chargé d'Affaires for having insulted this country in that ignominious manner.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not prepared to accept that. You may say that. There may be two opinions; it is better not to have gone or gone. In fact ...

Hem Barua: If it had been a normal function, the chargé d'affaires could not have consulted you. It shows that he was mentally disturbed. He is an honest man, I should say.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Speaker: Order, order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I would like to put the other side of the case. Because our relations both with Pakistan and China are very bad, therefore it was desirable for him to go.

Hem Barua: We completely disagree with you. Not on this occasion. (Interruption).

Speaker: He has said that there can be two opinions. Why should there be...(Interruptions).

N.G. Ranga: There is difference of opinion over this (Interruptions).

Speaker: What is to be done? (Interruptions)

L.M. Singhvi: In one breath he is inclined to agree with what the hon. Member says. In another breath, he tries to justify a thing which is indefensible.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not arguing about this. Hon. Members are certainly entitled to their opinions.

Speaker: Order, order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I agree to my mistake?

Nath Pai: It is your Ministry's serious mistake. The whole of India thinks so. If you admit that would be more graceful.

Hem Barua: That would be more graceful.

N.G. Ranga: My friend, you are a die-hard.

Speaker: Order, order.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Some hon. Member asked me about Marshal Chem Yi's statement that Mrs Bandaranaike had interpreted the Colombo proposals to them in one way and to us in another way. Obviously, I am not the person to answer that. It is for Mrs Bandaranaike or some of her colleagues. Mr Ali Sabry, Chairman of the Executive Council of Egypt, has replied to it, denying



this fact. He has said that they interpreted it in the same way to the Chinese authorities as they had done to us.

Some hon. Member objected to our inviting foreign dignitaries to India on grounds of economy. I do not know if it would be very good economy not to invite people, especially when we have invited them before the emergency. We could not tell them not to come. It is very bad. I think that from many points of view, it is desirable for us to invite people and sometimes for our people to go there. Our President is going abroad fairly soon first to some West Asian countries and later further west.

About Nepal there is nothing very much to say, and I do not know why people should imagine or why some hon. Members should have imagined that we have been at any time even in the last two years and more, opposed in any way to Nepal. All that I said here in Parliament when for the first time the coup took place in Nepal was that I regretted the set-back to democracy. At no time have we changed our attitude to Nepal. We have been carrying on our works, constructive works, which we are making in Nepal. But, somehow or other, these ideas arose in people's minds, but we are trying to put them aside, and I think that they do not exist now.

I entirely agree with some hon. Member who said about our Home Minister's visit there. His visit did a great deal of good. Unfortunately, we cannot send him all over the place.

Hem Barua: He is wanted here.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Quite so. Then, there was another matter about Goa or Pondicherry, NEFA, Nagaland etc. being removed from the purview of the External Affairs Ministry to the Home Ministry. I would be glad if that was done, but I do not think at the present moment that is desirable. My chief reason is not that the External Affairs Ministry is in any sense looking after them better than the Home Ministry would, but their own wishes in the matter. The people there are anxious to remain for the moment connected with the External Affairs Ministry because of past contracts.

Hem Barua: They are interested in your leadership, not so much in the External Affairs Ministry as such; but they are interested in it because you are there.

Nath Pai: That is a very important point, namely that the Prime Minister handles it. It looks *prima facie* that they want to be under the External Affairs Ministry, but really they want to be under the Prime Minister. And that is understandable enough.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That may be so. Anyhow, at the present moment, they would not like to go over. Take NEFA, for instance. Whatever may be done to it in the future, at present, in the present emergency, it will be undesirable to make any change.

About this Treaty to which reference has been made, namely the Pakistan – China Treaty, I do not know if hon. Members have seen a new pamphlet that we have issued which deals with that, and we have, probably yesterday or the day before, presented a note to the Security Council on that subject. Some reference to it has appeared in the press today.

Some hon. Members took exception to our continuing our talks with Pakistan. I can quite understand their slight irritation at this, but there are many things that irritate us, which we in the balance still consider worthwhile doing, and which to put it in the other way, we think it would be wrong not to do. We considered this fully and we came to the conclusion that we should not break these talks or refuse to go to them even though the outlook was pretty dark. And at the last series of talks in Calcutta, Shri Swaran Singh agreed to another series. I may say that Shri Swaran Singh has done this work in these talks in an extraordinarily fine manner, with great patience and yet clarity and firmness. For, it is right, fundamentally right, especially in cases of two countries, never—I repeat “never”—to refuse to talk.

If one is clear of one's position, one can stick to it. But in national matters, national passions are roused and they come in the way of the consideration of any matter soberly and impartially. We feel strongly about these matters; I think we are right in that. But rightly or wrongly, others feel strongly the other way, and if one takes up an attitude of non-talks, it adds to these national passions which makes it still more difficult. Therefore, we should be prepared to talk and to try to reach some kind of a settlement provided it is in keeping with our notion of what is right.

One thing more and I shall finish. Some Members referred to Shri B. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Assam—I am sorry, Orissa.

Hem Barua: We do not want him as our Chief Minister.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no need for him to go there. You have got a good Chief Minister.

In the early days of this emergency we had occasion to discuss with him many factors concerning our defence. He is a man with considerable ideas, considerable experience, actual experience, which hardly anyone of us here has, certainly not I.

Hem Barua: Ideas about what?



Jawaharlal Nehru: About defence.

Hem Barua: Defence?

Narasimha Reddy<sup>205</sup>: Was he in war service in the first or second world war?

Jawaharlal Nehru: War service as an aviator, especially about aircraft etc. So, I asked him to come here occasionally from Orissa to confer with me. He knows many of our people, Generals and Air Marshals. He has worked with them in his younger days. In the last war he was a pilot. We found his advice helpful. So, he used to come here from time to time. Later, we thought it would be a good thing if he wants to go to America and discussed some of these matters, he had discussed with us there. As a matter of fact, he was thinking of going to America for another reason, concerning his own State.

N.G. Ranga: He has business also.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We asked him to add this to his work and from such accounts as we have had he will be coming back in four or five days—he has done good work there.

N.G. Ranga: Since when have Chief Ministers been allowed to go to other countries in regard to their own State affairs? Earlier a similar question arose and they said it was an exceptional case, but generally it ought not to be done.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am pointing out to the hon. Member another reason why he was sent. He was already going on his State affairs. I do not think any other Chief Minister would have gone for that reason.

N.G. Ranga: I know he has a number of businesses.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are a number of cut motions. I am sorry I am not dealing with each one of them. But I hope Members will appreciate that we have to find a balance between two things: one is our desire for economy and the other to improve our service, publicity and the rest. They are very expensive. That is very unfortunate. Even if you want to open a small office somewhere, it involves a

205. Swatantra Party.

large expenditure—staff. So also publicity. But I do believe that our publicity has improved lately considerably. We have had the help of a very experienced man, whom we sent for, who was in London, acting as a correspondent of one of our Indian newspapers, and his help has been very good.

Anyhow, I welcome this discussion which has brought out many of the ideas that hon. Members have and many of the criticisms, and I hope we shall profit by them.

Nath Pai: One question, Sir, I had raised the question of Indian prisoners of war. I think the whole House is anxious about the fate of our prisoners of war in Chinese hands. May we know what is being done about them? We should try to do something to remove the impression that they are forgotten. Can we have an assurance from the Prime Minister that even if the Chinese accept the Colombo proposals in toto, one pre-condition on our behalf will be the release of our men before the talks are started?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Naturally, it does not need my saying that we are much interested in our prisoners of war in Chinese hands, and we would like them back. But I hope the Members will appreciate that it is not a very desirable thing to go about begging the Chinese with favours, whatever they may be.

Nath Pai: Refusing to talk about. That is what I said.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Refusing to talk; yes. We are not talking. In fact, that may very well be the first thing that one talks about. One cannot take up these attitudes. One can only take up attitudes from certain strength which you apply. It is not merely refusing to do this or not do this. You must also have the strength to enforce your demand. If you have not got that, it is futile talking about that in that way.

Hem Barua: It is reported of late that hostile activities in Nagaland are intensive due to the successful entry into Nagaland of hundred hostiles under Mr Kaito, and it is reported that they are armed with the latest weapons also from Pakistan, and they are showing definitely pro-Chinese tendencies. In that context, is it a fact that Mr Phizo has written to the Prime Minister that he is ready to give a respite to those hostile activities for another five years provided that the Prime Minister gives him an assurance that they will have a plebiscite to determine the Nagaland's future political destiny?



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Jawaharlal Nehru: About the hostile activities in Nagaland, they revived somewhat about two or three months ago, partly because of the removal of some troops from there, although right at the beginning of this emergency, there was definitely a feeling among large number of Nagas to help us. Apparently, they did not like this Chinese aggression and they wanted to help us. But then, when certain pressures were removed, all the hostile Nagas did take to that. Recently, a group of Nagas, about 200 strong, I do not know if Mr Kaito is there or not; he might be there or might not be there.

Hem Barua: He is.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Might be. He split this into two groups. They came on the Manipur frontier. They were met by our border guards—whatever they are there and one of them was pushed back completely. They went back into Burmese territory—they came via Burma. Of the others, some broke up and some small groups probably entered, it is a very jungly place, forest clad hills and they probably entered parts of Manipur territory in bits, and they are being pursued whatever you call it by our forces there.

About the other part of the hon. Member's question, I received a letter from Mr Phizo about a month ago or thereabouts may be more.

Hem Barua: From Mr Michael Scott.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. Mr Michael Scott brought a letter for me from Mr Phizo, in which Mr Phizo said that he was—I do not remember his words—distressed at this continuing trouble in Nagaland between the Government and his people there. And, he would like to find a way out, etc. I think he suggested, in that letter or otherwise, I do not quite remember, that if we gave him facilities to come to India, he would like to come and meet me to discuss this matter. I first of all told Rev. Michael Scott that I am always prepared to meet anybody, but in this matter, I can only proceed on the advice of the present Government of Nagaland.<sup>206</sup>

Hem Barua: They are opposed to it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So, I referred the matter to the Governor of Nagaland, who consulted the Executive Council of Nagaland. They are not opposed to it exactly, but they said that at the present moment, it would not be desirable.

206 See item 249.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Then I sent a message to Mr Phizo through our High Commission there that I would be prepared to meet him and to give him facilities for his coming here, but these hostile activities in Nagaland must be curbed and must stop. Otherwise, there will be no point in his coming here.

L.M. Singhvi<sup>207</sup>: Would the Prime Minister tell us whether the Government propose to persist in advocating and in sponsoring the cause of the People's Republic of China for admission to the United Nations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That question will come up about six or seven months later, and I do not know what the situation will be then. But I would like the House to appreciate that our advocating the cause of the People's Republic of China entering the UN has nothing to do with our liking or disliking the Chinese. (Interruptions). I do not know what we will decide then, but I wish to point out that it is an odd thing that the Chinese Government itself has no particular desire to go there.

Nath Pai: That is a pretension; they know they are being rejected. They are making the best of the job.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is very difficult for any major question like disarmament to be settled there without the agreement of a great country like China.

### **494. In Bombay: China Policy<sup>208</sup>**

No More Reliance on China: PM  
Talks only after Some Principles are Accepted

Bombay, March 20 – Prime Minister Nehru declared here today that after the past “betrayals and falsehoods” of China, India could never be expected to sit round the conference table with that country without first establishing certain basic principles for negotiations.

Addressing a two lakh strong public meeting at the Chowpatty sands here, the Prime Minister pointed out that China had rejected India's offer of arbitration on the Sino-Indian border question as well as the offer to refer it to the International Court. It had also refused to accept in toto the Colombo proposals.

207. Independent.

208. Report of speech, 20 March 1963, at a public meeting organised by the Citizens' Defence Committee. Reproduced from the *National Herald*, 21 March 1963, p. 1.



All these, he said, proved that China had “something in mind” which it wanted “to force down India’s throat”. “That can never happen,” he asserted amidst thunderous cheers. “If there is to be a settlement,” he added, “it can only happen on the basis of certain well-defined and well-understood principles.”

Pandit Nehru said that the Colombo proposals by themselves did not constitute a solution but they created the necessary atmosphere for starting negotiations between the two countries. What the result of the negotiations would be could not be foreseen now.

#### Annexation of Tibet

Pandit Nehru said that the taking over of Tibet by China had brought about the realisation by the Indian Government that this constituted a threat to her Himalayan border. But, he added, India had hoped to stave off any real danger by continuing friendly relations with China and thus utilising her time and energy for economic progress of the country. China, he said, “feigned friendship but betrayed us and suddenly embarked on a major offensive” against India.

Pandit Nehru said that it was clear that the Chinese had been preparing for years to mount an offensive against India to belittle her in the eyes of the other Asian countries and “browbeat” them into submission and thus establish China’s supremacy in Asia.

It was against this background that China wanted India to sit around the conference table and negotiate a settlement. India was a peaceful country, and normally she would have no objection to have direct talks with any country. But, in view of China’s past conduct, India could not agree to start any negotiations with China without first establishing certain basic principles.

#### Emergency Justified

Pandit Nehru said that in this context, there was no question of lifting the Emergency because even though there was no shooting war at present on the border, one never knew what the future held.

Pandit Nehru pointed out that China had betrayed this country once and there was no guarantee that it would not do so again. India had, therefore, no alternative but to be prepared to face the threat to its security and freedom not only in the immediate context but on a long-term basis.

“If we have to resist them (China) we have to face tremendous hardship for years to come”, he declared amidst cheers. “Mere raising of slogans will not help. What are required are the determination to resist, constant hard work on a day to day basis, and, above all, unity of the nation,” he added.

Referring to the critics of the Government who wanted the Emergency to be lifted, Pandit Nehru said that it was strange that these very same critics also wanted the war against China to be carried on vigourously. "Obviously, these people want us to hand over the war to some other nation," he said. This was absurd because no other nation could take the entire burden of fighting somebody else's war and secondly, no other nation would be prepared to do so if "we ourselves lack the determination."

### Budget Signifies Determination

Pandit Nehru thanked all those countries which had come to India's aid during the crisis and subsequently to build up India's defence and added that India would continue to take assistance from all friendly countries. But, he added, in the ultimate analysis, "it is our determination to defend the freedom and security of our country and our self-reliance that is going to be deciding factor."

In times of crisis, he said, the budget of a nation represented the measure of its determination to undertake the burden of defence. India's latest budget, in fact, signified this determination to the outside world.

He asked the opponents of the budget proposals to study the taxation imposed upon their people by the countries involved in World War II. It was true that the budget imposed a heavy burden on the poor, but it was inevitable in the context of the situation faced by India. The challenge has been given. It can only mean one thing. We are accepting it in full measure", he declared.

### Two-Fold Strategy

Pandit Nehru said the strategy that had been adopted by India was two-fold: To strengthen the defence forces and, simultaneously, to go ahead with the implementation of plans for industrial and agricultural development. There could be adjustments in the plans, but it was essential to go ahead with them even more vigorously than before, both to build up defence support and to complete the economic revolution undertaken by this country.

In a brief reference to recent international events, Pandit Nehru said that the outcome of the current Sino-Soviet conflict would have far-reaching effect on the world. The threat to world peace arising from the Cuban situation had been averted in time, but it could not be said with certainty that another such situation could be stopped in time.

He said India's own progress had to be considered, not in isolation but in the context of the situation in the world. India, he pointed out, was the only



nation among the newly independent nations which had been able to progress without interruption for fifteen years on her chosen path of development, while all the nations around her had passed through stages of ferment and revolutions.

India's progress, Pandit Nehru said, had now been threatened by China. The only reply to it was for the people to be vigilant, remain united and put in hard work both for defence and development, with the full knowledge that this was going to be a long "yatra".

Earlier, Mr M.S. Kannamwar, Maharashtra's Chief Minister and Chairman of the Citizens' Defence Committee, which organised the meeting, welcomed the Prime Minister and Mr Y.B. Chavan, Union Defence Minister, was present on the dais. PTI.

## **495. In Bombay: Why China Attacked<sup>209</sup>**

### Reasons for Chinese Attack on India

Bombay, March 20 – Prime Minister Nehru declared today that India must continue to adhere to her policy of non-alignment even in the new conditions created by the Chinese attack on her territory.

"If India gives up this policy it will amount to a victory for China," he added.

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing members of the Maharashtra legislature shortly after his arrival here from Delhi on a two day visit to the city, also referred to the "border" pact between China and Pakistan and said that world opinion had reacted adversely to the pact.

He had also heard that the Soviet Union had expressed its displeasure over the pact to China, he added.

Pandit Nehru said that the Chinese attack on India was a challenge to India's non-alignment policy. The Chinese were determined not to allow India to stick to that policy.

Pandit Nehru said the danger of China would continue to remain for ages and the only way to meet it was to make the country strong. India could build up her strength if she could speedily enter the age of the machine and technology—the key to the strength of western countries.

Pandit Nehru tried to analyse the reasons which lay behind the Chinese attack on India and, in this connection, briefly touched on the difference between the Soviet Union and China.

209. Report of speech, 20 March 1963, to the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly. Reproduced from the *National Herald*, 21 March 1963, p. 1.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Pandit Nehru said that the Soviet Union and China had different national interests and these were reflected in their differences on the ideological plane. The Soviet Union had made great strides, through science and technology, and what it desired was world peace to achieve further progress. China, on the contrary, had no such stakes in peace. China, therefore, did not care if crores of her people died in an atomic holocaust.

### Attack on Non-Alignment

Pandit Nehru said China was thus interested in sharply dividing the world into two camps. She, therefore, did not like countries who wanted to keep themselves non-aligned. She also did not like the policy of the Soviet Union of helping the non-aligned countries.

China's attack on India was designed to force India to change her policy of non-alignment and if she could succeed in that she could prove to the Soviet Union that the policy of non-alignment was fictitious and it was futile to give help to non-aligned countries, Pandit Nehru said.

Pandit Nehru said that thus China wanted to show that her own ideological analysis of the world was correct and that of the Soviet Union was wrong.

Pandit Nehru also briefly touched upon the border pact between China and Pakistan and said that world opinion had reacted adversely to that pact. He had also heard that the Soviet Union had expressed its displeasure over the pact to China.

### Self-Reliance Vital

Pandit Nehru said the Indian people must remember that the defence of their country was their own responsibility. Assistance from other countries might come but essentially it was the responsibility of the Indian people. If external assistance undermined the self-respect of the people it would weaken the country. The fact of paramount and fundamental importance was the self-reliance of the people and that must never be allowed to be undermined.

Pandit Nehru began by saying that it was his first visit to Bombay after the declaration of the Emergency. He said the danger that was facing the country could not be met only by enthusiasm and bravery of the people. The pages of Indian history were full of tales of bravery but the acts of bravery did not help to make the country strong. Along with enthusiasm and bravery what was required was intelligence and, therefore, while meeting the aggression Indian people should also know the background against which the aggression had taken place.



Pandit Nehru said India and China with their old civilisation represented two most ancient countries. He himself in the past had praised the civilisation of China. The differences between India and China were bound to have repercussions on the history of Asia.

#### Why China Attacked?

Pandit Nehru posed the question why China had attacked India and said that it could not have been a sudden attack as the Chinese people were not known to be impetuous. They were, on the contrary, known for their cold-blooded nature.

Pandit Nehru said the Chinese attack on India reflected its ideological attitude towards world problems. China, since the advent of Communist rule, was striving hard to develop the country with the help of technology. But during the last two or three years she was facing many difficulties. Natural calamities also added to those difficulties. The Chinese people were shocked to learn that the country was not getting speedily developed as they had anticipated.

It was against this background that differences between the Soviet Union and China had arisen and thousands of Soviet technicians, who had come to China to help build factories, had been recalled by the Soviet Union, Pandit Nehru said. As a result, many factories had stopped functioning and China had become sore, Pandit Nehru added.

Pandit Nehru said China had also become dissatisfied with India. One of the reasons was India's attitude towards Tibet and another one was to make India weak and thereby force other Asian countries to accept China's leadership.

Pandit Nehru said added to these were reasons steaming from the ideological differences of China with the Soviet Union. China wanted to force the Soviet Union to abandon its policy of helping the non-aligned countries.

Pandit Nehru stressed the importance of taking the help of modern technology to expand her agricultural production. Small things like when and how and to what extent watering of plants should be done were very important in raising production.

Pandit Nehru said in trying to meet this danger people should not entertain any bitter feelings in their hearts. The atmosphere of war gave rise to such bad results but certainly the Indian people, brought up in the traditions of the teachings of Gandhi, should not do so. They should keep their minds clear and open while continuing their work to build this country.

While zealously guarding their sovereignty, they must keep the door open for negotiations, he added.

#### **496. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Troops in Tibet<sup>210</sup>**

Yashpal Singh<sup>211</sup>: I call the attention of the Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon: The reported heavy concentration of Chinese troops in Tibet.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): On the 1st March the Ministry of National Defence of the People's Government of China issued a statement that their troops had withdrawn along the entire India-China border on China's own initiative and that this withdrawal had been completed by the end of February, 1963. The withdrawal was to points 20 kilometres beyond what the Chinese claimed as the "Line of Actual Control." The statement added that the Chinese forces were "now far behind their positions on September 8, 1962."

On 3rd March, I received a message from Prime Minister Chou En-lai referring to this unilateral action by the Chinese Government and stating, "In order to promote direct Sino-Indian negotiations, the Chinese Government has done all that is possible for it to do.... Therefore, I do not think that there should be any more reason to delay the holding of talks between Chinese and Indian officials." I sent a reply to Prime Minister Chou En-lai on 5th March in which I pointed out that "the obvious thing if the Government of China are sincere in their professions regarding peaceful settlement, is to accept the Colombo Conference proposals without reservations just as the Government of India had done. We can go to the second stage of talks and discussions only thereafter."

Since these exchanges took place, certain other developments have occurred. One was the signing of the Sino-Pakistan Border Agreement in Peking on 2nd March. During the last fortnight we received several notes from the Government of China. Despite their peaceful professions, the Government of China chose to use sharp and provocative language in these notes, one or two of them being actually scurrilous in tone. We have replied to these notes and contradicted the false allegations made.

We have also received reliable information of additional induction of troops into Tibet, of projects of further road construction along our borders and of the requisition of Tibetan villagers, pack animals etc. by Chinese Armed Forces in Tibetan areas to the north of our border. Though the Chinese forces have

210. Reply to Calling Attention Motion, 23 March 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XV, 18-28 March 1963, pp. 5612-5618.

211. Independent.



withdrawn 20 kilometres from what they call the line of actual control, their concentration beyond this narrow strip continues unchanged.

There are other factors of recent developments which make it difficult to believe in repeated Chinese professions of their desire for peaceful settlement. The Chinese Government have, so far, declined to accept the Colombo proposals. The statement made by the Ministry of National Defence of China of 1st March referred to earlier, ends up with a warning that “Although the Chinese Frontier Guards have withdrawn from the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959, we have not given up our right to self-defence.” This reference to “self-defence” in the context of what happened in October and November, 1962, coupled with Marshal Chen Yi’s statement in a television interview to the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation that “judging from the present attitude of the Indian Government, provocative actions on the part of Indian troops will occur from time to time”, may as well mean that the Chinese authorities are contemplating further aggressive action at a time of their own choosing.

We have, therefore, to be prepared to meet any eventuality that may arise. I hope, however, that the Government of China will, consistent with their peaceful professions, respond to the unanimous proposals made by the Colombo countries and accept the Colombo proposals without reservations as a first step towards the resolving of the India-China border differences by peaceful means.

यशपाल सिंह: तिब्बत की रक्षा करना हमारा नैतिक कर्तव्य है और राजनीतिक कर्तव्य भी है, और यह हमारे डिफेंस के लिये भी जरूरी है। तो क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि सरकार इस मामले में तिब्बत की दलाईलामा सरकार को कोई आश्वासन दे रही है?

अध्यक्ष महोदय: यह अलाहिदा सवाल है। इससे इसका कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है।

किशन पटनायक: क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि हमारे मिलिटरी इंटेलीजेंस की कुछ तरक्की हुई है जो कि पहले तीसरे दर्जे की थी? और दूसरी बात यह है कि अब अगर चीन का हमला हुआ तो क्या हम अपनी हवाई शक्ति का भी प्रयोक्त करेंगे?

अध्यक्ष महोदय: यह कैसे बतलाया जा सकता है पहले से कि हवाई शक्ति का प्रयोग करेंगे या नहीं। सवाल के पहले हिस्से का जवाब दे सकते हैं कि क्या हमारे मिलिटरी इंटेलीजेंस ने इत्तला दी है कि यहा क्या हमारे मिलिटरी इंटेलीजेंस ने इत्तला दी है कि वहां क्या कुछ हो रहा है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: आमतौर से मिलिटरी इंटेलीजेंस को इत्तला बतायी नहीं जाती। लेकिन जाहिर है कि जो कुछ मैंने बताया है ठीक उसी जरिये से बताया है, और कोई खबर तो हमारे पास नहीं है।

किशन पटनायक: क्या मिलिटरी इंटेलीजेंसी में कुछ तरक्की हुई?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मैं क्या अर्ज करूं, हमारी तरक्की तो जारी है।

[Translation begins:

Yashpal Singh: Protecting Tibet is our moral and political duty. It is essential for our defence also. May I know whether the Government has given any assurances to the Dalai Lama Government of Tibet?

Speaker: This is a separate question. There is no connection between the two.

Kishen Pattanayak<sup>212</sup>: May I know if there has been any improvement in our military intelligence gathering, which was third rate earlier? And, second, if China attacks us now, are we in a position to use our Air Force?

Speaker: How can this be told in advance whether we would use our Air Force or not? The first part of the question may be answered as to whether our military intelligence has provided any information regarding what is happening there.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Usually, we don't disclose the content of military intelligence. Of course, whatever I have said is based on this information. There is no other source available to us.

Kishen Pattanayak: Has there been any improvement in our military intelligence?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What can I say. Our efforts at improvement is going on.

Translation ends]

P.C. Borooah<sup>213</sup>: It is gathered that the Chinese troops before withdrawing from NEFA in certain places created some good atmosphere by harvesting the crops of the people and collecting them for the people in their absence, and before going they stated that they were not against the people of India in the border areas, particularly, but against the present sarkar of India ...

212. Socialist.

213. Congress.



Speaker: What is the question now for clarification?

P.C. Borooah: I am coming to that. May I know whether this concentration in Tibet has any relevance to that statement of the Chinese troops?

Speaker: He wants to know whether this concentration in Tibet has any relevance to NEFA? I could not follow the question.

P.C. Borooah: The Chinese troops before withdrawing from NEFA in certain areas have created some good impression about themselves, that means they harvested the crops and collected them and said that they were not against the people of India particularly.

Speaker: This is not clarification of any statement that has been made about the concentration in Tibet.

P.C. Borooah: I want to know whether that concentration has any relevance to the statement that they are coming again; they said that they would be coming again.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what exact relevance there is. Of course, everything may be connected. But the stories that the hon. Member has heard have reached us too, that is, such statements were made by some Chinese officers before withdrawing.

ओंकार लाल बैरवा: मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि नेफा में चीनी फौजों ने जो इलाके खाली किये हैं उनमें हमारे प्रशासन की क्या स्थिति है, और प्रशासन के अधिकारियों की सुरक्षा के लिये सरकार ने क्या क्या कदम उठाये हैं?

अध्यक्ष महोदय: यह दूसरा सवाल है।

[Translation begins:

Onkarlal Berwa<sup>214</sup>: I wish to know what is the situation of our administration in the area vacated by the Chinese in NEFA? What steps have been taken by the Government for their security?

Speaker: This is a different question.

Translation ends.]

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Surendranath Dwivedy<sup>215</sup>: In view of these recent developments, namely the concentration of troops in the Tibet area etc. may I know whether any special attention is being paid to the areas in Indian territories adjoining these places to put a check to the activities of espionage and sabotage, especially to curb the activities of elements who have extra-territorial loyalty?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Naturally, we try to pay every attention to any possibility of espionage and take action where we discover it. I do not know what the hon. Member meant by the last sentence, especially “extra-territorial.” I do not know whom he means.

Surendranath Dwivedy: There are parties and persons who have extra-territorial loyalties. I want to know whether their activities are put in check, especially in these areas, in view of the fact that they are nearer to the border.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am still unable to understand whom he calls “extra-territorial.”

Surendranath Dwivedy: I mean the Communist Party and persons who hold loyalty to Russia.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member should know that Government has taken action in regard to many person who may be, who probably are, members of the Communist Party; but they do not proceed on the basis of membership of the Communist Party itself necessarily leading to that, for, there are many members of the Communist Party who have expressed themselves and acted in a helpful manner in regard to this Chinese aggression—helpful to Government.

Hem Barua<sup>216</sup>: In view of the fact that one of the reasons for this massive Chinese troop concentration on our borders might be to force the Colombo Powers to force us to accept the Colombo proposals as adumbrated by China, may I know whether our Prime Minister is prepared to give us an assurance here and now that our stand on the Colombo proposals will not be diluted, whatever the consequences?

215. PSP.

216. PSP.



Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. The hon. Member wants me to give all kinds of assurances.

Hem Barua: A very simple assurance.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I will give no assurance of any kind except that our stand is there and we intend standing by it. What other assurance does he want me to give? Does he want me to take an oath on some sacred book?

Hem Barua: No, no. I did not have that in mind. I believe in the integrity of the country as much as the Prime Minister believes. Therefore, I wanted him to reiterate our stand of firmness, in regard to the Colombo proposals, against this heavy Chinese troop concentration.

Speaker: All that is contained in the statement itself.

याशपाल सिंह: हमारे देश की हिफाजत के लिये यह जानना जरूरी है कि हमारी सरहद पर चाइना की एअर फोर्स का आफेंसिव पोटेशियल क्या है। क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि हमारी सरकार ने पता लगाया है कि हमारी सरहद पर चाइना ने कितनी एअर फोर्स इकट्ठा कर रखी है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कुछ न कुछ मालुमात तो जमा किया ही करते हैं, लेकिन जो कुछ मालुमात जमा की है उनको मैं यहां आपके सामने अर्ज करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूं।

[Translation begins:

Yashpal Singh: In order to protect our borders, it is necessary to know what is the offensive potential of the Chinese Air Force gathered at Tibet border. Has our Government figured out how many Chinese Air Force are there at the border?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is some intelligence that is gathered regularly. But I am not prepared to divulge all that information here.

Translation ends]

Laxmi Bai<sup>217</sup>: rose —

Speaker: Papers to be laid on the Table.

217. Congress.

**497. To R.G. Menzies: Updating on China War<sup>218</sup>**

March 23, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

I have not written to you since November 1962, because I did not want to worry you unnecessarily with personal communications, more particularly as the Australian High Commission here had, under your directions, been keeping in close touch with us on the developments in connection with the India-China conflict and giving full cooperation in projecting our needs of defence equipment and supplies.

The US Commonwealth Air Team was here in February, 1963, to study India's air defence requirements. We were glad of your Government's participation in this team, W/Cdr. J. R. Hubble, your representative on the team, must have reported to your Government on the consultations that the Air Defence Team had with our Air Force authorities.

We are glad to have H. E. Sir James Plimsoll as your High Commissioner here. He saw me on 17th March. It was encouraging to learn about the generous announcement of the Government of Australia that the entire assistance of £ 2.2 million that they were giving will be a gift in support of the Indian defence effort. We all deeply appreciate this magnanimous gesture.

As you know, while actual fighting has stopped, the Chinese have maintained their posture of strength and their concentration on our borders and all their moves are aimed at forcing India to seek a settlement with China on China's terms. The Chinese objective is not merely a settlement in their favour of a territorial or boundary dispute but domination, political as well as ideological. The Chinese have, for this reason, been maintaining their pressures military as well as propagandist. This also explains the Chinese refusal to accept the Colombo proposals for ceasefire arrangements. I am sure you agree that India is right in resisting these Chinese pressures and attempts at domination.

The Chinese aggressiveness and desire for domination is not confined to India or the countries in South East Asia, but is also a bid for world domination. Developments during the last few months and the public declarations and statements in connection with the internal differences in ideology between Moscow and Peking show clearly the Chinese long-term aims of world domination. While India has to meet the immediate short-term threat, all of us, India as well as other countries in Asia, have to prepare ourselves to meet the long-term threat that China, with its 700 million people, a totalitarian and expansionist regime and a land army of several millions, poses.

218. Letter to the Prime Minister of Australia.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

My colleague, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister for Defence and Economic Coordination, will probably be paying a brief visit to Australia next month and will take the opportunity of acquainting you and your colleagues more fully with the dimensions of the Chinese short-term and long-term threat and the defence and development needs of India to meet this threat. I hope this personal exchange of views will be useful and that we would have more opportunities to have such exchanges so that we can have fuller appreciation of the new geopolitical situation in Asia created by China's defiant aggressiveness and open bid for domination.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **498. To Rana Satya Paul: Book on Border Dispute<sup>219</sup>**

April 2, 1963

Dear Shri Paul,

I have your letter of March 29th. If you will kindly send a copy of your book to the Foreign Secretary,<sup>220</sup> he will have it examined and will let you know if we can use it.

You can come and see me at 9.30 a.m. on the 5th April in my office.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### **499. To N. Sri Rama Reddi: South East Asia Policy and China<sup>221</sup>**

April 2, 1963

My dear Shri Rama Reddi,

I received your letter of 24th March some time ago.

219. Letter to the Editor of *Our Northern Borders: India-China Border Dispute* (New Delhi; Book Times Company, 1963); address: 25 B/1 Rohtak Road, New Delhi 5. NMML, J.N. Supplementary Papers, Box No. 106.

220. M.J. Desai.

221. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Congress.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

You have discussed the situation in South East Asia. It has always been our policy to develop friendly relations with these countries of South East Asia. But, of course, there are many other pressures at work and China has exercised some of these pressures. The methods she employs are somewhat different from ours and it is difficult for us to compete with her on those lines.

The Dalai Lama's recent statement was not issued after consultation with us and it does not represent any basic change in our policy.

It is difficult to say what China may do. There is always a chance of their renewing the attack, but this does not appear to be very likely in the near future.

For us our objective is to strengthen ourselves as much as possible and try to be prepared for any contingency that might arise.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **500. In the Lok Sabha: Prisoners of War in China<sup>222</sup>**

Raghunath Singh <sup>223</sup>: Sir, I call the attention of the hon. Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:

“Chinese announcement regarding release of Indian Prisoners of War.”

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): We have received intimation from the Chinese Government through our Chargé d’Affaires in Peking about their proposal to release 3,213 captured Indian military personnel. They propose to begin this process of release from the 10th April through the Chinese Red Cross Society. Also, the corpses or ashes of 11 dead captured personnel will also be handed over, 144 persons will be handed over at Batibung on the southern bank of Punch River to south Sama on the 10th April at 1000 hours Peking time by the Chinese Red Cross to representatives of the Indian Red Cross. The majority of prisoners will be released north of the Bang Pass and the first batch of 469 including 27 wounded and sick were to be released on the 10th but the road to the Pass on the Chinese side is blocked with snow up to one meter depth

222. Statement on Calling Attention Motion, 3 April 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XVI, Third Series, March 29-April 11, 1963, pp. 7442-45.

223. Congress.



and presumably the road to Tawang is also blocked with snow. Therefore, the release may be postponed by five to ten days depending upon as to when the road will be clear and if there is no further snow. That is all that we have heard.

रघुनाथ सिंह: मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि इन को एक ही इंस्टालमेंट में छोड़ा जाएगा क्या? मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूं कि यह जो लोग वहां से आयेंगे इन को अपनी अपनी यूनिटों में ले जा कर रखा जायेगा या इनके लिए कोई और खास इंतजाम किया जायेगा?

अध्यक्ष महोदय :इनको पहले रिलीज तो हो कर आने दीजिये ।

यशपाल सिंह: यह जानने के लिए कि इन लोगों को इनडाक्ट्रिनेट तो नहीं किया गया है, इन को किसी खास कैम्प में रख कर इंटेरोगेट किया जाएगा या ऐसे ही रख लेंगे

अध्यक्ष महोदय :यह बात इस वक्त नहीं उठती है ।

[Translation begins:

Raghunath Singh: I wish to know whether these people would be released in one instalment? I also wish to know, whether those who are released would be taken into their units or there would be any special provision of stay for them?

Speaker: First let them get released.

Yashpal Singh<sup>224</sup>: I Simply want to know that whether these people have been indoctrinated, would they be kept separately and interrogated? Or kept as it is.

Speaker: This question does not arise now.

Translation ends]

N.G. Ranga <sup>225</sup>: In regard to brainwashing, whether the Government have any information.

Speaker: That he is not asking. He might put the question again.

224. Congress.

225. Swatantra Party.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

यशपाल सिंह: ये जो प्रिजनर्स आफ वार छोड़े जायेंगे, इनको चाइनीज गवर्नमेन्ट ने इनडाक्टरिनेट तो नहीं किया है, यह जानने के लिए सरकार उन्हें किसी खास कैम्प में इंटेरोगेट करने के लिए रखेगी या ऐसे ही रख लेगी।

[Translation begins:

Yashpal Singh: These prisoners of war who are being released, does the government plan to keep them in a separate camp to interrogate them and know whether they have been indoctrinated by the Chinese Government or not?

Translation ends]

Speaker: Now Mr Ranga is satisfied that that was not the question.

N.G. Ranga: I could not follow the Hindi.

Hem Barua:<sup>226</sup> In view of the fact that the decision of the Chinese to release the Indian POWs in their hands is propagated as an act of mercy by China since we did not take any step to effect their release, may I know what steps Government have taken or propose to take to see that China does not get an opportunity to march over us in this political propaganda?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What were the last few words?

Hem Barua: China is trying to take a diplomatic, that is political, advantage out of it.

Speaker: If he repeats the questions, he would take too long. Shall we look into this matter that China does not take an opportunity to march over us in this diplomatic move?

Jawaharlal Nehru: If I have to answer that, each country normally tries to better its own propagandist position and China, would, no doubt, try to do so, and it is up to us to do so too.

प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री: जिन भारतीय युद्धबंदियों की ओर से छोड़ने की बात हुई है, इनके सम्बन्ध में भारत सरकार ने चीन सरकार को क्या कुछ लिखा था, यदि हां तो क्या

226. PSP.



चीन भारत पर भारत में नजरबन्द चीनियों को जहां तक छोड़ने का ताल्लुक है, प्रभाव तो नहीं डालेगा या उन पर किसी प्रकार का प्रभाव तो नहीं पड़ेगा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: जी नहीं, हम ने चीन सरकार को इस बारे में कुछ नहीं लिखा था। जो चीनी यहां नजरबन्द हैं, वह तो गालिबन चीन वापिस जायेंगे और हम ने पहले से ही उनकी इस बारे में रजामन्दी ले ली है। उनके लिए कुछ चीनी जहाज आ भी रहे हैं और वे उनको ले जायेंगे। हम ने उनको कहा था कि वे चाहें तो जा सकते हैं। कोई अगर जाने से इन्कार करे तो हम उसको जबर्दस्ती चीन नहीं भेजेंगे।

[Translation begins:

Prakash Vir Shastri:<sup>227</sup> What has the Government of India written to the Government of China, regarding the release of these prisoners of war? If so, would the Chinese put pressure on India to release those Chinese who are under house arrest in India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No Sir. We have not written anything in this regard to the Government of China. Those Chinese who are under house arrest here, we have already taken their consent about returning to China. Some Chinese ships are coming for them to be shifted. We told them that whoever wants to go back to China may do so. If some refuse to go back, we would not force them.

Translation ends]

Harish Chandra Mathur<sup>228</sup>: Do I take it that this is a unilateral action by China just like the ceasefire and that there is no special significance about it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member may take it as he likes.

Kapur Singh<sup>229</sup>: May I know whether it is true that the Chinese usually make a small monetary gift to each released Indian POW with exhortation to deposit the same in the National Defence Fund of India? If so, whether our Government perceive some slight evidence of Chinese contemptuousness towards our defence preparations?

227. Independent.

228. Congress.

229. Swatantra Party.

Speaker: Whether it is a fact that the Chinese, whenever they release Indian Prisoners, give them some money just with the purpose of having it deposited in the Indian National Defence Fund.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not heard of it.

बूटा सिंह: चीन के कहने के मुताबिक उस के पास 3,213 युद्धबन्दी हैं जिन को वह छोड़ने जा रहा है। मगर हमारे रक्षा मंत्री जी ने जनवरी में बताया था कि उनके विचार के अनुसार 3,350 प्रिजनर्स आफ वार चीन के पास हैं। क्या हम यह समझें कि डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब का स्टेटमेंट सही है या जो चीन कहता है, वह सही है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: अब जो उन्होंने रिलीज करने को कहा है वह पढ़ दिया गया कि इतने रिलीज किये जायेंगे।

द्वारका दास मंत्री: यह जो बन्दी आने वाले हैं हमारे यहां, उनके पश्चात भी क्या चीन सरकार के पास हमारे यहां के युद्धबन्दी बाकी रहने वाले हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उन का बयान यह है कि जितने उनके पास हैं, वह भेज रहे हैं मैं यकायक नहीं कह सकता कि जो फिगर्स उन्होंने दिये हैं, जो गिनती दी है, वह हमारे हिसाब से सही है या नहीं।

[Translation begins:

Buta Singh:<sup>230</sup> According to China, they have 3,213 prisoners of war, who they are going to release. But our Defence Minister had stated in January that in his estimate about 3,500 POWs are with China. Do we understand that our Defence Minister's figures are correct or those of the Chinese?

Speaker: Now they have said that these are the number which they are going to release. That has been read out.

Dwarka Das Mantri:<sup>231</sup> After the release of these prisoners of war, would there be any more POWs with China?

230. Congress.

231. Congress.



Jawaharlal Nehru: They have stated that they are sending the prisoners of war with them. Outrightly, I cannot say whether the figures, the numbers, that they have given are correct or not.

Translation ends]

#### **501. At the AICC<sup>232</sup>**

At this stage Shri Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the house. He said, to some extent he was responsible for postponing the AICC meeting. He admitted his mistake in doing so.

Referring to the technique of modern warfare Shri Nehru said, modern science and technology worked behind these wars. USA and Russia had developed their knowledge of science. Their strength also increased due to industrial revolution. For India it was necessary to strengthen economic position to fight Chinese aggression. It was, therefore, all the more necessary to implement our Five Year Plan. It took 125 years of revolution for England and USA to increase their strength and come to the modern states. We cannot wait so long, it is therefore, most essential that we should bring socialism through democratic means.

Shri Nehru said, “I cannot understand any self respecting Indian or party being prepared to hand over the future of India to some other country in the name of protecting her. Non-alignment is an attribute of sovereignty. By alignment you give up a bit of your sovereignty, as decisions are taken by somebody else which you have to follow because you are aligned. I am not willing to leave the responsibility of the country in the hands of another country.”

Shri Nehru expressed his surprise at Shri Mahavir Tyagi’s criticism on the paragraph referring India-China Border disputes to the International Court, or to arbitration. He said Article 51 which laid Directive Principles of State Policy, actually directs us in regard to international dispute in our Constitution. Shri Nehru quoted the above Article which reads as follow:

51. The State shall endeavour to

(d) encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

232. Report of speech, 6 April 1963, with D. Sanjivayya, the Congress President, in the Chair. [Discussion on “Chinese Aggression” resolution]. NMML, AICC Papers, Box 5, F. No. CD(i)/1963.

This is right, Shri Nehru said, because that is the whole tendency of this age. We talk of one world—something of world order which means all countries coming together with a great deal of freedom but subject to a world order. This is to ensure that no war takes place.

Referring to the role of other parties Shri Nehru said what exactly are we after? We want unity and I believe from the point of view of defending India from a foreign aggressor, there is unity. Maybe there are a few persons who feel otherwise, but all agree, broadly speaking, about it. But, he said, you will have noticed that in the last three or four months, maybe after the first excitement of Chinese aggression wore off, this unity, as far as language concerned, has worn off gradually, certainly as other parties are concerned. They go all out criticising the Congress and the Government whether in Parliament or local Assemblies. Continuing, Shri Nehru said, I am really surprised and pained in the way opposition parties attack us. When these groups and parties, who criticised the Congress and the Government's principles and policies, found that their criticism was not making much impact on the people generally they were now concentrating on individual Ministers and the like, and making a "new attack" of corruption against them. Shri Nehru said, "I am here to defend every individual or every Minister. But I do think this kind of new attack that is taking place—it is not very new—is due to the facts that they (critics) have failed and they have to enter this ground. I do not think anybody can attach greater importance to putting an end to corruption and all that. It is an evil thing which we must put down. There can be no two opinions about it. We must and I believe we will, but what I am trying to draw attention to is how sometimes in Parliament, often outside, sometimes in the press, this kind of attack is made on individuals, thereby indirectly to bring the Congress organisation or the Congress Government into disrepute. I do not mind if any attack is made if there is a basis for it. I don't want to live in a glass house, not at all. I am only pointing out what is done in the name of having unity.

Explaining the foreign policy Shri Nehru said, foreign policy is an extension of the domestic policy. Conservative groups at home attack domestic policy and so also they attack foreign policy abroad. These are the same parties which talk against socialism also. Shri Nehru said that he found that the persons who shouted the loudest in this matter of Chinese aggression were the most reactionary people otherwise. They want to hide their reaction by loud shouting, not realising that it is not the way of meeting the Chinese menace.

Referring to communal organisations Shri Nehru said that they are based on some conception of the world that has long ceased to be. But they have one point in their favour because they can shout loudly and stridently about Bharat Mata.



Continuing Shri Nehru said we in India are passing through difficult phase of our history world history. Chinese invasion is very powerful country's invasion, but, it was hardly conceivable that either China or India could defeat the other completely. There might be defeat or victory in a battle, but it was obvious that one country cannot knock out the other completely. The possibility however was that this kind of conflict with some variations might go on for a dozen years or more. There might be other developments like a world war. The world is changing and we should try to change ourselves accordingly. Shri Nehru said, "I am admitting Congress has committed some mistakes in the past and is not so strong a party as it ought to have been; however, we should strengthen the Congress organisation and maintain unity. It is of utmost importance that Congress should function with vision and unity. We have to think of new conditions and Congress has to prepare itself for its historic tasks."

#### **502. To C.B. Gupta: Leave Peace Marchers in Peace<sup>233</sup>**

April 6, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

You spoke to me the other day about the so-called Peace Marchers. I said then that it would be inadvisable to take any action against them because of something they might have said. The more I think of it, the more I am convinced that any action against them would be harmful and it would react against us in many foreign countries. In China especially, advantage will be taken of this against us. So, I hope you will not have any action taken against them.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **503. Arrest of Dudjoma Rimpoche<sup>234</sup>**

[Note, 6 April 1963, by Nehru, begins]

Please see the attached telegram from the Dalai Lama.<sup>235</sup> I do not know why this arrest of Dudjoma Rimpoche has taken place. Unless there are very special

233. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

234. Noting. MHA, File No. 25/67/63, F. VIII, p. 3/n.

235. Telegram, 6 April 1963, from Dharamshala: "Highly concerned about sudden arrest at Siliguri Dudjoma Rimpoche Great Lama enjoying my full confidence stop Rimpoche in very serious health stop grateful personal intervention for immdte release stop kindest regards. Dalai Lama." MHA, File NO. 25/67/63 F. VIII, p. 5.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

reasons, it should be avoided. If the West Bengal Government were responsible for it, they might be asked by telephone.

Jawaharlal Nehru  
6.4.1963

[Note, 6 April 1963, by Nehru, ends]

[Note, 7 April 1963, by M.J. Desai, the FS, for Yousuf Ali Mulla, the DIB, begins]

I will be grateful if DIB will kindly request his colleague concerned to give me the details. IB have been getting the details from West Bengal during the last 3 days or so.

2. West Bengal's letter of 4th April is attached.

M.J. Desai  
7.4.63

DIB (Shri Y.A. Mulla)

[Note, 7 April 1963, by M.J. Desai, the FS, for Mulla, the DIB, ends]

[Enclosure from IB, referred to in M.J. Desai's note, begins]

### Intelligence Bureau (MHA)

The Intelligence Branch of the West Bengal CID have no other information about Dudjoma Rimpoche on their records besides what has been stated in West Bengal's letter of 4th April.<sup>236</sup> A note on him which is based on information available with us is enclosed.

The senior officials of the Dalai Lama are aware of the collaboration that Dudjoma Rimpoche had extended to the Chinese when he was in Tibet but they tend to play it down as having been no more serious than the collaboration

236. The telegram is available in the same file, but not reproduced. The relevant part reads: "Information against him on the records indicates that the subject was sent to Bhutan and Sikkim by the Chinese as an envoy with instructions to persuade the ruling families of both the states to facilitate the entry of Chinese officials and troops into these states ... It is reported that he was the head of the Chotsag, a religious body set up by pro Red Tibetans to reorientate teachings in light of Communism. He was also made a Lensi (translator of literature) by the Communists in Lhasa."



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

practised by several others in the then prevailing circumstances. They add that the Chinese made special efforts to press senior monks (and senior officials) to work for them by giving them specific tasks and this would, in their opinion, explain his actions. However, his record, especially after the Dalai Lama's complete break with the Chinese and escape to India, shows some signs of a continuing affiliation. Therefore, his presence in or prolonged visits to frontier areas cannot but be treated with considerable misgivings and suspicion.

M.M.L. Hooja  
Joint Director  
9.4.63

MEA (Shri M.J Desai)

[Enclosure from IB, referred to in M.J. Desai's note, ends]

#### **504. To H. B. Keight: Non-Alignment Remains<sup>237</sup>**

April 7, 1963

Dear Mr Keight,

I have your letter of the 2nd February.

In spite of the Chinese aggression and invasion of India, we fully intend to keep up our policy of non-alignment.

We have, as you perhaps know, fully accepted the Colombo Powers proposals without any reservation. China, however has not done so and has raised various objections. We have even offered to send this entire case for the decision of The Hague Court of International Justice or refer it to arbitrators agreed upon by the two countries.

The spirit of the Bandung Conference has been completely broken by China by her invasion of India.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

237. Letter to the Honorary Secretary of the National Peace Council, 784, Hagley Road West, Quinton, Birmingham.

## 505. In Abusa: Economic and Military Development<sup>238</sup>

Real Swaraj After Hunger Is Removed  
Nehru Asks People to Bear Extra Burden

Allahabad, April, 26 – Prime Minister Nehru yesterday asked the people to bear the burden of fighting Chinese aggression on our borders and of removing poverty from the country.

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing a public meeting at the village of Abusa in his constituency,<sup>239</sup> said that he was confident that they could successfully fight both the battles by stepping up production on fields and factories.

The Prime Minister said that India was engaged in removing poverty from this country by launching Five Year Plans as she believed that real Swaraj would come only when poverty, illiteracy and hunger were removed. With this end in view, she successfully executed two Five Year Plans and thereby laid sound foundations of our economic development. While she was engaged in the execution of the Third Plan, China suddenly invaded our Himalayan borders. “No doubt we offered stiff resistance and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy, we had to suffer some reverses. Our army is quite good but there were some difficulties in fighting in mountains. This, along with our unpreparedness resulted in some reverses”, he added.

### Long Drawn Affair

Pandit Nehru warned the people that the border dispute was a long-drawn affair and they would have to fully prepare themselves to fight Chinese aggression on our border. “We wanted to settle the dispute through peaceful means but China has forced us by suddenly invading our borders, to make preparations for the defence of our country. We will have to meet this challenge firmly and boldly.”

The Prime Minister said that for the defence of the country they required modern arms and huge amount of money for maintaining a well-equipped army. No doubt friendly countries including America, England and Russia, were helping them in this respect but ultimately the people of this country would have to bear the major burden of defending their motherland, “I am confident that we are quite capable of doing so”, he added.

238. Report of speech of 25 April 1963. *National Herald*, 27 April 1963, p. 7.

239. The constituency was Phulpur.



Defence, Plan to Go Together

Pandit Nehru said that some people had been suggesting that in view of Chinese aggression they should postpone the execution of the development projects and spend the money thus saved on the defence of the country. “We do not like such suggestions as we believe that both the defence of the country and the economic development should go together.”

He said that in his opinion Chinese invasion was a blessing in disguise as it had awakened the people of the country and had brought national integration overnight.

**506. In Digha: Economic and Military Development<sup>240</sup>**

No Way Yet for Talks with China  
Nehru Reaffirms India's Stand  
No Reliance on Foreign Aid

Digha, April 28 – Prime Minister Nehru said here today that no way had yet been found for direct round-the-table talks between China and India on the border issue.

Pandit Nehru, who was inaugurating the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Political Conference here, said that India's condition was that before she agreed to sit on the conference table, China must accept the Colombo conference proposals.

India, he said, was a peace-loving nation and as such, she did not want war with anybody. “but that does not mean we would succumb to any dictation from any power”, he added.

Pandit Nehru said: “China has betrayed us and we would have to face the situation created by her. But this cannot be done by calling her names or using harsh language.”

The Prime Minister said that it was wrong to suggest that India should rely on foreign assistance to ward off the Chinese attack. Foreign assistance, he said, could not continue for ever and, ultimately, the country would have to solve its problems by itself with its own strength. “We will welcome assistance and help from friendly countries, but, simultaneously, we must build up our own strength”, he added.

240. Report of speech. *National Herald*, 29 April, 1963, p.1.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

To build up her strength, Pandit Nehru said, India must increase her military as well as economic strength. That was why the country had decided that the Five-year plans must go on.

### More Production

Unless the country could increase production in the fields and factories, she could not increase her military strength, he said.

Pandit Nehru asked the people to be courageous. He said that mere military strength was not enough. People must have the courage to face the present-day world problems, which were changing everyday. They must be mentally strong and their morale must remain high, he added.

Pandit Nehru, in a passing reference to Acharya Vinoba Bhave and his mission, said that the Bhoodan leader was one of the foremost disciples of Mahatma Gandhi. He was trying in his own way to bring about a peaceful transformation of the social life.

The Prime Minister said that he might differ from the Acharya on various issues but he had great regard for his conviction and boldness.

Reverting to the Sino-Indian border problem, Pandit Nehru said, a war was thrust on India by a neighbor with whom she had friendly relations for the last one thousand years at a time when India was busy building up her economy.

### Chinese Propaganda

Pandit Nehru referred to the Chinese propaganda and said that he was amazed by the falsehood the Chinese could resort to for their selfish aims. For, if they were to be believed, their encroachment of 100 to 150 miles into Indian territory was by way of “self-defence”. This was ridiculous but still it was the main purport of Chinese propaganda, he said.

India’s sincere desire for a peaceful solution had been proved by her acceptance of the Colombo proposals, though they did not conform to all her demands, the Prime Minister said. It was China which had been refusing to accept the proposals. But what was to be done?

Pandit Nehru said that Mr Ali Sabry, the UAR Prime Minister, had apprised him of his talks in Peking with the Chinese leaders, but no new avenues, which could pave the way for direct negotiations between India and China had been thrown up.

Under the circumstances, Pandit Nehru added, India could not rest content unless she built herself up sufficiently strong, militarily or otherwise, to check the evil designs of a neighbour.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

#### (f) Colombo Proposals

##### 507. To A.E. Wickramasinghe<sup>241</sup>

February 14, 1963

Dear Mr Wickramasinghe,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th February.

You refer to our acceptance of the Colombo Conference proposals. Previous to these proposals having been made, the Chinese made some proposals which were rejected by us. A little later, we on our part suggested that they must restore the line of the 8th September 1962, before we could talk to them about the basic questions. They rejected our proposals. The Colombo proposals essentially gave effect to our demand for restoration of the 8th September line. In some minor matters they go beyond it and in some other minor they do not come up to it fully. But there is no doubt that essentially, they give effect to what we have said ourselves. We can hardly refuse to accept a proposal which is on the lines of our own.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

##### 508. In the Rajya Sabha<sup>242</sup>

Chinese Government's Decision on the Colombo Conference Proposals.

Question:<sup>243</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have received any communication from the Prime Minister of Ceylon regarding the decision taken by the Chinese Government on the Colombo Conference Proposals; and
- (b) if so, what is the decision of the Chinese Government?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon):

- (a) No, Sir.

241. Letter; address: Yoga Research Institute, Minuvavgete, Wariyapola, Ceylon.

242. Oral Answers, 19 February 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Volume XLII, Nos. I-II, 18th February to 4th March 1963, pp. 32-36.

243. B.D. Khobragade, Republican Party of India and Surjit Singh Atwal, Congress.

(b) Does not arise.

B.D. Khobragade: May I know, Sir, whether the Government have received any information from Mr Subandrio<sup>244</sup> and Prince Norodom Sihanouk,<sup>245</sup> who paid a visit to this country regarding the reaction of the Chinese Government to the Colombo Proposals and, if so whether the Chinese Government is willing to accept the Colombo proposals? If not, what is the difference between the Colombo proposals and the point of view of the Chinese Government?

Lakshmi N. Menon: Sir, so many questions are involved in one question.

Chairman: You might deal with only one or two.

Lakshmi N. Menon: Sir, the first part is whether we have received any information from the Foreign Minister of Indonesia. The Foreign Minister of Indonesia had been here; he discussed things with us. But I do not know whether he has received any clarification from the Chinese Government.

B.D. Khobragade: I just wanted to know the reaction of the Chinese Government, if the hon. Minister is prepared to give it. May I know whether there is some sort of difference between the Colombo proposals and the point of view of the Chinese Government and, if so, what that difference is between the two viewpoints?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have had no communication from the Chinese Government on this subject even before, because we have been dealing with the Colombo countries or rather the Prime Minister of Ceylon. We can judge the Chinese Government's reactions only from the various statements and speeches that are delivered by prominent members of the Government from time to time. From that it appears that they do not agree or accept the Colombo proposals in their entirety and there are several aspects of the Colombo proposals with which they disagree strongly. That is the position. And one may probably be right in thinking that they are not going to accept the Colombo proposals as a whole. Their position is that we should accept them in principle and discuss them at a conference table, which we are not prepared to do.

244. Foreign Minister of Indonesia.

245. Head of State of Cambodia.



B.D. Khobragade: Sir, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, while speaking at the Peking air port, mentioned that the differences between the Colombo proposals and the Chinese point of view are not irreducible. He said, "I am convinced that the future will prove that the differences between the Colombo proposals and the Chinese point of view are not irreducible". In the context of this speech at the Peking air port by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, may I know whether any effort had been made by Prince Norodom Sihanouk during his visit to Delhi to change the point of view of the Government of India, because previously it had been stated that the Indian Government would accept the proposals in toto only, but from the speech of Prince Norodom Sihanouk it appears that the differences between the Chinese and the Indian points of view in regard to Colombo proposals can be reduced to the minimum? May I know from the Government whether they want to change the stand which they had taken previously that they would accept the Colombo proposals in toto, and they would not go behind?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, Sir, my mind is not agile enough to follow all this jumble.

ए0बी0 वाजपेयी: अभी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा कि जब तक चीन कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों को पूर्णतया स्वीकार नहीं करेगा, उसके साथ बातचीत करने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। क्या यह स्थिति कोलम्बो देशों को स्पष्ट कर दी गई है, क्योंकि कोलम्बो देशों के प्रतिनिधियों के ऐसे वक्तव्य आ रहे हैं - पहले घाना के मिनिस्टर आफ जस्टिस का आया, बाद में लंका के प्रधान मंत्री का आया कि शायद वे दोनों के देशों के बीच बातचीत कराने के लिये ज्यादा उत्सुक हैं, भले ही चीन कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों को पूरी तरह से स्वीकार न करे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जी, हां, हमारी तरफ से यह बात साफ कर दी गई है सबों के सामने। आइन्दा वे क्या सोचते हैं क्या नहीं, उसका मैं जवाब नहीं दे सकता।

[Translation begins:

A.B. Vajpayee<sup>246</sup>: Just now the Prime Minister said that till China accepts the Colombo Proposals completely there is no point in talking with them. Has this position been made clear to the Colombo Countries? Because, the statements that are coming from these representatives—first, the minister

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

of justice of Ghana<sup>247</sup> and later, the prime minister of Ceylon<sup>248</sup>—that even if China is not accepting the proposals completely, it is necessary, for India and China to start the talks.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. We have made our position clear to all the parties. After that what they think should be done or not, I cannot answer that.

Translation ends]

A.D. Mani<sup>249</sup>: Sir, in view of the fact that no official reply has come from the Government of China, have the Government of India taken any steps to indicate to the Colombo Powers that they cannot wait indefinitely for an answer from the Chinese Government and if the Chinese Government does not give its reply by a certain date, our Government's consent to the Colombo proposals would be considered to be void?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As I said a little while ago, we have not been in touch with the Chinese Government on this issue at all, they have never referred anything to us, nor have we done that. We have dealt only with the Colombo Powers and especially the Prime Minister of Ceylon. So, the question of our intimating something to the Chinese Government does not arise, nor does the other question arise that we should intimate and give some date by which the Chinese Government should agree to it or not. We continue functioning as we would function otherwise. Nothing prevents us from functioning as we want to. It makes no difference to us.

M.S. Gurupada Swamy<sup>250</sup>: In view of the fact that the Colombo proposals and the clarifications have been virtually rejected by the Chinese I want to know whether the Government of India still believe that any useful purpose would be served in emphasising talks with the Chinese on this basis and, if not, whether any other steps, have been suggested by the Colombo Powers, since it amounts to rejection of the proposals by the Chinese Government.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I am afraid these are rather complicated and roundabout questions which have already been answered. Any person who follows the newspapers will be able to know what is happening so far as the Colombo

247. Aaron Eugene Kofi Asante Ofori-Atta.

248. Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

249. Independent.

250. PSP.



proposals and China are concerned. This is quite a simple thing. Certain proposals with their amplifications were placed before us. We have accepted them in their entirety. Our position is that if anything is to follow from them, it must follow after the Chinese Government has also accepted them in their entirety. If they do not, then the proposals fall in so far as we are concerned.

#### **509. To Kwame Nkrumah<sup>251</sup>**

Thank you for your message of 15th which was delivered to our High Commissioner in Accra on 18th and which I received this morning.

2. As you are aware, it was after discussion of the Colombo Conference proposals for three days in our Parliament that I conveyed to Mrs Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, India's acceptance of the Colombo Conference proposals and the clarifications in toto. As this decision was taken in consultation with the Indian Parliament, no further action to implement the proposals can be taken until China accepts the Colombo Conference proposals and the Clarifications without any reservations.

3. You have mentioned in your message a compromise solution that China, while accepting the Colombo Conference proposals without any reservations may state that it wishes to serve notice that it intends to raise the two points previously described as reservations for mutual determination and settlement during the negotiations between India and China. It is not possible for us to accept this compromise solution in view of what I have stated in paragraph 2 above. So far as the Colombo Conference proposals are concerned, these are for acceptance by both parties and it would be a serious discourtesy to the Colombo Conference countries for either side to make any reservations on the Conference proposals.

4. Once the Colombo Conference proposals are accepted without any reservations and we go to the second stage of direct talks and discussions between India and China, either side can raise any points for discussion and determination and settlement by mutual agreement. It is at that stage that China may raise its reservations on the two points for India's consideration. This obviously does not mean that India will accept any of these reservations or other points that the Chinese might raise. But all points that may be raised by either

251. Telegram, from M.J. Desai, the FS, to the High Commissioner in Accra, 19 February 1963. It begins thus: "Please deliver the following message from Prime Minister to President Nkrumah in reply to the latter's message of 15th conveyed in your telegram 17 of 18th February."

side can be considered and decisions arrived at by mutual agreement between India and China. In brief, there should be no preconditions of any kind by either party and both should accept the Colombo Conference proposals without any reservations. This is the only basis on which direct talks between India and China can be started on the question of implementation of these proposals.

5. I do not know whether you are keeping Mrs Bandaranaike and the other members of the Colombo Conference informed about your message of the 15th and my reply. I am asking our High Commissioner in Ceylon to give Mrs Bandaranaike copies of our message of 15th and this reply and leaving it to her to keep her colleagues of the Colombo Conference informed.

With kind regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

## 510. In the Lok Sabha<sup>252</sup>

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state<sup>253</sup>:

- (a) The progress, if any, made in furtherance of the Colombo Proposals regarding India-China border settlement; and
- (b) The nature of China's final reaction in the matter?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon):

- (a) The Government of India have conveyed their acceptance in toto of the Colombo proposals to the Prime Minister of Ceylon.
- (b) The Government of India have not so far received any definite information regarding China's final official reaction to these proposals.

Harish Chandra Mathur: May I know what is the Government of India's reaction to the Chinese attitude subsequent to our acceptance of the Colombo Proposals? We have accepted the Colombo Proposals and the Chinese have not accepted them. We do not know what they intend to do. Are there any indications of any fruitful negotiations or are we going to wait endlessly? What is the Government of India's reaction to the Chinese attitude subsequent to our acceptance of the proposals?

252. Oral Answers, 25 February 1963, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XIII, 18th February to 2nd March 1963, pp.883-890.

253. Harish Chnadra Mathur, Congress; and 25 others.



The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): There is no question of our reaction. We continue doing what we would normally do. But the fact is clear that if the Chinese do not accept the proposals, then those proposals fall to the ground.

Harish Chandra Mathur: If the Chinese do not accept the proposals, how long do we wait for their acceptance? That is one part of the question. The situation is this. There is great confusion in the country. If we wait endlessly, there may be stalemate to our disadvantage. I want to know whether we are preparing to meet the fresh Chinese aggression or we are preparing to get the Chinese aggression vacated.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of waiting for anything. We prepare our defence and take such steps as we think are desirable. We are not conditioned by any waiting period.

म0ला0 द्विवेदी: कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव जो भारत सरकार के सामने आये उनके बारे में ख्याल किया जाता था कि चीन ने उन्हें स्वीकार कर लिया है। लेकिन अब मालूम हो रहा है कि चीन उन्हें स्वीकार नहीं कर रहा है। राज्य मंत्री महोदय ने बतलाया कि अभी चीन से सरकारी तौर पर कोई चीज नहीं मालूम हो सकी है, केवल अखबारों में पढ़ा है कि चीन उनको स्वीकार नहीं कर रहा है। मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि इसमें कहां तक तथ्य है और इस सम्बन्ध में भारत सरकार और सीलोन सरकार में क्या लिखा पढ़ी हो रही है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: चीन की सरकार की तरफ से मुख्तलिफ बयानात हुए हैं। उन से ऐसा मालूम होता है कि वह उनको स्वीकार नहीं कर रही है। कोई जाब्ते की सूचना हमारे पास नहीं आई है, न इस सिलसिले में चीन से हमारा कोई पत्र व्यवहार हुआ है। जो हुआ है वह कोलम्बो के जरिये से ही हुआ है। कोलम्बो वाले कर रहे हैं। उनसे हमारा ताल्लुक हैं हम उनसे कहते हैं। वह भी उनसे बतलाते हैं। उनको मालूम होना चाहिये कि उनका क्या फैसला हो रहा है।

यशपाल सिंह: क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि ऐबनार्मल हालात में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री नार्मली क्यों मूव कर रहे हैं।?

अध्यक्ष महोदय: ऐबनार्मल हालात में प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब नार्मली क्यों मूव कर रहे हैं, इसका क्या जवाब हो सकता है?

जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती: भातर चीन विवादास्पद सीमा रेखा के विषय में क्या हमारी सरकार सेना से निवृत्त अथवा सेना में विद्यमान सेनापतियों से परामर्श करती रहती है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैं प्रश्न को पूरा समझा नहीं, इसलिये जवाब क्या दूं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: मैं भी पूरी तरह नहीं समझा।

जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती: क्या भारत सरकार इस रेखा के झगड़े के बारे में अपने मिलिटरी के रिटायर्ड और आन ड्यूटी जनरलों से परामर्श करती रही है या नहीं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: भारत सरकार का काम है कि वह अपने मिलिटरी सलाहकारों से हर वक्त सलाह ले। बल्कि भारत सरकार के एक खास नुमाईन्दे जो कि डिफेन्स मिनिस्ट्री है, रक्षा मंत्री हैं, वह डिफेन्स मिनिस्ट्री से रोज मिलते रहते हैं और बातचीत करते रहते हैं। वह हैं ही डिफेन्स मिनिस्ट्री में। मैं भी मिलता रहता हूं। जो पुराने हमारे आफिसर्स हैं, रिटायर्ड, उन्हें हमने मिलिटरी अफेयर्स कमेटी में रखा है। इसमें जो पुराने अफसरान हैं और जो आजकल के चीफ आप स्टाफ हैं, डिफेन्स मिनिस्टर हैं, वह मिलते रहते हैं, मशवरा करते रहते हैं और एक दूसरे की राय मालूम करते हैं।

प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री: पहले प्रधानमंत्री जी ने संसद के पिछले अधिवेशन में कहा था, और समाचार पत्रों में भी कुछ ऐसे समाचार प्रकाशित हुए थे, श्रीमती भंडरानायके के द्वारा उन्होंने कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों के सम्बन्ध में चीन से कुछ और स्पष्टीकरण सरकार के पास आये हैं, और यदि आये हैं तो क्या प्रधान मंत्री उनसे सन्तुष्ट हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जी नहीं हमने कोई स्पष्टीकरण प्राप्त करने की कोशिश नहीं की है। जब कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव आये थे उस वक्त उन्होंने सफाई पेश की थी। हम ने उन से कोई बहस नहीं की थी। हमने उनसे पूछा था कि उस के माने क्या हैं। उन्होंने बतलाया उसे हमने स्वीकार कर लिया। उस के बाद हमने कोई बहस नहीं की हमने खाली लिखा है कि वह हमें बतला दें कि चीनी जवाब क्या है।

प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री: कोई उत्तर आये हैं या नहीं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : आये तो कई उनके पत्र और तार हैं, लेकिन यह बात साफ नहीं हुई।



[Translation begins:

M.L. Dwivedi:<sup>254</sup> It was being understood that China has accepted the Colombo Proposals which were submitted to India. But now we know that China has not accepted them. The Minister of State said that officially China has not said anything. What we know is mainly from newspaper reports. I want to know how far these are correct and what is transpiring between the Governments of India and Ceylon.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There have been various versions and statements from the Chinese side. From that one can surmise that they are not accepting it. We have neither received any definitive information regarding this nor have we had any exchange of letters with China regarding this. Whatever has happened, has been through Colombo. We are connected with them. We speak with them. And they speak with China. The Colombo powers should know what is the Chinese decision.

Yashpal Singh:<sup>255</sup> May I know why in these abnormal circumstances our Prime Minister is moving so normally?

Speaker: In abnormal situation why the Prime Minister is moving normally-- what kind of answer can be given to this.

Jagdev Singh Sidhanti:<sup>256</sup> About the disputed border issue between India and China, does our Government consult with the Army Generals who are retired or are in service?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not understand the question; hence, how should I answer?

Speaker: I too did not understand it fully.

Sidhanti: Whether the Government of India consults with the retired or in-service Generals about the boundary issue?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The duty of the Government of India is to consult with the military advisers. Specially, the Defence Minister meets with the Military

254. Congress.

255. Independent.

256. Haryana Lok Samiti.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Advisers almost everyday. They are the Defence Ministry. I too keep meeting them. We have inducted some of our retired Officers into the Military Affairs Committee. In this committee the old officers and the new chiefs and the minister all exchange views and consult with each other.

Prakash Vir Shastri:<sup>257</sup> The Prime Minister had said in the last session of the Parliament, and the newspapers also carried some report that he had asked for some clarifications from China through Mrs Bandaranaike. May I know, whether any such clarification has been received and is it to the satisfaction of the Prime Minister?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No Sir. We have not tried to get any clarifications. When the Colombo Proposals came, they had given clarifications. We did not enter into any arguments with them. We asked for the meaning of some things and whatever they said in clarification, we accepted them. We have not argued anything with them. We have only written that they should convey to us the Chinese response.

Prakash Vir Shastri: Has any reply come or not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There have been letters and telegrams, but there is no clear response.

Translation ends]

Hari Vishnu Kamath:<sup>258</sup> The Chinese, Sir, have announced unilateral ceasefire; we have announced unilateral acceptance of the Colombo proposals. May I know whether during the discussions with the Colombo nation's representatives in New Delhi last month the question of the release and repatriation of Indian prisoners of war in Chinese custody was raised as pre-condition for talks with the Chinese at the conference table?

Speaker: That is a different thing; that does not come under this question.

H.P. Chatterjee:<sup>259</sup> May I know whether, as the situation today is, there is any remote possibility of the representation of the Chinese Government and the representatives of the Indian Government meeting together?

257. Independent.

258. PSP.

259. Independent.



Speaker: What can one say of the remote possibility.

बड़े: जैसा अभी प्रेस में भी आया है, क्या यह सच है कि कोलम्बो प्रपोजल्स के ऊपर फिर कैरो में मीटिंग होने वाली है, और क्या शासन के पास इस की कोई इन्फार्मेशन आई है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: जी नहीं, ऐसी कोई सूचना नहीं आई है।

[Translation begins:

R.V. Bade: As has been reported in the press, there is going to be further discussions on the Colombo Proposals in Cairo. Does the Government have any information regarding this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No sir. We have no such information.

Translation ends]

Hem Barua:<sup>260</sup>In view of the fact that Mr Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the Chinese Council of Ministers is reported to have said: “we have attacked India once; if she does not learn a lesson, we will attack her again and again and again”, may I know whether the Government are having second thoughts on the Colombo Proposals in the context of this arrogant attitude of China?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not clear to Government how the two are connected in the slightest; hon. Member would perhaps explain that at a suitable moment. It has nothing to do with each other.

Hem Barua: They believe in war and not peaceful talks.

Speaker: Order, order.

Hem Barua: The Prime Minister wanted me to explain.

Speaker: I am not asking him to explain. He is sufficiently clear.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Sivamurthi Swamy:<sup>261</sup> May I know whether any final date has been fixed by which these Colombo proposals will be dropped by the Colombo Powers.

N.G. Ranga:<sup>262</sup> So far as we are concerned.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of fixing any final date. They do not come in our way in regard to anything we want to do. We go on preparing ourselves.

N.G. Ranga: Provided we want to do something.

Speaker: There is one thing which I must bring to the notice of hon. Members. When one supplementary is put by one Member, other supplementaries are put by other members while they are sitting. That does not create a good impression. Now Shri Heda.<sup>263</sup>

H.C. Heda: My question has been partly covered.

Speaker: Then he need not put it.

Heda: It is only partly covered, not fully. Have we given any impression to the Colombo Powers that we would be waiting for the Chinese reaction to their proposals indefinitely?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not follow the question.

Speaker: Have we given any impression to the Colombo Powers that we would be waiting indefinitely for the Chinese to give their reaction to the Colombo Proposals.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously, we have not and we cannot do so. It does not make the slightest difference whether the Chinese accept or do not accept the proposals. It does not come in the way, at the present moment. It would, if the Chinese accept the proposals, when certain things follow. If they do not accept, those things do not follow.

261. Lok Seva Sangh.

262. Swatantra Party.

263. Congress.



Nath Pai:<sup>264</sup>We have accepted the proposals in toto and the Chinese claim to have accepted them in principle and there seems to be a stalemate. Is the Prime Minister aware whether the authors or sponsors of those proposals are taking any initiative, any steps, any measures to break this stalemate?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What I know is that they are in correspondence with each other, some of them with the Chinese Government also.

Nath Pai: My question has not been answered.

Speaker: The question was whether any measures were taken to break the stalemate.

Nath Pai: Our understanding was that both parties will have either to accept them or reject them in toto. Since India has accepted them, we have the responsibility to find out whether they have accepted them in toto or not.

Speaker: I have understood the question, as follows: there was a stalemate. We have accepted the proposals and the Chinese have not. Are the Colombo Powers taking any measures to break the stalemate? Answers has been given to that question.

कमल नयन बजाज: मेरा सवाल इतना है कि जबकि वह चीन के प्रस्ताव लेकर मिल कर आयीं और प्रिस्मिंल में वहां मंजूर हो गये और फिर यहां आने के बाद जो शंकाएं हमारी थीं उनका उन्होंने हमें स्पष्टीकरण और जवाब दे दिया और हमने उन स्पष्टीकरणों के साथ कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों को मंजूर कर लिया तो फिर चीन को उससे वापिस जाने की दरकार क्या थी और इसका कारण क्या है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यहां पूरे तीन दिन तक इस सम्बन्ध में बहस हुई है और सब समझाने की कोशिश की गई है। अब मैं कैसे जवाब दूं, चीन की तरफ से, जाकर खुद लिखिये चीन को।

[Translation begins:

Kamal Nayan Bajaj:<sup>265</sup> Can the Prime Minister throw some light on when the Prime Minister of Ceylon with the Proposals went to China and the Chinese accepted it in principle; and then she came to India. Here, whatever doubts we had...

264. PSP.

265. Congress.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Speaker: Do not repeat the history again.

Bajaj: My question is, when she met with the Chinese and they accepted in principle and here she clarified all our doubts, and we on the basis of those clarifications accepted the Proposals in toto, then what was the need for going back to China? What is the reason?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have debated this for three whole days and we tried to understand all the nuances. Now how can I answer on behalf of China; you can go and write to China yourself.

Translation ends]

### 511. To Ne Win: Visit to India<sup>266</sup>

April 7, 1963

My dear Chairman,

Ambassador Mani,<sup>267</sup> who has been here for a few days for consultations, has told me about the kindness and consideration that you have always shown to him as Government of India's representative in discussing with him, frankly and in a friendly way various matters of mutual interest to India and Burma. He has also told us about your heavy preoccupations at home.

We were looking forward to your visit in April and though we are disappointed at the postponement of this visit, we fully appreciate your heavy preoccupations with numerous and complicated problems. We hope it will be possible for Your Excellency and Madame NeWin to visit India sometime later in the year.

The emergency, created by the Chinese aggression has imposed new and additional burdens on us. We are taking various measures for the defence of our independence and territorial integrity should the Chinese decide to attack again. At the same time, we are maintaining our dedication to peace and peaceful ways and to the policy of non-alignment.

Despite the crisis of confidence created by Chinese aggression, we have from time to time made various suggestions to the Government of China for peaceful settlement of our differences. We have on 3rd April sent another

266. Letter to the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Burma.

267. A.D. Mani.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

note to China<sup>268</sup> reiterating the various constructive proposals made by us and requesting the Government of China to revert to the paths of peace and accept these constructive suggestions for peaceful settlement. Ambassador Mani, who will be delivering this message, will give Your Excellency a copy of this note of 3rd April 1963.

We are grateful for the quiet and unobtrusive way in which Your Excellency and Your Excellency's Government have been using their influence with the Government of China to persuade them to revert to paths of peace. We hope that Your Excellency's efforts will succeed and the Government of China will accept the Colombo Conference proposals without reservations and start the peaceful processes for eventual settlement of the India-China differences.<sup>269</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 512. To Achmed Soekarno<sup>270</sup>

April 7, 1963

My dear friend,

Two months have passed since the visit of His Excellency Dr Subandrio, your foreign Minister, to Delhi when we had the opportunity of discussing the India-China border conflict and the initiative taken by the Governments which participated in the Colombo Conference in making proposals, the acceptance of which by both sides would consolidate the cease-fire and create the necessary atmosphere for bilateral discussions of the differences between India and China on the boundary question with a view to resolving them peacefully. Since then, various developments have occurred and the Chinese have maintained their opposition to the Colombo Conference proposals, which we have accepted without reservations.

Ambassador Pant<sup>271</sup> has been keeping us informed about the efforts being made by Your Excellency's Government, more particularly by His Excellency Dr Subandrio, to persuade China to accept the Colombo Conference proposals. We are grateful for these efforts.

268. See *White Paper*, Vol.IX, p.34.

269. See also letters to Soekarno and Nkrumah, items 512 and 513.

270. Letter to the President of Indonesia.

271. Apa Pant.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Despite the crisis of confidence created by the massive Chinese attack, we are continuing to follow the policy of peaceful settlement of our differences with China though we have, at the same time, to prepare to defend ourselves should the Chinese attack again. I am asking Ambassador Pant to give you, along with this message, copy of a note we have sent to the Government of China on 3rd April. This note, as you will see, reiterates our peaceful policies and the various steps that can be taken to resolve the India-China border conflict. We hope the Government of China will realise the error of their ways and revert to the paths of peace and accept the constructive suggestions for peaceful settlement that we have reiterated in this note of 3rd April.<sup>272</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 513. To Kwame Nkrumah<sup>273</sup>

April 8, 1963

Dear Mr President,

Thank you for your message in connection with the efforts Your Excellency and the Government of Ghana have been making to get China to accept the Colombo Conference proposals without reservations.<sup>274</sup> We are grateful for the interest Your Excellency has been taking and the efforts made so far to get China to accept the Colombo proposals without any reservations.

I have noted "the first fruit" of Your Excellency's continuing endeavours mentioned in your letter. I am glad that Your Excellency will be continuing these efforts to get China to accept the Colombo proposals without any reservations with a view to the starting of direct talks between India and China.

Despite the crisis of confidence created by China's aggression and massive attacks, we are determined to continue our policy of non-alignment, peaceful settlement of differences and promotion of peace. We have, a few days back, again approached the Government of China to revert to the paths of peace and peaceful settlement. Our High Commissioner will be handing over to Your Excellency a copy of our note of 3rd April, 1963, in which this latest approach to Peking has been made.

I hope that the efforts made by Your Excellency and Your Excellency's Government and by other participants of the Colombo Conference will bear fruit and the Government of China will, on fuller consideration, decide to

272. See also items 511 and 513.

273. Letter to the President of Ghana.

274. See appendix 55.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

accept the Colombo proposals without any reservations and start the peaceful processes which can eventually lead to peaceful settlement of the India-China differences on the border question, as indicated in our note of 3rd April 1963 to the Government of China.<sup>275</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### 514. To Bertrand Russell<sup>276</sup>

April 9, 1963

Dear Lord Russell,

Thank you for your letter of 19th March on the bilateral talks between India and China.<sup>277</sup>

As you know, the Colombo proposals were discussed in detail before the Indian Parliament accepted the Government's proposition that the Colombo Conference proposals and the clarifications be accepted in toto. I am sure you appreciate that, with the parliamentary form of government under which we function, it is not possible, even if the Government of India were otherwise agreeable, to modify the position of the Government of India on the Colombo proposals merely because the Chinese are obstructionist and recalcitrant in their attitude. On the merits, there is no case at all for any concession to Chinese obduracy.

The Chinese have, as you know, accused the Colombo Conference countries and Mrs Bandaranayke, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, of giving different sets of clarifications at Peking and Delhi. We understand that this false accusation has caused strong resentment and has been refuted by Mrs Bandaranayke in her reply to Mr Chou En-lai.

Apart from this deliberate discourtesy to the Colombo Conference countries, the Chinese have been confusing the issues involved by talking about differences between India and China on the Colombo proposals. The differences are not between India and China but between the Colombo countries who formulated these proposals and the Government of China.

275. See *White Paper*, Vol. IX, p.34; see also items 511 and 512.

276. Letter to the philosopher; address: Plas Penrhyn, Penrhyndeudraeth, Merioneth. NMML, Jawaharlal Nehru Supplementary Papers.

277. See appendix 40.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

We desire a peaceful settlement of our difference with China but this has got to be consistent with India's dignity, honour and territorial integrity. It is the Chinese who have by their aggression and massive attacks created this crisis of confidence between India and China. Despite this, we have from time to time been approaching them with suggestions for reaching a peaceful settlement. They have so far not responded at all but put in every possible pressure to force India to accept China's terms. They have followed the same attitude with the Colombo Conference countries. The Colombo proposals are neither Chinese nor Indian proposals but proposals evolved by a group of six non-aligned countries of Africa and Asia who are genuinely interested in a peaceful settlement of the India-China differences. And yet, the Chinese had the audacity to accuse the Colombo Conference countries of having given different sets of clarifications at Peking and Delhi and to state that the Colombo proposals were inconsistent and inequitable.

Consistent with our desire for a peaceful settlement, we have again approached the Government of China in the beginnings made to them from time to time for peaceful settlement of our differences. I am attaching a copy of the Government of India's note dated 3rd April in which this latest approach has been made.<sup>278</sup>

We hope the Government of China will see the error of their ways, reconsider their attitude and accept the Colombo proposals without any reservations as a first step in the series of processes which can eventually lead to a peaceful settlement of the border differences between India and China.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 515. To Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike<sup>279</sup>

April 9, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

I have not worried you with any personal communication since my message of 26th January regarding India's acceptance of the Colombo proposals and clarification in toto though, from time to time, we have, through our High

278. See *White Paper*, Vol.IX, p.34.

279. Letter to the Prime Minister of Ceylon.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Commissioner, kept you and the Ceylon Government informed about various exchanges and developments in connection with the Colombo proposals.

I saw some time back the text of Foreign Minister Chen Yi's broadcast to the Swedish TV Corporation which, amongst other things, alleged that different clarifications were given by the Colombo countries to Delhi and Peking and also made some comments on the inconsistent and inequitable nature of the Colombo proposals. Since then, I have seen from press reports that Prime Minister Chou En-lai has also written to you somewhat in a similar strain and that you have replied to him.

I have just seen a statement made by Hon. F.R. Dias Bandaranaike<sup>280</sup> which is given at pages 592 and 593 of the Ceylon Hansard of 5th April. The statement refutes the Chinese allegation that different explanations were given at Delhi and Peking. I see, however, that the Hon. F.R. Dias Bandaranaike refers to the Chinese reservations on the two points as differences that have arisen between China and India in regard to Colombo proposals. I find it difficult to accept this view as the two points of reservation directly seek to modify the Colombo proposals in material particulars. The Chinese reservations are not differences between India and China, but differences between the Colombo conference countries who made the proposals and the Government of China. I see that the Hon. F.R. Dias Bandaranaike has himself referred to the Chinese reservations as "certain questions dehors the proposals". I would take this to mean that the question raised by the Chinese are outside the scope of the Colombo proposals and are foreign or alien to these proposals.

As you know, other Governments who participated in the Colombo Conference have, just as your Government has been doing, been trying to persuade the Chinese to accept the Colombo proposals without reservations. Mr Ali Sabry is actually visiting Peking towards the end of this month and will be personally making a similar effort when he meets the Chinese leaders in Peking.

I have had occasion recently to write to the Heads of Governments of some of the countries who participated in the Colombo Conference. I am asking our High Commissioner to give copies of these communications, along with a copy of the latest note we have addressed to China on 3rd April reiterating various suggestions we had made before regarding the steps to be taken for peaceful settlement of the India-China differences on the border question.

We are grateful for the interest that you have been taking in this matter and we hope that you will continue your efforts to persuade China to accept the Colombo proposals without any reservations.

280. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister for Defence and External Affairs.

Please accept, my dear Prime Minister, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours very sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(g) Egypt

## 516. Military Manufacture Collaboration with Egypt<sup>281</sup>

The UAR Ambassador<sup>282</sup> came to see me this evening. He spoke to me of the proposal that had been made some time ago for India and UAR to cooperate in the manufacture of aircraft and military equipment.

2. He spoke particularly of aircraft and said that for some years now they had been trying to manufacture supersonic aircraft with the help of German technicians. There were about 600 German technicians in Cairo at present. They had made various plans and blueprints and had produced or were on the point of producing an engine for a supersonic aircraft. His suggestion was that India might provide the frames and bodies of the supersonic aircraft, while Egypt might supply the engines for them. In particular he referred to the HP 24 supersonic aircraft which we have made, and said that probably this engine would be just suitable for it.<sup>283</sup>

3. When Bristols were asked for designs and blueprints of a similar engine, they wanted five million pounds lump sum payment. Probably Bristols made the same demand to us in India.

4. I was told that some of our Air Force technicians went to Egypt some time ago and approved of the progress made there in various matters and were keen on our cooperating. Now I understand two of their technicians are here for talks with our air force people, and they have already visited the Hindustan Aircraft Limited. I gather the Ambassador has already seen the Defence Minister, and he must have told him what he repeated to me.

5. This is a matter which no doubt would be examined thoroughly by our Air experts and technicians, and it is only when they pass it that we can go ahead. It would be desirable for us to cooperate with the UAR in this and like

281. Note, 18 March 1963, for Y. B. Chavan, the Defence Minister.

282. Abdallah Salah.

283. See SWJN/SS/69/items 360 and 361.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

matters. Such cooperation is likely to be advantageous to both countries and will also be desirable from the political point of view.

6. The Ambassador also told me that the UAR was fairly advanced in producing rockets, projectiles, armoured cars and tanks.

#### (h) Middle East

#### **517. To Abdulla Al-Salia Al-Sabah: Visit to India<sup>284</sup>**

April 7, 1963

My dear Friend,

I am grateful to you for your kind letter of the 31st March, 1963. We were very pleased to receive your Ambassador, Mr Abdul-Razzak Razzuqi, and to have the benefit of an exchange of views with him.

We are well aware of Your Highness's sincere friendship and goodwill towards our country which we greatly cherish. We, for our part, have great respect and admiration for your person, and warm feelings of friendship and affection towards Kuwait. We would be most happy to have the privilege of a State visit by you to our country, but I am concerned to learn about your health. I hope that it will be possible, when you feel better and can spare the time, to visit us for as long as, and whenever, it may be convenient to you.

Wishing Your Highness a speedy recovery to health and with the assurances of my highest consideration,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### **518. To Ahmed Hassan El-Feki: Welcoming Federal State<sup>285</sup>**

April 13, 1963

My dear Ambassador,

Thank you for your letter dated the 11th April. I have not received the official communiqué yet. But no doubt this will merely confirm the news that we have already received.

284. Letter to the Amir of Kuwait.

285. Letter to the Ambassador of the UAR.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I am very happy at the conclusion of the long talks that have been held in Cairo and which have resulted in an agreement for the formation of a federal State. I am sure that this will lead to the happiness, prosperity and strength of the Arab people. I congratulate you upon it.<sup>286</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **519. To Gamal Abdel Nasser: The World Situation<sup>287</sup>**

April 14, 1963

My dear friend,

Our Vice-President, Dr Zakir Husain, who has just returned after his interesting and enjoyable visit to the UAR has told me about the warmth of the welcome with which he was received and your generous hospitality. I am extremely grateful to you, your colleagues and the people of the UAR for the friendly welcome and hospitality extended to our Vice-President.

We have been kept informed on the promising developments in the Arab world during the last couple of months by our Ambassador in Cairo and your Ambassador in Delhi.<sup>288</sup> I am very happy to learn that an agreement has been arrived at to form a federal State with you as President and its headquarters in Cairo. This is a great development in the Arab world and I have no doubt that it will have far-reaching results. We wish you success in the efforts you are making to guide these progressive forces in the Arab world into constructive channels in the interest of harmony and peace among the Arabs.

The East-West conflict, which threatened a world crisis last October, has eased though cold war attitudes still continue. There have, however, been interesting developments in both the Power Blocs. France under de Gaulle has been striking a new line and the Sino-Soviet differences have come out in the open. These developments are bound to affect East-West relations generally. A gradual rapprochement between the two giants, the USA and the USSR, is not unlikely.

In South East Asia, the future developments depend to a very large degree on Chinese ambitions and policies. A country of an ever growing population of 700 million, controlled by monolithic political structure, with its tradition

286. See also item 519.

287. Letter to the President of the UAR.

288. See item 518.



of expansion and its conceit and faith in its mission of world domination by force and revolution and a land army of several millions, poses a serious threat to peace not only of South East Asia but of the world. The extent to which this new aggressive and expansionist power is held in check will decide the future.

We have had to undertake various sacrifices to build up our defence potential to meet the Chinese aggressive threat. This defence build-up, though necessary, does not, however, provide the final answer. It is necessary to do everything possible to make China realise the errors of its ways and revert to the paths of peace and peaceful co-existence. In this, the Afro-Asian countries, particularly the non-aligned countries, have an important role to play. We are grateful for the positive and constructive attitude that your colleague, Mr Ali Sabry, has always taken in the discussions of the India-China conflict and we hope that his visit to Peking towards the end of this month will help in starting the various processes towards peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian differences of which acceptance by China of the Colombo proposals without any reservations is the first step. We have, through our Ambassador in Cairo, kept Mr Ali Sabry fully informed of various recent developments in this connection and are looking forward to his visit to India on his return journey from Peking towards the end of this month.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **520. UAR Federation<sup>289</sup>**

We offer our sincere congratulations on the successful conclusion of the negotiations in Cairo resulting on the final agreement on the merger of Iraq, the UAR and Syria into one federal state under the name of the United Arab Republic with its capital in Cairo. We welcome this as a great and historic achievement of Arab nationalism to which your wisdom and foresight have contributed greatly. We wish the Arab people all success in the realisation of their cherished goals and look forward to the strengthening of the existing close friendly bonds between our two peoples.

Please accept, Mr President, the assurance of my highest consideration.

289. Telegram, 17 April 1963, to Abdul Salam Muhammad Aref, President of Iraq. PIB.

(i) Nepal

**521. To M.S. Golwalkar: Relations with Nepal<sup>290</sup>**

March 1, 1963

Dear Shri Golwalkar,

I have this evening received your letter of the 27th February. Thank you for it and for the account you have given of your talks with Dr Tulsi Giri<sup>291</sup> and the King of Nepal.<sup>292</sup>

There is or has been no question of our changing in any way the sovereign independence of Nepal. We have stated this repeatedly. Only when the King discussed various questions with me and asked me for my advice, I ventured to give him that advice. But it was for him to decide. When his father, the late King<sup>293</sup> was alive, he often used to talk to me frankly.

I am convinced that it is good for both Nepal and India to remove any misunderstandings that there may be. There is no question of our taking up a doctrinaire attitude. We have to be realistic in such matters.

As you know, our Home Minister<sup>294</sup> is going to Nepal. He ought to have gone today, but owing to the sad death of Dr Rajendra Prasad,<sup>295</sup> he had to postpone his departure for Nepal by a day. His visit, I am sure, will do good.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(j) Pakistan

**522. To Rajendra Prasad: Kashmir and Arbitration<sup>296</sup>**

February 6, 1963

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of February 2nd.

We realise very well the points you have mentioned in this letter and the possible dangers that we might have to face from China as well as conceivably

290. Letter to Sarsangh Chalak, RSS.

291. Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Nepal.

292. Mahendra.

293. Tribhuvan.

294. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

295. The former President.

296. Letter to the former President, Sadaqat Ashram, Patna 10.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

from Pakistan. We are anxious to arrive at some kind of an agreement with Pakistan. Unfortunately, Pakistan's attitude has not been very helpful. However, we are trying our utmost to arrive at some settlement. Sardar Swaran Singh<sup>297</sup> is going tomorrow morning to Karachi with his team.

Your suggestion that this matter might be referred to the Hague Court or an arbitrator has often been considered by us in the past. We have again given thought to it. The Hague Court is hardly the forum to consider it. They might possibly consider the question of accession. But Pakistan is not at all likely to agree to a limited reference of that issue. The question of plebiscite will have to be considered. That involves all kinds of political considerations and interpretations of the United Nations decisions. The Hague Court can hardly consider these political matters.

However, we shall keep what you have written in mind.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### **523. To John F. Kennedy: Kashmir<sup>298</sup>**

16th February 1963

Dear Mr President,

I thank you for your letter which was delivered to me on the 7th February.<sup>299</sup> I have delayed somewhat in answering, as my colleague Sardar Swaran Singh<sup>300</sup> had already gone to Karachi, with his team of advisers, for the third round of talks with Pakistan on Kashmir and other related matters. As a matter of fact, at the insistence of Pakistan, the only subject that has so far been discussed has been Kashmir.

We fully realise, Mr President, that you are greatly interested in the solution of our difficulties with Pakistan. I am sure you will also appreciate that the continuance of these disputes has been a matter of great concern to us and that we have tried repeatedly to solve them peacefully. Ever since the Indus Water Treaty was signed, we have been pressing Pakistan for bilateral negotiations to settle all our other differences. These negotiations were, however, hardly

297. Minister of Railways.

298. Letter to the US President.

299. See appendix 6.

300. Minister for Railways.

possible as long as Pakistan insisted on acrimonious debates before the Security Council of the United Nations.

You have stated in your letter that the open Chinese aggression, perhaps, provides a new and pressing reason for a settlement between India and Pakistan. We ourselves thought so, but Pakistan has evidently taken a different view and has utilised this opportunity by supporting China in the conflict, instead of showing sympathy to us. Senior officials in Pakistan and the press have constantly tried to make out that our conflict with China was a minor affair, and they have even suggested that we were the aggressors. The border agreement with China was announced on the eve of our talks at Rawalpindi.

You have suggested that some concrete proposals should be made by us. We have given much thought to this matter, from every point of view. We are convinced that so far as the law and the Constitution are concerned, Pakistan has no case whatever, and that her seizure of 33,000 square miles of the territory of Jammu & Kashmir State unlawfully constitutes aggression on our territory. But, in spite of that, so eager have we been for some settlement with Pakistan that we want to go as far as we possibly can to bring that about. Your Ambassador<sup>301</sup> in Karachi who I am told, was keeping himself well informed of the progress of our talks, has probably informed you of the developments that took place in Karachi. Our Minister showed Mr Bhutto,<sup>302</sup> on the map the entire area that we were prepared to concede to Pakistan, east of the Cease-fire Line and south of the Cease-fire Line and the Kishenganga river. This was in addition to the part already occupied by Pakistan. These eastern areas on our side of the Cease Fire Line are, in part, heavily populated and, in the region of the Kishenganga, in the north, we showed our willingness to give away the entire river, more than half of which was under our control and the most valuable forest areas in Kashmir on both sides of the river. In return for all this we asked for insignificant areas measuring a few square miles, mainly to protect our communications to Leh and Ladakh.

Pakistan's response amazed us. It claimed the whole of the Jammu & Kashmir State with the exception of a very small area on the borders of Punjab. It seemed obvious to us that Pakistan was not really serious in this matter and was not anxious to come to any agreement.

The talks had as good as broken down at this stage; nevertheless, we agreed to make another attempt and to meet again for this purpose in Calcutta about the middle of March. We shall continue to persevere and try to reach some settlement. But I confess that I have little hope now. I fail to see what we can

301. Walter P. McConaughy.

302. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan.



do, beyond what we have suggested. Even what we have suggested is likely to create an uproar in India and put our Government in a very difficult position. However, we shall endeavour to continue our efforts.

May I pay a tribute to our colleague, Minister Swaran Singh, who led our delegation with great patience and perseverance. If we still fail, the fault, I am sure, will not be ours.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### **524. In the Rajya Sabha: Release of Colonel Bhattacharya<sup>303</sup>**

A.B. Vajpayee<sup>304</sup>: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether Government have taken any fresh steps to secure the release of Col. Bhattacharya<sup>305</sup>;
- (b) Whether the appeals of Col. Bhattacharya have been disposed of; and
- (c) If so, what judgment has been given thereon?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Dinesh Singh):

- (a) No, Sir
- (b) The writ petition for Habeas Corpus, filled by Lt. Col. Bhattacharya himself against his detention, was heard by a special Bench of the Dacca High Court from the 10th to 21st of January 1963.
- (c) On the 1st of February 1963, the Special Bench unanimously discharged the Rule Nisi issued on the East Pakistan Government on the Habeas Corpus writ petition.

ए0बी0 वाजपेयी: भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच में इन दिनों जो वार्ता हो रही है उसके अन्तर्गत क्या कर्नल भट्टाचार्य की रिहाई के सवाल को अभी तक उठाया गया है या कभी आगे उठाने का विचार है जब कलकत्ते में अगली बैठक होगी?

303. Oral Answers, 19 February 1963, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Volume XLII, Nos. I-II, 18th February to 4th March 1963, pp.62-65

304. Jana Sangh.

305. G.L. Bhattacharya was arrested on 4 April 1961 from East Pakistan border on charges of espionage.

दिनेश सिंह: इस समय तो अभी यह नहीं उठाया गया क्योंकि जैसा अभी आपने जवाब में सुना, १ फरवरी, १९६३ को यह फैसला हुआ है। लेकिन उन्होंने इजाजत दी है कि यह मामला आगे वहां की जो सुप्रीम कोर्ट है उसमें ले जाया जा सकता है। इस पर अभी विचार हो रहा है और कर्नल भट्टाचार्य भी सोच रहे हैं कि आगे क्या करें।

[Translation begins:

A.B. Vajpayee: Has the question of release of Lt. Col. Bhattacharya been raised during the current talks between India and Pakistan or is there any plan to raise it in the next round of talks going to be held in Calcutta?

Dinesh Singh: It has not been raised now, as you have heard in the answer that the judgement came only on the 1st of February. But they have permitted us to appeal to their Supreme Court. We are considering it now. Lt. Col. Bhattacharya is also thinking about the future course to be taken.

Translation ends]

Bhupesh Gupta<sup>306</sup>: In comparable situations in other countries we find that the matter is taken up also at the diplomatic level and that positive results do follow from such efforts. May I know, Sir, why in this particular case efforts are not being made also at the diplomatic level in order to secure his release?

Dinesh Singh: I did not say that efforts are not being made at the diplomatic level. The question was whether this was raised in these negotiations or talks that were going on and I said it had not been raised.

Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, in that case exactly in what manner efforts have been made at the diplomatic level by the Government and whether any representation in this connection has been made to the Pakistan Government at a high level.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The case of Colonel Bhattacharya has been in the courts of East Pakistan and the courts have decided against him. Now, the only way we can raise such a case diplomatically or otherwise—previously we did<sup>307</sup>,

306. CPI.

307. On 14 July 1961 India submitted a note of protest to Pakistan. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Series 2, Vol.59, cols. 2193-2195.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

of course, before this—after this, is in a cordial atmosphere. We can raise no legal plea about it and the courts have decided it.

Bhupesh Gupta: I am not suggesting any legal plea as such. That should be tackled. But for other larger considerations when the talks are going on between India and Pakistan—and this has been a sore point as far as we are concerned—may I know, Sir, why in that context in the appropriate way, the matter should not have been taken up at the very highest level?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think any other matter could be taken up with these talks. They were confined to one or two principal issues and we could not push in other things. It will have done no good to any other subject to be pushed in like this.

Bhupesh Gupta: I have not suggested that. I have not suggested that our representatives at the Rawalpindi talks or the Karachi talks should have taken it up, but in the context of these talks I suggested why it should not be possible for the Government to take it up, not in the talks but outside the talks, at the highest level so that we can get him released.

Chairman: Mr Gupta, you have made your suggestion.

A.D. Mani<sup>308</sup>: Did Colonel Bhattacharya ask for any financial assistance or assistance in the matter of legal counsel for prosecuting his appeal and may I know whether any allowance is being paid to the family of Colonel Bhattacharya during the pendency of this case?

Dinesh Singh: This matter was discussed here some time back and the Law Minister had made it clear that financially every assistance was being given to the family of Colonel Bhattacharya.<sup>309</sup>

A.B. Vajpayee: May I know whether the Government have any information in regard to the treatment that is being given to Colonel Bhattacharya?

Dinesh Singh: Our Deputy High Commissioner has visited him in jail and he is being looked after reasonably well.

308. Independent.

309. See the *Times of India*, 1 September 1961, for the Law Minister's statement.

**525. To E. Habibullah: India-Pakistan Federation<sup>310</sup>**

February 20, 1963

My dear Habibullah,

I have only just received your letter of the 11th February.

I agree with much that you say about India and Pakistan. But it is not at all clear to me what I can do in the matter at present. As you know, I gave a hint the other day that there might be a loose federation between India and Pakistan. The result was a furore in Pakistan or, at any rate, in the governing circles and the press there. If I repeat this, the reaction there will be sore. We have to deal with those in authority in Pakistan and they will not agree to any such proposal and will interpret it, as they have done already, as an attempt by India to swallow up Pakistan.

Logically and reasonably, the only right course for India and Pakistan appears to me to pull together and yet each of them having a great deal of autonomy. Perhaps that time will come. But at the present moment any attempt to bring it about may lead to greater ill-will and tension.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**526. To Ganesha Singh Pakhtoon: Meeting Ayub Khan<sup>311</sup>**

March 8, 1963

Dear Shri Ganesha Singh,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th March with which you have sent a copy of a letter from President Ayub Khan. President Ayub Khan has, I believe, written in all sincerity. But he blames our people and India for the difficulties that have arisen between our two countries. I do not agree with him in this opinion. However, we must go on trying to solve these problems. They have to be solved some day or the other.

310. Letter to Major General E. Habibullah; address: 11 Old Staff Quarters, Doranda, Ranchi. NMML, JN Papers – E. Habibullah.

311. Letter to freedom fighter from NWFP; address 2 Doctor's Lane, New Delhi.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

As for my meeting President Ayub Khan, I have been ready to do so for a considerable time. He did not think it worthwhile to meet me at this stage. When a suitable time comes, we shall certainly meet.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

#### 527. For *The New York Times*<sup>312</sup>

Nehru Cold to USA Backed Plan to Partition the Vale of Kashmir  
Fears it would only cause a new set of problems in dispute with Pakistan

New Delhi, April 16 – Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said today that the disputed Vale of Kashmir was a unit economically and psychologically” and India did not “at all like the idea” of partitioning it.

He added that the vale part of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, had never been divided. It is about 20 miles wide 85 miles long.

Partition of the vale between India and Pakistan north west of Srinagar, the capital, so as to leave Srinagar in Indian hands has been unofficially described as the United States Government’s idea of the “most feasible solution” of the protracted India-Pakistan dispute over the entire Kashmir area.

Mr Nehru said in an interview today, however that "such a move would create far more problems than it would solve and the chief virtue of any solution is that it would truly be a solution”.

#### Difficult to be optimistic

He said it was "difficult to be optimistic" about resolving, the Kashmir issue but he would not voice pessimism either “because we are anxious for a solution”.

Asked if we shared the United States view that a solution was vital to the security of the Indian subcontinent, he replied: "It is not a question of sharing a view we have been anxious for a solution for a long time for a variety of reasons—because it is politically and economically important.”

Commenting on a dictum of President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan that any solution would inevitably be unpopular in both countries Mr Nehru said:

"That may be true, neither country can have everything it wants. But deep frustration on either side is worse than unpopularity because the roots of the trouble would continue to grow."

312. Report of interview by Thomas F. Brady, *The New York Times* 17 April 1963, p. 14.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Western view is that the Chinese Communist threat has made a Kashmir settlement more than a war. Mr Nehru said the Chinese attack on India last fall had made a settlement more difficult because of the Pakistani reaction. Pakistan signed an agreement with China fixing the northern border of the Pakistani controlled sector of Kashmir.

### “Coercion or Blackmail”

Any element of coercion or blackmail like the China affair creates a bad impression, Mr Nehru said.

Dressed in white and seated bareheaded at his desk in his office in Parliament House, the 73 year-old Prime Minister looked his age, except when he smiled. Then the grace and charm that the 15 years of his undisputed leadership of independent India became dominant.

He spoke thoughtfully and gently, occasionally giving an impression of weariness with the 14-year old Kashmir conflict and with the urgings of his western friends to find a solution even though he might not approve it fully.

His Kashmir negotiating team to which he is said to give little discretionary authority in exchanges with the Pakistanis, faces another round next week in Karachi, the fifth since the talks began in December. United States pressure toward a compromise has been redoubled since the talks last month in Calcutta achieved only a deadlock.

Mr Nehru declined to comment on rumblings from Washington that an impasse on Kashmir would make it extremely difficult for the Kennedy administration to get essential aid appropriations for India from Congress at the end of the summer.

### Indus issue persists

The Prime Minister's weariness seemed apparent when he stressed the importance of a solution that would really resolve the differences with Pakistan instead of leaving new problems and frustrations.

He said he had thought the issue of canal and river waters of the Indus system had been settled by an earlier agreement between the two countries “but now they have raised it again in a different form: control of river headwaters.”

Yet when he summed up the Kashmir quarrel—emphasising Pakistan's part in the invasion from the north-west 15 years ago—he concluded vigorously with the statement “India's case is watertight”.

Mr Nehru spoke of most of India's current problems. The United States can best help India face the Chinese threat in two ways, he said: “by providing



us for the short term with the things we lack, by helping us for the long term to find means of producing them ourselves."

India, he stressed, wants to build up her defensive strength by relying on herself as much as possible.

As distinct from arms aid, which the west is giving, he said India "wants and expects" economic aid from the Soviet Union "in sizable quantity", particularly for the Fourth Five Year plan which will begin in less than three years.

He reaffirmed his belief that "non-alignment" was the best policy for India, "not only over the long term but even for the short term."

Despite India's reliance on the West for military support against China he said we felt no restrictions on freedom of action and manoeuvre in foreign policy. But he added "I cannot talk about our sub conscious."

A new attack by Communist China in the immediate future is doubtful, he said "though there is great tension". China, he declared is "carrying on a Cold War against India".

"She would like to divert us from our own development and she is trying, to some extent, to capture nearby markets from us with subsidised goods," he charged.

Of his Congress party which has ruled India under his command, since independence, he predicted that its unity would survive the day when the cement of his leadership must be withdrawn.

## 528. To Howard d'Egville: China and Pakistan<sup>313</sup>

April 26, 1963

My dear Sir Howard,

Thank you for your letter of April 23rd. Your previous letter dated February 27th also reached me, and am sorry for not having acknowledged it earlier. I have been rather overwhelmed with work and could not deal with my correspondence in the normal manner.

It is true that the Chinese aggression and invasion in northern India has come as a great shock to us and made us realise that we must be fully prepared to meet such aggression. This means a great burden on us. Already we were sufficiently stretched by the needs of our Third Five Year Plan. We cannot give up or postpone this Plan because that is meant to build up the essential strength of the country in Agriculture, Industry, Transport, Power, etc which are very important from the point of view even of defence. We have, therefore,

313. Letter to a member of the British-American Parliamentary Group, Houses of Parliament, London, SW1.

to shoulder a double burden now—that of implementing the Plan as well as increasing our apparatus for defence. We shall try our utmost to do this.

In view of this menace and these great burdens on us, we have requested friendly governments, and more especially the USA. and the UK to help us. At the present moment, a high power team has gone from India to the United States to explain our needs there and, early in May one of our senior Ministers, T.T. Krishnamachari, is also going to the United States and subsequently to the United Kingdom.

I can quite understand people in the USA and the UK feeling that we should come to an agreement with Pakistan. Indeed, no one can desire such an agreement more than we do, and we have been trying our best and our representatives have met the Pakistan representatives on several occasions in the last two/three months. They are going to meet again in the middle of next month. I am afraid, however, that Pakistan is not proving at all helpful. They have, as you must know, come to an agreement with China and are trying to exploit the Chinese situation to force us to agree to something which would upset India completely. Indeed, that would not even lead to a settlement. It would lead to further trouble. Anyhow, we are trying our best to find some way out of this dilemma.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## **529. Statement on Ayub Khan<sup>314</sup>**

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed<sup>315</sup> saw me this evening and he was particularly anxious that we should say something in reply to President Ayub Khan's interview.

A Calling Attention notice cannot be refused by me as I can refuse a Short Notice question. All I can do is to point out to the Speaker that it may not be desirable for a statement to be made and it is for the Speaker then to decide what to do about it. I am inclined to think that I should say something, though not much, about President Ayub Khan's statement.

314. Note, 30 April 1963, for Y.D. Gundevia, the CS. MEA, File No. P.V. 125(19)/63, p.1/notes.

315. Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.



Foreign Secretary<sup>316</sup> suggested today that I might make a general statement which might include the Sino-Indian question as it stands today and also something about Indo-Pakistan talks. A large number of Short Notice questions and Calling Attention notices have come and I am a little tired of refusing to say anything. I have therefore agreed to some such statement and asked him to draft it. The statement could be made in both the Houses. In that statement, something could be added about President Ayub Khan's interview.

**(k) South East Asia**

**530. To Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra: Formation of Malaysia<sup>317</sup>**

April 5, 1963

Dear Tunku Abdul Rahman,

Thank you for your letter of March 18, 1963,<sup>318</sup> which reached me towards the end of the month, a little before your departure for Manila.

I am glad that the facts regarding Malaysia are becoming clearer and more and more known. You have referred to our agreeing to the proposal for the formation of Malaysia at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, in September, 1962. I had occasion to make a statement in our Parliament, some time ago, and I had referred in that statement to this matter having been discussed by us at this Conference in London, and I said that we welcomed the idea of these dependant territories gaining their independence and sovereignty.<sup>319</sup> The Under-Secretary in the United Nations had visited the area at about that time and I said in Parliament that the UK Secretary-General was taking an interest "in this problem of orderly and peaceful transfer of power by the United Kingdom authorities."

When the matter was discussed by us in London in September, 1962, I was aware of the Indonesian Government having supported the proposal in the 1961 session of the UN General Assembly. The subsequent controversy has, therefore, surprised and distressed us, all the more. I have seen reports from Manila, which say that you have expressed your readiness to meet and discuss

316. M.J. Desai.

317. Letter to the Prime Minister of Malaya.

318. See appendix 37.

319. See SWJN/SS/73/item 247.

everything with President Soekarno<sup>320</sup> and President Macapagal.<sup>321</sup> All these efforts are bound to reduce the tension in this area and we hope this process will eventually permit the formation of Malaysia in a peaceful manner. For this, you will continue to have our support and good wishes.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**531. To Tunku Abdul Rahman: S.S. Khera's Visit to Malaya<sup>322</sup>**

April 14, 1963

My dear Tunku,

One of our senior Ministers, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari is proceeding to Australia and New Zealand on a brief visit. Accompanying him will be our Cabinet Secretary, Shri Sucha Singh Khera. I am sorry the Minister will not be able to break journey in Malaya as he has to proceed to the United States soon after. I have, however, specially asked our Cabinet Secretary Khera to spend some little time in Malaya and visit Kuala Lumpur. The object of his visiting Kuala Lumpur is, in the main, to convey our greetings and good wishes to you and also to discuss with your senior officers any problems in regard to our closer cooperation.

You will be interested to learn that Khera has been intimately connected with Malaya. He was, I believe, born there and spent the first twenty years of his life in Malaya. Subsequently he joined the Indian Civil Service and since then he has been serving in India in that Service. A visit to Malaya will be for him almost a home-coming.

With all good wishes and regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

320. Of Indonesia.

321. Of the Philippines.

322. Letter to the Prime Minister of Malaya.



**532. Talk with Thanet Khoman<sup>323</sup>**

The Foreign Minister of Thailand, Mr Thanet Khoman, called on the Prime Minister, today, at 12.30 p.m. and had an hour's talk with him before lunch. He was accompanied by the Thai Ambassador, Mr S. Nimmanahaeminda, and his Private Secretary, Mr Arsa Sarasin. The Secretary-General, the Foreign Secretary and myself and Shri K.V. N. Menon, US(S)<sup>324</sup> were present.

2. The Prime Minister began by asking Mr Thanet Khoman about Malaysia. The Foreign Minister said that they generally welcomed the idea of the formation of Malaysia. Their relations with Malaya were very good. They were with them in the ASA<sup>325</sup> and Thailand felt that these smaller territories of North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak joining Malaya and Singapore in a federation would be worthwhile. The Foreign Minister said that they were of the opinion that Malaysia would be good for the stability of this region, which was so essential. The Prime Minister said that there had been trouble, of late, over this issue and wondered how this was going to be resolved. Mr Thanet Khoman said that he hoped that India supported the idea of Malaysia. The Prime Minister said that the problem had been discussed in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, in September, 1962, and he had agreed that if these smaller territorial units combined in a federation, it would be for the good of the region. The assumption, of course, was that these territories would join the federation of their own free will. Indonesia was not mentioned in this discussion by either the Prime Minister or Mr Thanet Khoman.

3. The Prime Minister said that, unfortunately, there was trouble going on in Laos also and he hoped that they will be able to resolve their differences. The Thai Foreign Minister said that in his view there was outside intervention in Laos. When the Prime Minister asked who was intervening, the Foreign Minister said that in their view, both, the Chinese and Viet Minh were actively making trouble in Laos. The Foreign Minister said that the Americans had practically completely pulled out of Laos. The Prime Minister agreed that the Americans were gradually pulling out of these Regions. The Prime Minister said that unfortunately there seemed to be a certain amount of dissension among the neutralist ranks themselves. Mr. Thanet Khoman agreed that this was so, but he maintained that the trouble was really being fomented by the

323. Record of discussion with the Foreign Minister of Thailand, prepared by Y.D. Gundevia, the Commonwealth Secretary, 15 April 1963. MEA, File No. SI/104/28/62, pp.5-6/corr.

324. Under Secretary, South, of the MEA.

325. Association of Southeast Asia, a group consisting of the Philippines, the Federation of Malaya, and Thailand, formed on 31 July 1961.

Chinese and the North Vietnamese. The Prime Minister asked what Thailand's relations were with Laos and the Foreign Minister said that Prince Souvanna Phouma had been to Bangkok and the Government of Thailand certainly supported Souvanna Phouma, completely, and they wanted to see the Geneva Agreements properly implemented. We talked about the role of the ICC<sup>326</sup> and I said that we had now managed to arrange for the Commission to be able to fly to the north, the Xieng Khouang region, six times a week. Sundays were excluded, I joked, because apparently, they did not fight in Laos on Sundays. The Foreign Minister said that in the Geneva Conference they had tried very hard to arrange for the stationing of permanent teams, but they were not able to obtain an agreement on this from the Communists. I told the Foreign Minister that Souvanna Phouma, during his visit to Delhi, had told us that he wanted the Commission to move about, as much as possible, in the country and show its presence, but that was about all. The activities of the Commission were, all along, very much restricted. Mr Thanet Khoman said that the whole thing was a farce, but "nevertheless we have to go on with the farce".

4. The Prime Minister asked about Cambodia and the Foreign Minister said that they had no quarrel with Cambodia. Prince Sihanouk, however, followed a shifting policy. There always have to be two to make friendship. Cambodia had all along rejected the hand of friendship extended by Thailand, said the Foreign Minister. The Prime Minister asked if they had any border dispute with Cambodia and the Foreign Minister said that they had none. Mr Thanet Khoman's, references to Cambodia were throughout in some sort of a tone of contempt. No reference was made to Cambodia wanting guarantees of neutrality, etc.

5. About Burma, Mr Thanet Khoman said that he had met General Ne Win more than once, and their relations with Burma were perfectly friendly and cordial. The Prime Minister asked what he thought of the recent changes in Burma. Mr Thanet Khoman said that these were really internal matters and he did not like to pronounce any definite opinions about them. He, however, seemed to have pretty good faith in General Ne Win being able to manage his affairs.

6. There was a general and not a very detailed discussion of our conflict with China. The Foreign Minister explained that Thailand had no common border with China. There was nearly a hundred miles of territory between China and Thailand, shared by Burma and Laos. They, of course, did not trust Communist China at all. He said that it was not really possible for any of the smaller countries in South-East Asia to defend themselves against China, on

326. International Control Commission, 1954.



their own, and they had to seek foreign assistance. The Prime Minister generally explained our conflict with China and said that most of the countries in South-East Asia were really afraid of China and this explained a lot of their conduct towards China. Mr T. Khoman asked what Chinese intentions were towards India and the Prime Minister said that it was difficult to make a guess, but the chances were that China would not necessarily launch an immediate attack. What they would do after the rains, in the autumn, one could not say. In the meantime, the Prime Minister said, we were expanding our resources and our armed strength, as best as we were able to, and we hoped to meet the Chinese menace tomorrow or whenever it comes.

Y. D. Gundevia  
15.4.1963

### **533. To Norodom Sihanouk: Cambodian Neutrality<sup>327</sup>**

April 20, 1963

Your Royal Highness,

In November, 1962, you were good enough to send me certain proposals for ensuring the neutrality and integrity of Cambodia, as also drafts of a Declaration on the neutrality of Cambodia and a Protocol to this Declaration.

As Your Royal Highness is aware, India has been a firm and constant supporter of the freedom and neutrality and integrity of Cambodia. We have watched with great admiration the stability and progress achieved by Cambodia under your wise and able leadership. In this respect, Cambodia has been a model and a source of hope to many of us in the context of the disturbed conditions prevailing in Asia. We would, therefore, have no hesitation in doing our best to support the neutrality and independence of Cambodia.

The fact that the draft proposals have been modelled on the Laos Agreements of 1962 is a source of considerable satisfaction to me. I am firmly convinced that these Agreements represent not only the desire of the countries interested to achieve a settlement in Laos, but they also represent the large measure of agreement existing between these countries; and though the situation in Laos continues to be difficult, these Agreements still offer the best hope for a final settlement. Bearing in mind all these considerations, I have taken the liberty of suggesting some possible variations in the drafts, which are being communicated by the Indian Ambassador in Phnom Penh to the Royal

327. Letter to the Head of State of Cambodia.

Government of Cambodia for their consideration. The Government of India, for its part, would whole-heartedly support measures to ensure the continuing independence and neutrality of Cambodia.

I take this opportunity of assuring Your Royal Highness of my highest consideration and of my full cooperation in all measures for strengthening the forces of peace and progress.

Jawaharlal Nehru

### **534. To Souvanna Phouma: End Conflict<sup>328</sup>**

Your Royal Highness,

Thank you very much for your message of the 27th April.<sup>329</sup>

2. I have watched with great dismay, the outbreak of armed conflict in Laos in recent weeks. These conflicts are bound to undermine the efforts of all concerned, over many years, through the two Geneva Conferences and the International Commission, to bring lasting peace to Laos.

3. In the past few days support to the Geneva Conference and its provisions has been re-affirmed by many countries. It is my earnest hope that this will strengthen the efforts now being made in Laos itself to restore peace and the position prevailing before this conflict began, and to enable the International Commission to function effectively to implement the Geneva Protocol by establishing its presence in all parts of Laos, especially the areas of conflict.

328. Telegram to Prime Minister of Laos (1901-1984); in office from 1962-1975; 30 April 1963. MEA, File No. SI/106 (2)/63, Vol II, p. 399/corr.

329. The telegram of 27 April 1963 read: "Our Ambassador in New Delhi has cabled to me that the Government of India has been pleased to give us full support for the settlement of present Laotian crisis and that in this regard the Government of India is with us in supporting solution in accordance with which positions occupied by Neutralist troops before fighting started should be entirely restored by aggressors.

I am extremely grateful to the Government of India for this friendly understanding of our problems and I take the opportunity to request you to be kind enough to transmit heart-borne [sic] thanks to H.E. Prime Minister Nehru and to convey to him on this occasion again my respectful regards." MEA, File No. SI/106(2)/63, Vol. II, p. 361/Corr.



### III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

4. I and my Government and the people send to the Royal Loatian Government and the people of Laos our best wishes for the early restoration of peace and tranquility in their country.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

#### (l) Tibet

#### **535. To Jayaprakash Narayan: Dalai Lama and Tibet<sup>330</sup>**

April 21, 1963

My dear Jayaprakash,

I have your letter of the 17th April about Tibet. I understand a provisional answer has been sent to the Dalai Lama already. In this, we have said that we shall give full consideration to this matter somewhat later, probably in June, and shall let him know then what we propose to do.

I shall gladly see you on the 6th of May at 9.30 a.m. in my office. I am going to Gujarat on the 9th May.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### (m) UK

#### **536. To Y.B. Chavan: Guard of Honour for Mountbatten<sup>331</sup>**

April 5, 1963

My dear Chavan,

My sister Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit telephoned to me from Bombay last night. She said that our Naval people in Bombay were very keen on giving Lord Mountbatten a Naval guard of honour on his arrival in Bombay on the 29th April. But orders had been issued generally that guards of honour should be avoided. Hence, they wanted special permission.

I have told Vijaya Lakshmi that they can certainly give a Naval guard of honour to Mountbatten on his arrival. He is not coming here on a State visit,

330. Letter to the Sarvodaya leader; address: Kadam Kuan, Patna 3.

331. Letter to the Defence Minister.

as it is called. It is a private visit.<sup>332</sup> Nevertheless, he has not only been our Governor-General, but is head of the Defence Services in the United Kingdom. It would be quite fitting to give him this guard of honour.

I hope you agree with this and will have instructions sent to them accordingly.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **537. Meeting with Paul Gore-Booth<sup>333</sup>**

The UK High Commissioner saw me this evening and gave me a message from Mr Harold Macmillan.<sup>334</sup> I enclose this.

2. He was with me for a considerable time and talked in a gossiping manner of various matters, chiefly about Kashmir. There was nothing very new that he said except to express a hope that there will be a settlement between India and Pakistan in regard to Kashmir. I gave him appropriate replies and also told him that some information had reached us, which I could not confirm that Mr Khurshid of Azad Kashmir had been to China probably twice recently and further that it was reported that the Chinese military officers were in Azad Kashmir trying to give some training in guerrilla fighting. All this, I pointed out, did not help in bringing about a settlement.

3. I suppose I should send some kind of a reply to Mr Harold Macmillan.

### **538. To M.C. Chagla: Don't Invite Alec Douglas-Home<sup>335</sup>**

Your telegram 229 April 19. I do not think it would be advisable for us to invite Lord Home<sup>336</sup> to come to India after CENTO Conference in Karachi. With Mountbatten<sup>337</sup> and Rusk also coming here, this would almost seem a projection of CENTO Conference. Mountbatten and Rusk are coming here for separate specific purposes and we are going to have discussions with them

332. See sub section (m1).

333. Note, 9 April 1963, the copy does not record for whom. MEA, File No. P.V.102/34/63, p. 8/note.

334. See appendix 57.

335. Telegram No. PRIMIN-21045, 20 April 1963, to the High Commissioner in London.

336. Foreign Secretary of UK.

337. See section External Affairs, subsection (m1).



separately. If Home is here at the same time, this will come in the way of our separate talks. If, however, Home expresses a wish to come here, you can tell him that he will be welcome.

2. I might inform you that attitude of UK and US Governments in regard to Kashmir has been very bad. They have made some proposals to Karachi which are totally unacceptable to us and which will come in the way of our future talks at Karachi.

### **539. To Harold Macmillan: Partition of Kashmir<sup>338</sup>**

April 21, 1963

My dear friend,

Thank you for your message of April 9th.<sup>339</sup> It was handed over to me by the High Commissioner the same day.

I agree with you that there is no likelihood of an early renewal of Chinese attacks, but in the context of what happened last October and November, Chinese intransigence on the Colombo proposals and the malicious and vituperative propaganda poured out from the Peking Radio every day, we have to prepare for any eventuality that may arise. Apart from any immediate threat, it is clear that the Chinese attitude to India is hostile and inimical and this will continue for quite a time. We have, therefore, to prepare to meet the Chinese pressures on various fronts—military, political, economic and ideological. You must have seen from our budget proposals for the year 1963-64 that we are making determined efforts and making all sacrifices necessary to build up adequate defence, without prejudice to the implementation of our development plans. In the last resort, it is the latter that will decide whether the Chinese succeed or fail in their main objective to persuade the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa to accept their ideology, their system of Government and their policies.

I am myself equally seriously disappointed at the lack of progress in the talks between India and Pakistan on Kashmir and other related matters. The talks started on the wrong foot, with the initial hurdle created by Sino-Pakistan announcement, that they had come to an agreement regarding the boundary settlement between Pakistan occupied Kashmir and the Sinkiang region of China. As if this was not enough, the Pakistan Government decided to sign a

338. Telegram to the British Prime Minister. MHA, File No. KS-19/62, pp.154-156.

339. See appendix 57.

formal agreement on this question, at Peking, between the 3rd and 4th round of talks. This development, combined with various anti-Indian and pro-Chinese statements made by responsible members of Pakistan Government, are responsible for the disappointing progress in the talks. It seems to be more and more clear that Pakistan Government have no desire for a friendly settlement but are determined to exploit the emergency created by the Sino-Indian conflict to put the maximum pressure on India, to get a settlement in accordance with Pakistan's dictates.

We want to settle Kashmir and other differences with Pakistan, but these are only means to the main end of securing friendly and cooperative relations between India and Pakistan. I cannot see any sign of a similar desire on the part of Pakistan. As a matter of fact, the repeated pronouncements of Pakistan leaders definitely point the other way.

There has been another development during the last ten days, which has created further difficulties and complications. As you know, as a result of the first 3 or 4 rounds of talks, both India and Pakistan had agreed to take up the question of laying down a line along which the international frontier between India and Pakistan in Kashmir can be fixed. While this matter was being considered by both sides a joint Anglo-American move seems to have been made, without our knowledge. I understand that the US Ambassador and the UK High Commissioner in Karachi jointly presented a plan of Kashmir settlement to the Pakistan Minister in Dacca on 11th of April. We did not know anything about the Pakistan Government having been given a far reaching plan like this till the American Ambassador in Karachi kindly gave a copy of this paper to our High Commissioner two or three days ago. I enclose a copy of this paper.<sup>340</sup>

We have been rather concerned with the way in which US and UK representatives have been running about from place to place, while Indo-Pakistan talks are being held, but this latest development of presentation of a vague and imprecise plan, without any reference to the Government of India

340. Reproduced at the end of Nehru's letter of 21 April 1963 to Kennedy; see item 551.



is, to say the least, an ill-considered and injudicious step.<sup>341</sup> What is worse, the plan goes well beyond the question of the international frontier and refers to both India and Pakistan having a substantial interest in the Valley, with freedom of access to the Valley to the civilians as well as to the armies of both sides. Anything of this sort can only lead to complete chaos and confusion in the Valley and make it impossible for us to defend ourselves against Chinese aggressive pressures in Ladakh. Any such plan is, therefore, totally unacceptable to us.

The next round of talks begins at Karachi tomorrow. I have requested my colleague, Sardar Swaran Singh, who is leading the Indian delegation, to indicate to the Pakistan authorities our ideas as to the line along with international frontier between India and Pakistan in Kashmir should be drawn. The latest developments have, however, destroyed whatever little room for optimism one may have had about Pakistan Government showing a reasonable and constructive attitude in the next round of talks.

And yet, regardless of the result of the next round of talks, we will continue our efforts to reach an understanding on our differences with Pakistan. We hope that these efforts will not be prejudiced by any well intentioned, but nevertheless injudicious, moves or initiatives by our friends.

We are grateful for the prompt assistance given by the UK and other friendly governments to meet the immediate Chinese threat. This threat, however, as I have said before, is a long term one and we have to prepare to meet it, as best as we can, with such assistance as is forthcoming from our friends. A team of experts is now in USA discussing India's defence requirements for 1963-66, with United States officials and experts. This team will be coming to the United Kingdom after a week or so and would be explaining our requirements to your officials and experts. My colleague, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari, proposes to

341. In his reply of 26 April 1963, Macmillan explained: "I am sorry that there has been misunderstanding about the note enclosed in your letter. There was no question of putting forward a plan for a settlement of the Kashmir problem. Nor were the points which were made presented to the Pakistanis first. Our two High Commissioners were instructed simultaneously to discuss with the Indian and Pakistan Governments certain considerations which seemed to us relevant to a settlement. In fact, Mr Gore-Booth made the points in the note to you on 9<sup>th</sup> April and again went over them with Mr Gundevia on 10<sup>th</sup> April. I understand that an informal note these considerations was given to Pakistanis at their request. No such request was made on the Indian side and indeed an offer to give them in writing, made by Ambassador Galbraith in an interview with Mr M.J. Desai and Mr Gundevia on 10<sup>th</sup> April, was not taken up ... The points in the note enclosed in your letter were deliberately vague and imprecise. They can be dealt with in a variety of arrangements, but I am doubtful whether any solution is possible which does not face up to the issues. Our only interest in putting them forward was to make such contribution as we could towards a realistic settlement." NMML. JN Collection.

follow up the discussions of this team with you and your colleagues, later; but in view of what you have mentioned about your public opinion and your relations with Pakistan, I wonder whether it is desirable for Shri T.T. Krishnamachari to visit UK in the near future. My only concern is to avoid unnecessary embarrassment to you and your colleagues.<sup>342</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**(m1) Mountbatten Visit**

**540. To Paul Gore-Booth: Mountbatten's Visit<sup>343</sup>**

March 8, 1963

My dear High Commissioner,

As I told you this evening, Lord Mountbatten has written to me to say that he can come here for a very brief visit at the end of April. He is going to Tehran to attend the Military Committee of CENTO on the 27th and 28th April. He cannot leave Iran before the afternoon of Monday, 29th April and has to get back to London for the Annual Burma Reunion at the Albert Hall on the 4th May. He hopes to reach Bombay on the evening of Monday, 29th April and will spend the night there. He can reach Delhi in the forenoon of 30th April, and wants to leave Delhi in the forenoon of the 2nd May, though I suppose he could leave even in the night of the 3rd May and be in time for his Burma Reunion function on the 4th.

He has asked me to send him an answer if his visit will suit us through you as you can always reach him by telegram through the Ministry of Defence. Could you, therefore, kindly inform him that we shall be very happy if he can come here as suggested? He will, of course, be our guest here.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

342. See appendix 67.

343. Letter to the British High Commissioner.



**541. To S. Radhakrishnan: Mountbatten's Visit<sup>344</sup>**

March 8, 1963

My dear President,

Lord Mountbatten has written to me that he might come here for two or three days at the end of April. He has to go to Tehran for some military meeting there on the 27th and 28th April. He intends coming from there to Bombay on the 29th and spending the night there. On the 30th morning, he will come here and stay till the 2nd May. I am informing him that he will be welcome and that we shall be glad to see him.

I shall arrange for his meeting the Defence Minister and some of our principal Military Advisers so that he can discuss the situation on our borders.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**542. To Y.B. Chavan: Mountbatten Meetings<sup>345</sup>**

March 8, 1963

My dear Chavan,

Lord Mountbatten has written to me that he can come to India for two or three days at the end of April. He is going to attend a military meeting of CENTO on the 27th and 28th April at Tehran. On the 29th April afternoon he will leave Iran and reach Bombay the same evening. He intends spending the night in Bombay and coming here on the forenoon of the 30th April. He wants to leave on the 2nd May in the forenoon or afternoon as he has to be in London for some function.

I am sending word to him that he would be welcome here.

He says that while he is in Delhi, he would be available for us to discuss any military problems. It will be helpful if we have such a discussion with him. Probably it will be better if we could have a meeting of our Military Affairs Committee of the National Defence Council while he is here or, if not the full Committee, you could invite some members of the Committee. There will be our Chiefs of Staff there, of course, and General Thimayya should specially be asked to come. Also, perhaps General Rajendrasinhji and General Thorat. This meeting might be held on the 1st of May, if it suits you.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

344. Letter to the President.

345. Letter to the Defence Minister.

**543. To Louis Mountbatten: Visit to India<sup>346</sup>**

March 26, 1963

[My dear Dickie,]

I have not written to you as I was not quite sure when you were returning from your South American tour. I gather you are back in London now.

Soon after I received your letter of 24th February, I informed the UK High Commissioner here<sup>347</sup> about it and further asked him to send you a message that you would be very welcome here. The President, I think, also wrote to you inviting you to stay with him when you come here.

Nan<sup>348</sup> will be expecting you in Bombay, and we are looking forward to seeing you in Delhi on the 30th April. You said in your letter that you would have to leave again on the forenoon of the 2nd May as you have to attend the annual Burma Reunion on the 4th May. As a matter of fact, you can easily reach London on the morning of the 4th May even if you leave Delhi on the evening of the 3rd.

We have arranged to have a meeting of our Military Affairs Committee, which is one of the committees formed by our National Defence Council, on the 1st May when you are sure to be here. I hope you will attend it. This committee consists of the Defence Minister, the three Chiefs of Staff, Rajendrasinhji, Thimayya, Thorat<sup>349</sup> and the Defence Secretary.<sup>350</sup> Perhaps you would like to see some of these people separately before the meeting itself.

We are greatly looking forward to your visit here, though unfortunately it will be much too brief.<sup>351</sup>

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

346. Letter to the Chief of the Defence Staff, UK.

347. Paul Gore-Booth. See item 540.

348. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Governor of Maharashtra.

349. Rajendrasinhji and Thimayya were retired Chiefs of Army Staff, and Thorat a Lieutenant General.

350. O. Pulla Reddy.

351. See also item 544.



**544. To Louis Mountbatten: Programme in India<sup>352</sup>**

April 2, 1963

[My dear Dickie,]

Your letter of the 27th March has just reached me. I wrote to you a few days ago.<sup>353</sup> I suppose my letter crossed yours.

I have noted that you will reach Delhi (Palam) at 12 Noon on the 30th April and will be here till the 3rd May afternoon.

As I have written to you already, we are having a meeting of our Military Affairs Committee on the 1st May. I am avoiding fixing up any engagements for you so that you may have enough time for talks with our Defence people and also, of course, with me.<sup>354</sup>

Dean Rusk<sup>355</sup> is, I believe, coming here at the beginning of May for two or three days. Probably he may be here when you come.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**545. To Y.B. Chavan: Mountbatten Visit<sup>356</sup>**

April 2, 1963

My dear Chavan,

I have just had a letter from Lord Mountbatten.<sup>357</sup> According to this, he will reach Bombay on the 29th April and spend the night there. He will reach Palam at 12 mid-day on Tuesday, 30th April. He intends leaving Delhi on the 3rd May at 1400 hrs. He will be travelling in his own Comet aircraft.

He is bringing quite a number of people with him—Army, Air Force and Intelligence. As he is bringing the members of his staff with him, he will no doubt wish to have discussions with our Chiefs of Staff, etc.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

352. Letter to the Chief of the Defence Staff, UK.

353. On 26 March 1963. See item 543.

354. On the ceremonial for welcome, see item 536.

355. Secretary of State, 1961-1969.

356. Letter to the Defence Minister.

357. See item 544.

(n) USA

**546. To John Kenneth Galbraith: Invitation to S. Radhakrishnan to USA<sup>358</sup>**

February 16, 1963

My dear Ambassador,

I have received your letter of February 15th informing me that President Kennedy is extending an invitation to our President to visit the United States. You can certainly convey this invitation to our President.

I am sure he will be happy to accept the invitation. The question of fixing the date for the visit will have to depend on the convenience of the two Presidents.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**547. To Henry R. Luce: Invitation to *Time* Anniversary<sup>359</sup>**

February 23, 1963

Dear Mr. Luce,

Thank you for your letter of February 20th inviting me to the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of *Time*. I am grateful to you for this invitation. I fear, however, that it will not be possible for me to avail myself of it. Apart from the heavy work which I have to shoulder, this will be a time when our Parliament will be meeting and it is not possible for me to leave India then.

I hope that you will appreciate my difficulty.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

358. Letter to the US Ambassador.

359. Letter to the owner of *Time*, New York, USA.



## 548. US Military Aid<sup>360</sup>

### US Military Aid to India PM Dislikes Delay caused by Survey

Washington, March 5 – Prime Minister Nehru has indicated impatience at the time-consuming surveys before there was any decision on the large-scale military aid by the United States to India, the *Washington Post* reported yesterday.

The *Washington Post* chief political correspondent in New Delhi,<sup>361</sup> in an interview with Pandit Nehru, reported that Pandit Nehru felt that American response to India's call for arms aid in the border fighting was "rapid and good to begin with", but he indicated impatience at the time-consuming surveys before there was any decision on the large-scale aid.<sup>362</sup>

The correspondent also quoted Pandit Nehru as saying that any major Chinese attack would have to be met immediately and the only way to "do that is to create an Indian Air Force able to do the job. To depend on outside help, that is from the United States and Britain, would require granting them bases in India, and it is also psychologically bad for our people to think in this way, to get the impression that others are going to protect us, and that we do not have to build up our strength."

### Soviet-China Rift

Pandit Nehru said he did not think the rift between the Soviet Union and China would reach the point of military conflict.

But he expressed the belief that the forces pulling the two communist nations apart were stronger than those holding them together.

The correspondent said that other Indian officials to whom he had talked had shown, following China's attacks in the Indian border regions, a hostility reminiscent of the hard anti-Chinese view which dominated Washington. Pandit Nehru had not gone that far, but had gone beyond the point where he

360. Report of interview the *Washington Post*; reproduced from the *National Herald*, 6 March, 1963.

361. Chalmers Roberts.

362. But the *Hindu* of 6 March 1963 reported on p. 1: "Mr Nehru also described as 'totally incorrect' reports appearing in the Press today suggesting that the Prime Minister in an interview to a Washington newspaper had expressed himself dissatisfied with the progress of military aid."

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

had explained Chinese behaviour largely on the grounds that China was in an earlier stage of economic development than the Soviet Union.

He quoted Pandit Nehru as saying: “We see a reversion to that traditional Chinese attitude that they are the centre of things. It is not necessarily territorial expansion that they are seeking but bossing over other countries. They have always thought of other countries as beyond the pale.”

Pandit Nehru said that the first explosion of a nuclear device by China “might frighten some people and have some significance”, but that would not mean a change in the military situation.

He added that he had been informed by his experts that India had a stronger base than China for nuclear development in the military field, but “we have made it clear that we are not making (nuclear) weapons.”

### **549. To the Rockefeller Foundation<sup>363</sup>**

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Rockefeller Foundation. This Foundation has helped many good causes all over the world and we are grateful to it for the assistance given to us in India. I hope it will continue to do this good work.

### **550. For MEA Officials: Meeting with W.W. Rostow<sup>364</sup>**

I have had a visit this afternoon from the US Ambassador,<sup>365</sup> accompanied by Mr Rostow, Counsellor of the State Department and Mr Komer<sup>366</sup> a White House Official who is said to work with Mr Bundy.<sup>367</sup> The Ambassador gave me a letter about his own recall and Mr Chester Bowles taking his place here. I am sending you this letter. We shall, of course, express our agreement to this proposal.

2. The Ambassador gave me two copies of the *Foreign Affairs* which contain my article.<sup>368</sup> I am sending these to you.

363. Telegram, 29 March 1963. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 9-A.

364. Record of discussion, Note, 1 April 1963, for R.K. Nehru, the SG, M.J. Desai, the FS, and Y.D. Gundevia, the CS. MEA, File No. P.V. 102/34/63, pp.4-5/Note.

365. J.K. Galbraith.

366. R.W. Komer, served on the staff of National Security Council

367. McGeorge Bundy, National Security Advisor.

368. April 1963 Issue. See item 434.



3. All the talking was then done by Mr Rostow who came here this morning and will be staying here four days before he goes to Karachi. He endeavoured to give me the picture of India's problems. According to him, there were three problems: the Chinese aggression, our economic development, and our relations with Pakistan.

4. As for the Chinese aggression, he said that this was evidently a long term problem and should be thought of from that point of view. So far as our development was concerned, this was highly important and the US attached great importance to it. In regard to both these problems, they would like to help us to the best of their ability, hoping that in another decade we shall have arrived at the stage of the "take off" and would then progress more rapidly.

5. He then talked about Pakistan and especially Kashmir.<sup>369</sup> He did not go into any details of this question, but laid stress on the reactions to it in the United States and especially in the Congress there. He particularly referred to Senator Fulbright.<sup>370</sup> He repeated the various arguments in favour of our arriving at a satisfactory settlement with Pakistan; otherwise there would be difficulties in the Congress and the burden on them would be much greater. With all their goodwill for us, there was a certain limit to what they can give us by way of help. The total amount available in the United States had a certain limit and they would have to apportion it for various purposes not only in India but elsewhere. If they gave more to us, as they well might in the circumstances, this would involve a lessening of the help they give elsewhere to Pakistan and other countries.

6. He spoke of the progress made in India and his expectation that this would be continued, and would yield adequate results within a few years. Thus, it would make a difference to them and especially to the Congress, if our troubles with Pakistan were smoothened. He did not say how we were to do it.

7. I spoke about Kashmir issue for some time and tried to give him the background of it. I told him that it was our earnest desire to settle it. Apart from the political and other aspects, emotionally we wanted good relations with Pakistan, but just as they had to think of reactions in America and the Congress there, we also had to think of public opinion and the reactions here of what we did. It would be most unfortunate if any step that we took led to consequences that were worse than we had to face today. That would result in great bitterness both in India and Pakistan. We could not, therefore, take any step which was likely to produce these unfavourable results.

369. See appendix 44.

370. J.W. Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

8. I referred to the kind of statements and attacks that were continuously being made on us in Pakistan and their almost complete lining up with China over the Sino-Indian conflict; also, the numerous border incidents that were occurring almost from day to day between India and Pakistan. I mentioned that the troubles that we had in regard to Kashmir were the consequence of basic attitudes. It may be that even if there was some kind of a settlement on Kashmir, and if those basic attitudes in Pakistan continued, that would be no settlement and that troubles would take some other shape and continue.

9. Mr Rostow did not say much more about Kashmir, but hoped that the next series of talks between India and Pakistan would yield some result.<sup>371</sup> He realised that India had made much more progress than Pakistan and there was some element of fear and resentment at this fact in Pakistan. He then referred to a statement by President Roosevelt, early in the thirties, about the backward condition of the South in the United States. Thereupon Ambassador Galbraith said that he had recently been in the Punjab and he had noticed how well off the average peasant was. In fact, he thought that, on the whole, they were better off than many people in the South of the United States. The difference between them (the Punjabis) and the people he had seen recently in Orissa was very great.

## **551. To John F. Kennedy: Partition of Kashmir<sup>372</sup>**

April 21, 1963

Dear Mr President,

Thank you for your message of 9th March<sup>373</sup> which Ambassador Galbraith sent on to me on the 11th.

As the fourth round of talks on Kashmir and other related matters was going on at Calcutta at that time, I thought I would reply to your letter after the return of my colleague, Sardar Swaran Singh, who was leading the Indian delegation at these talks. I regret that various other preoccupations and developments that occurred since have led to this long delay.

The fourth round of India-Pakistan talks, coming as it did immediately after the Sino-Pakistan border agreement between Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and the Sinkiang region of China, was rather a frustrating affair. The agreement signed in Peking has had serious repercussions on Indian public opinion and the anti-Indian statements made by the members of the Pakistan Government

371. The next round of talks was scheduled to start on 22 April 1963.

372. Telegram to the US President. MHA, File No. KS-19/62, pp.158-160.

373. See appendix 31.



in the Assembly session at Dacca and elsewhere created further trouble. The fourth round of talks, therefore, ended in a complete deadlock though both sides agreed to a fifth round of talks in Karachi starting on April 22nd.

There is nothing that we desire more than friendly and cooperative relations with Pakistan. We have despite continuing Pakistan anti-Indian attitude, tried to further this main objective as best as we could. Pakistan has nothing to fear from us. We have repeatedly offered a no-war declaration and it is the Pakistan authorities that have repeatedly turned down this offer. The Pakistan leaders make no secret of their consistent anti-Indian policies and are determined to exploit the emergency arising out of the India-China conflict to put the maximum squeeze on India to get a settlement on Kashmir on their own terms.

You have mentioned in your letter the desirability of demonstrating to the Pakistanis that we seek a genuine settlement with them by signaling a willingness to give Pakistan a substantial position in the Vale. I regret I have not been able to understand exactly what this means. If it means some sort of partition of the Valley, this is open to serious objections. Apart from that, the Pakistanis have repeatedly declared that they are against any partition of the Valley. They want not only the whole of the Valley, but the entire state of Jammu & Kashmir, including Ladakh, with the exception of a small area of Kathua immediately north of the Himachal Pradesh State of India.

Ambassador Galbraith has been talking to us and we understand from him that it was the view of the United States Government that Pakistan should be satisfied if India agreed to consider the transfer to Pakistan of the north-western corner of the Valley, bounded by the Jhelum to the south and the Wular lake to the east. In the preliminary talk I had with Ambassador Galbraith, I indicated to him the serious objections to any partition of the Valley of this kind.<sup>374</sup> While we are examining this matter, we learnt that the US Ambassador and the UK High Commissioner in Karachi had jointly presented a paper to the Pakistan Government on 11th April on this very subject of a Kashmir settlement. We did not know anything about the Pakistan Government having been given a far reaching plan like this till your Ambassador in Karachi kindly gave a copy of this paper to our High Commissioner two or three days ago. I enclose a copy of this paper.

You will, Mr President, see from the vague and imprecise nature of this document that the Anglo-American initiatives, however well-intentioned, are causing a lot of confusion and misunderstanding. The proposals made in this paper vaguely refer to both India and Pakistan having a substantial position in the Valley, civilians of both sides and the armies of both sides having facilities

374. See appendix 44.

of free access to the Valley, civilians of both sides and the armies of both sides having facilities of free access to the Valley, etc. Apart from serious objections to any partition of the Valley and in this both India and Pakistan agree though for different reasons—a plan of this sort can only result in complete chaos in the Valley and make it impossible for India to defend itself against Chinese aggressive pressures in Ladakh. A plan like the one presented in the paper is totally impossible.

We realise, Mr President, that because of past policies and commitments, it is difficult for the United States Government to give any substantial military aid to India without attempting to do what is possible to get a rapprochement between India and Pakistan.<sup>375</sup> We understand this reason for the interest of the US Administration in the Kashmir question and, while we are grateful for the prompt and generous assistance so readily given to meet our immediate defence needs, we would not like to cause any embarrassment, either to you or to your administration. We also want a settlement which can lead to improvement in India-Pakistan relations; but I am convinced that these ill-considered and ill-conceived initiatives, however well intentioned they may be, have at least for the present made it impossible to reach any settlement on this rather involved and complicated question. I can well understand and appreciate the interest of friendly countries in the settlement of India-Pakistan differences; but this interest to be helpful has to be quiet, unobtrusive and objective. The discreet and unobtrusive good offices of a common friend can assist in bringing the two parties nearer to each other. Public and semi-public moves, pressurising the governments concerned to take definite attitudes, on the other hand, can hardly be useful.

I am not commenting at this stage in any detail on the question of the Kashmir Valley. I must say, however, that it is surprising that no one seems to have dared to consider why India should not have a substantial presence in the part of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan, particularly when the Chinese, towards whom the Pakistanis have been making such demonstration of friendship, are poised on that border and a pincer movement against India in Kashmir from north and east can start any time, if the Chinese choose to do so.

Our delegation headed by my colleague Sardar Swaran Singh is leaving for the fifth round of talks at Karachi. We will continue our efforts to arrive

375. On 25th April 1963 Kennedy met with senior members of his cabinet about military support to India. He said: "I think we ought to be considering this. It isn't going to cost us very much. It is something we would do anyway; it is something we would want the Chinese to know what we are going to do." Kennedy Library; President's meeting on India, 25 April 1963; tape no. 82(2); <https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKNSF-111-016.aspx> Accessed on 21 August 2018.



at a settlement of our differences with Pakistan but in the present atmosphere there is little hope for any optimism.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

[Enclosure]

Kashmir  
Elements of a Settlement<sup>376</sup>

1. Neither India nor Pakistan can entirely give up its claim to the Kashmir Valley. Each must have a substantial position in the Vale.
2. India and Pakistan must both have assured access to and through the Vale for defence of their positions to the north and east. These defence arrangements must be such as not to impede disengagement of India and Pakistan forces.
3. Outside the Valley, economic and strategic interests of the two countries should be recognised; e.g., India's position in Ladakh and Pakistan's interest in the development of water storage facilities on the Chenab.
4. The position of the two countries in the Valley must be such as to permit:
  - a) Clearly defined arrangements for sovereignty and for maintenance of law and order.
  - b) Political freedom and some measure of local self-rule for the inhabitants.
  - c) Free movement of the people of the Valley throughout the vale, and their relatively free movement to other parts of Kashmir and to India and Pakistan.
  - d) Rapid development by India and Pakistan of tourism in the Kashmir area—with its important foreign exchange potential for both countries.
  - e) Effective use in Kashmir or development funds, available from external sources, for such purposes as improving water and forestry resources, development of communications and small industries, and improving the health and welfare of people.

376. This annexure was the solution presented by US and UK representatives on 11 April 1963 referred to in the letter. It was also appended to Nehru's letter of 21 April 1963 to Harold Macmillan; see item 539.

(o) USSR

**552. To I. A. Benediktov: *Mahabharata* Translation<sup>377</sup>**

February 20, 1963

My dear Ambassador,

Thank you for your letter of February 20 and the book that you have sent me, that is, the Russian translation of the second part of “Sabhaparva” of the *Mahabharata*<sup>378</sup>. I am happy to receive this book and am very glad that this famous Sanskrit classic has been translated into the Russian language. Please convey my thanks to Mr V.I. Kalyanov, Head of the Indian Section in the Institute for Peoples of Asia, Leningrad.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**553. For the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society<sup>379</sup>**

I send my good wishes to the Sixth National Conference of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society. Indo-Soviet relations have been good in the past and they have continued to be good in spite of many strains upon them. Even the Chinese aggression on India has not affected those relations. This is an indication of the firm basis of the relations between these two countries.

I think that it is highly important both from the point of view of India and the Soviet Union, that our contacts and relations should be close, friendly and cooperative. I also am convinced that from the larger point of view of international affairs, this is necessary.

We have received considerable aid from the Soviet Union for our economic development and we hope that this will continue in substantial measure for our Fourth Plan. But quite apart from aid, we welcome the friendship of the Soviet Union. That friendship is of great value and we cherish it.

I hope that the conference of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society will be successful.

377. Letter to the Soviet Ambassador.

378. Second book of the *Mahabharata*.

379. Message to the 6th National Conference of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, 16 March 1963.



## 554. For the Düsseldorf *Industriekurier*: Soviet-Chinese Relations<sup>380</sup>

### Sino-Russian Rift Wide Nehru's Opinion

Düsseldorf (Germany), April 6 – Mr Nehru in an interview published today said there were many indications that the Communist Chinese-Soviet dispute would lead to an eventual Moscow understanding with the West. But he warned that it was too early to make any definite prediction.

The Indian Prime Minister was quoted by the Düsseldorf *Industriekurier* as saying that strong national and political differences between Moscow and Peking were hidden behind the façade of an ideological dispute. Continuation of Soviet aid to India showed how big these differences had grown, Mr Nehru added.

Mr Nehru, who was interviewed by a special correspondent of the financial newspaper also said the Chinese invasion of India had had no effect on India's policy of non-alignment.

He said American and British military aid was of great importance for India and that he was optimistic that it would continue. The Western powers, predicted, would recognise that this military aid would also be of greatest benefit to themselves.

## 555. To M.C. Chagla: Roy Thomson's Projects<sup>381</sup>

April 8, 1963

My dear Chagla,

I have your letter of April 5 about your talks with Roy Thomson.<sup>382</sup> The report of these talks is very interesting.

I shall enquire about the printing press which Roy Thomson intends starting near Delhi. Owing to the Emergency, we had to revise all our projects and programmes so as to concentrate on what is considered most important in the circumstances.

380. Report of interview, *The Hindu*, 8 April 1963 p. 1.

381. Letter to the High Commissioner in London. PMO, File No. 43 (200)/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 3-A.

382. See appendix 52. Thomson talked about his impressions of his visit to the USSR.

As for television, we have not been encouraging this for the time being. It is true that television is an important means of communication and is especially desirable for educational purposes. But in present circumstances, it will only be taken advantage of by richer people in the cities. Even radio is only slowly seeping into the villages. The question is always one of priority, and of doing something which is helpful to the masses. Japan's case is different because it is advanced in many fields already.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **556. On Anniversary of Gagarin's Space Flight<sup>383</sup>**

I send my greetings on the Second Anniversary of the Space Flight by Major Yuri Gagarin. This was a historic event which opened out new vistas to humanity. We were happy to receive Major Gagarin in India after this flight and have pleasant memories of his visit. The opening out of space to human flight emphasises the great need for peace to be firmly established in this world. It is a little absurd and certainly dangerous for countries and peoples to carry on policies which endanger peace when these vast opportunities are opened out to human being for adventure and research.

383. Message, 9 April 1963, forwarded to V.N. Matyash, TASS Correspondent in Delhi. PMO, File No. F 9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 19-A.



## IV. MISCELLANEOUS

### 557. To G.J. Watumull: Attending Awards Function<sup>1</sup>

February 6, 1963

Dear Mrs. Watumull,

Thank you for your letter of January 23rd. I am heavily occupied during this month and later. But I shall try to attend the ceremony on February 27th. I would beg of you not to ask me to deliver a speech then. Apart from the time involved in it at a period when Parliament is in session, I shall find it difficult to speak for any length of time. I can speak for a few minutes congratulating those who have received the Awards.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 558. To Seán T. O'Kelly: China Conflict<sup>2</sup>

February 8, 1963

My dear Dr O'Kelly,

I was very happy to receive your letter conveying your affection and good wishes for the New Year, and I thank you and Mrs O'Kelly for it.

As you know, we have had to face many troubles and difficult problems recently. The attempt to build up a huge country like India and to bring some comfort and happiness in the lives of our people is itself a vast undertaking. Added to this has been the aggression of the Chinese which has put an additional burden on us. Even more than this burden is the shock caused to us by this invasion by a country we have tried to be friendly with. This betrayal has driven us to military conflict which is distasteful to us, but you will no doubt fully appreciate that we had no choice. No country can submit to compulsion exercised through military force. We are, therefore, determined to face this situation.

1. Letter to the Executive Vice-President, Watumull Foundation, Suite 214, 2227-A Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu 15, Hawaii.
2. Letter to Irish Republican politician, (1882-1966) and former President, 1945-1959; address: Co. Wicklow, Ireland.

There has been no fighting for the last two months as the Chinese declared a ceasefire. They have also withdrawn from much of the territory that they seized recently. But the menace continues and it is difficult for us to put much faith in the declarations of the Chinese Government. We have, therefore, to continue our preparations for defence, for we do not know what the future might bring and we cannot take any risks.

This attack on India has, however, resulted in something which has heartened us greatly. This is the tremendous and spontaneous response of our people who have shown a wonderful unity in the face of this menace. We have also been heartened by the great measure of sympathy we have received from other countries and peoples. I appreciate greatly your good wishes.

I send you and Mrs O'Kelly my greetings and good wishes for this year.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **559. To Donald G. Brownlow: Explaining Chinese Attack<sup>3</sup>**

February 9, 1963

Dear Mr Brownlow,

I have your letter of February 5th. I am afraid I cannot answer it at any length, but I am giving below brief answers to the points you have raised.

It is difficult for me to say why China took to committing aggression on India. It may be partly the reason you give, that is, that she disliked India's progress under a democratic form of government. It seems to me that it was not essentially due to her desire to take additional territory. Partly it was an attempt to humiliate India and to show to the countries of Asia and Africa that China was a big boss round about here. Partly it was some kind of an offshoot of the rift between Russia and China and an attempt to demonstrate that China's policy was the correct one which paid dividends. On the whole, I think it was China's world view that led to this aggression and invasion of India.

It is difficult for me to say what Mahatma Gandhi might have done in existing circumstances. We can take guidance from him in regard to certain basic principles. But we have to decide for ourselves what in a particular context of events should be done by us. Gandhi's methods of civil disobedience and

3. Letter to member of the Department of History, The Haverford School, Haverford, Pennsylvania, USA.



passive resistance, can hardly be applied to an aggressor from outside. But I suppose that some parts of his teaching can always be kept in mind, such as not submitting to evil, whatever the result, always keeping the door open to an honourable settlement, and not allowing hatred to colour our vision.

The burden of Indian defence is certainly going to be very heavy for us. None the less, we do not want our developmental programmes to suffer and we shall make every effort to carry them through.

I do not know what you mean by nuclear responsibilities. We have no intention of trying to make nuclear weapons, although our Atomic Energy programme has fairly advanced.

As regards Pakistan, we are anxious to have a settlement and, in fact, at the present moment our representatives are discussing this matter in Karachi. I cannot say what the result of these discussions will be. Unfortunately, ever since the Chinese invasion of India, Pakistan's appetite has grown. Oddly enough, Pakistan has even become very friendly with China.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 560. To H.N. Mukherjee: Condolences on Mother's Death<sup>4</sup>

February 11, 1963

My dear Hiren,

Indira has shown me your letter of the 8th February.<sup>5</sup> I received your previous letter in which you told me of the sad death of your mother. I intended sending you a letter of condolence in reply. Unfortunately, I had to go out of Delhi just then and I must have mislaid your letter. I am sorry.

I was deeply sorry to learn of your mother's death. I did not know her, but the fact that she was your mother and her death had caused you so much sorrow, distressed me. All of us some time or other have to face these shocks. None the less, they are very painful.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Letter to CPI MP. PMO, File No. 38(61)/59-71-PMS, Sr. No. 11-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

5. Hiren Mukherjee's letter is not reproduced. Available at the NMML.

**561. To Sylvia Watkins: Response to Chinese Invasion Good<sup>6</sup>**

February 11, 1963

Dear Mrs Watkins,

I have received your letter of February 3. I thank you for it and for the many kind things you have said in it.

We have had and are having a hard time, but at the same time much has happened which has heartened us greatly. The common people of India have been extraordinarily good and generous and have behaved with strength and courage.

You ask me for a new photograph of mine. I shall try to send you one, but I doubt if it will be very new. Many snapshots of me are taken daily, but I seldom give a sitting for a photograph.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**562. To M.O. Mathai: Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Fund<sup>7</sup>**

February 14, 1963

My dear Mathai,

Thank you for sending me the notes about the Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Fund. I think you might circulate the two notes to members of the Committee.

I would have preferred to have a final meeting of the Committee on some date suitable to most members, to give directions for the future.

I think that this Memorial Fund has been well organised, and the credit for it goes chiefly to you. I congratulate you upon it.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

6. Letter; address: 33 George Road, Hay Mills, Birmingham, England.

7. Letter to former Special Assistant.



**563. To Ernst Katscher: Promoting Peace<sup>8</sup>**

February 28, 1963

Dear Dr Katscher,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th February with which you have sent me a note containing your proposal to promote peace. I have read this note with interest.

It would certainly be a good thing if the United States of America and the Soviet Union cooperate together to help a small country. Every form of cooperation is not only good in itself but it produces an atmosphere of friendliness.

I do not know, however, how this can be brought about. It is difficult for a third country like India, which is itself in great need of help, to make any such proposal.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**564. To D.G. Tendulkar: Good Papaya<sup>9</sup>**

March 16, 1963

My dear Tendulkar,

Thank you for your note and the papaya. We have consumed the papaya. It was quite good.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Letter to an Austrian peace activist; (1899-1980); address: XIX Nussberggasse, Vienna, Austria.

9. Letter to Mahatma Gandhi's biographer, 16 March 1963. NMML, D.G. Tendulkar Papers.

**565. To M.M. Choudhury: *Autobiography* in Assamese<sup>10</sup>**

March 17, 1963

My dear Choudhury,

Indiraji has shown me your letter of the 11th March. I shall be happy if you translate my *Autobiography* into Assamese. Having translated it, you will have to come to some arrangement with the publisher. It is the publisher who writes to us and gets the necessary permission.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**566. To Bhakt Darshan: *Security of Barahoti*<sup>11</sup>**

मार्च 19, 1963

प्रिय भक्त दर्शनजी,

आपका 18 मार्च का पत्र मिला। उसको पढ़ कर मुझे खुशी हुई। बड़ाहोती हमारे मन में हर समय रहाता है और उसकी रक्षा का प्रबन्ध किया जा रहा है। कुछ तो आपने भी देखा है।

मैं तो बहुत चाहता हूँ इस तरफ यानी गौचर व जोशीमठ, पौड़ी जाना, और कोशिश करूँगा कुछ समय निकालने का वहाँ जाने के लिए। लेकिन मैं इतना काम में फँसा हूँ कि यह आसान नहीं है। हेलीकॉप्टर फौजी काम में सब लगे हुए हैं और मैं नहीं चाहता उनको अपने सफर के लिए बुला लूँ। फिर भी मेरे जाने की कोशिश होगी। अभी नहीं कह सकता कब यह सफल हो।

आपका  
[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:

My dear Bhakt Darshan ji,

I received your letter of 18 March. I was happy to read it. Barahoti is always in our mind and we are preparing the process of its security. Some part of it you yourself have also seen.

10. Letter to the Speaker of the Assam Legislative Assembly. JNMF, *Autobiography* – Assamese.

11. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress.



I really want to come to that side, Gauchar or Joshimath, Pauri. But I am so burdened with work that it is not easy for me to take out time. All the helicopters are engaged in military work, and I don't want to call them for my personal travel. Still I will try my best to go there. I cannot say when that would be.

Yours,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends]

### 567. To Jamal Khwaja: Good Wishes<sup>12</sup>

March 25, 1963

My dear Jamal,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd March. I am sorry to learn that you have been ill for a considerable time. I hope you are quite well now.

We are living through difficult times and have to face grave problems. It is all the more necessary that we should hold to some principles and abide by them.

I shall be happy to see you when you come to Delhi. Please give my regards to your mother.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 568. To Gilbert Young: World Government<sup>13</sup>

March 28, 1963

Dear Gilbert Young,

I have your letter of the 19th February.

The idea of a World Government is certainly an appealing one. Indeed, I think that some time or other, if we are not overwhelmed by another world war, some kind of a world organisation will have to take the place of wholly independent national states. But I confess that this development seems far off

12. Letter to Professor of Philosophy of Religion at Aligarh Muslim University and member of the second Lok Sabha; address: Samee Manzil, Aligarh.

13. Letter to the founder of the World Government Party (1958), which advocated a world government based on the model of the British Parliament, and better welfare for the elderly; address: 71 Warner Road, London SE 5.

still. There is much to be done in the way of reducing world tensions and fears before we can grapple with this problem.

I am sorry I cannot send a donation towards your election fund.<sup>14</sup> That would be against the practice we have followed here of not interfering in the internal politics of another country.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### **569. To Ernest Dale: Negrin of Spanish Republic<sup>15</sup>**

March 31, 1963

Dear Professor Dale,  
Your letter of the 29th March.

I am afraid I cannot write much about Dr Negrin<sup>16</sup> who used to be Prime Minister of the Republic of Spain. I met him once or twice in Barcelona in 1938. However, I enclose a few lines.

Yours sincerely,  
J. Nehru

### **570. Negrin of the Spanish Republic<sup>17</sup>**

In the summer of 1938, I paid a brief visit to Barcelona. This was at the height of the Civil War there. While I was in Barcelona, I had my first experience of seeing nightly bombing of the city.

I had the pleasure of meeting Dr Negrin there, who was then the Prime Minister of the Republic of Spain. I was happy to have this privilege of meeting him and having a brief talk with him. I treasure that in my memory.

14. Young contested the 1964 General Elections from Bath and got 318 votes.

15. Letter to a professor at Columbia University; address: Ashoka Hotel, New Delhi. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 34-A.

16. Juan Negrin (1892-1956); leader of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, premier of Spain 1937-1939.

17. Message, 31 March 1963, forwarded to Ernest Dale. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 34-B. See also SWJN/SS/79/item 287, p.479, last paragraph.



**571. To Jayaprakash Narayan: Meeting Hugh Schonfield<sup>18</sup>**

April 1, 1963

My dear Jayaprakash,

I have your letter of March 24th and also copy of a letter from Dr Hugh Schonfield.<sup>19</sup>

I have given some thought to this matter. I do not quite know what to suggest to Dr Schonfield. I would, of course, gladly meet him if he came here and he would also get such facts as we possess. But what exactly does an invitation from me imply? Does it mean our paying his travel expenses? I am afraid we cannot undertake that. Nor can I say that I shall necessarily follow his advice in this matter. It is too big and grave a question for me to give any kind of an undertaking. All I can say is that we shall be glad to discuss this matter with him and to consider any suggestions that he might make.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**572. To Bibhu Nath Ghose: Cannot Write Foreword<sup>20</sup>**

April 1, 1963

Dear Shri Ghose,

I have your letter of March 29th with its enclosure. I have read these papers.

I am afraid I shall not be able to write a foreword for your book. I have no doubt that you work earnestly for peace and the causes dear to you. But I cannot write a foreword to this kind of a book. Indeed, I would not even find time to read your manuscript and to write a foreword. But, quite apart from time, I do not think it would be proper for me to write as you desire me to do. You must, therefore, excuse me.

I am returning to you the preface which you have sent me.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

18. Letter to Sarvodaya leader; address: Kadam Kuan, Patna 3. NMML, Jayaprakash Narayan Papers.
19. An associate of H.G. Wells; President of the pacifist organisation, Commonwealth of World Citizens.
20. Letter to a writer; address: Adampur, Bhagalpur.

### 573. To Prithvi Singh: Look after the Border Areas<sup>21</sup>

अप्रैल 2, 1963

प्रिय पृथ्वी सिंहजी,

आपका पत्र मुझे मिला और उसके साथ डेबर भाई का भी। मैं समझता हूँ कि अच्छा हो अगर आप हमारे सीमा के इलाके में जायें और दौरा करें। डेबर भाई ने लिखा है कि दो वर्ष के लिए आप जायें। यह तो एक लम्बी बात है, अभी तय करने की ज़रूरत नहीं है।

मेरा ख्याल है कि आप हिमाचल और पंजाब के इलाकों में जायें। जम्मू और कश्मीर को अभी छोड़ दे। वक्त आने पर मैं हिमाचल के लफ्टिनेंट गवर्नर को लिख दूंगा।

आपका  
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

April 2, 1963

Dear Prithvi Singh ji,

I received your letter and with that, of Dhebar Bhai.<sup>22</sup> I think that it would be useful if you go to the border areas and travel in these areas. Dhebar Bhai has written that you should go for two years. That is of long duration and I don't think it needs to be decided right now.

I think that you should go to Himachal and Punjab areas. You can leave out Jammu and Kashmir for the time being. I shall write to the Lt. Governor of Himachal, if the need arises.

Yours,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends]

21. Letter to Freedom fighter; address: Chandigarh.

22. U.N. Dhebar; Lok Sabha MP, Congress; former President of the Congress.



**574. To E.M. Swangard: Centennial Pacific Trade Centre in Vancouver<sup>23</sup>**

April 4, 1963

Dear Mr Swangard,

I have received your letter of the 29th March 1963, regarding the proposal of Vancouver City to erect a Centennial Pacific Trade Centre which would serve as a focal point for the exchange of trade ideas and exhibits. I thank you for it. I have noted that your Mayor would be applying to the Federal Government at Ottawa for \$ 10 million grant to help Vancouver in the project. We would undoubtedly take advantage of the facilities of such a Centre when they become available and to the extent necessary, but it would hardly be appropriate that I should write to the Mayor in support of the proposal.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**575. To Arun Gandhi: Advice not to be negative<sup>24</sup>**

April 8, 1963

My dear Arun,

I have your letter of the 5th April. I am returning to you the photograph of your son with my autograph.

You can write when you feel the urge to do so. Try not to be anti-anything. Anti-capitalism or anti-Communism may be correct, but it is always a one-sided picture. Try, therefore, to write a balanced account. The world is changing fairly rapidly and the old slogans count for less and less.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

23. Letter to the Managing Editor of *The Vancouver Sun*, 500 Beatty Street, Vancouver 3.

24. Letter to Arun Manilal Gandhi; the Mahatma's grandson; address: c/o *The Times of India*, Bombay.

**576. To N.W. Barritt: Health<sup>25</sup>**

April 8, 1963

Dear Mr Barritt,

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd April. I am grateful for the interest you have taken in me and the advice you have sent.

As a matter of fact, the report in the *Sunday Telegraph* to which you refer was entirely wrong. I am not suffering from any prostate trouble. On the whole, I am keeping well. The real difficulty is that I have to work rather hard and can seldom afford to take even a day off.

I take some honey daily.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**577. To D.G. Tendulkar: Book Plans<sup>26</sup>**

April 13, 1963

My dear Tendulkar,

Your letter of April 6th. Thank you for the photographs. You can certainly have another try when I go to Bombay next.

A book on Indian civilisation, if properly done, would be very welcome. For the present, however, I hope you will take up the work on Abdul Ghaffar Khan. I do not know where you can get the Pakhtoon files. Perhaps, some little help might be given to you by Mohammad Yunus Khan who works in our External Affairs Ministry and who once wrote a small book on Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

I shall enquire about the autograph book you left with Vimla.<sup>27</sup> I think I signed it, but only once.

About the French edition of *Mahatma*, I think I wrote to our Ambassador there to enquire about this publisher, and he sent a fairly good report. I shall find out more about them.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

25. Letter to most probably a medical researcher; see [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(72\)91358-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(72)91358-X) for an article published in *Lancet*, “Heart Disease and Hard Water”, by Newton W Barritt, 22 July 1972; address: Hotel Vista Alegre, Palma-de-Mallorca.

26. Letter to Mahatma Gandhi’s biographer. NMML, D.G. Tendulkar Papers.

27. Most probably Vimla Verma, who was working in the AICC office.



**578. To D.G. Tendulkar: French Edition of *Mahatma*<sup>28</sup>**

April 14, 1963

My dear Tendulkar,

About the French Edition of *Mahatma*, I have looked through the old correspondence. I find that I wrote to you on the 29th December about the Belgian firm “Presse Académique Européenne.”<sup>29</sup> I told you that they are not one of the big firms, but they have a fairly good reputation, especially for books on scientific and academic subjects. I think you should send a set of *Mahatma* to them and then on receiving their reply, decide what you should do.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**579. To Joseph C. Diaz: India's Strategy<sup>30</sup>**

April 14, 1963

Dear Mr Diaz,

I thank you for your letter of April 1 which I have read with interest. I am afraid I cannot offer you any comments on your programme as that applies to the citizens of the United States. We in India are trying our best to develop the country and the people so as to make our economy a self-sustaining one. Just at this moment, when we are concentrating on this development, we have to face Chinese aggression and invasion of our borders. That has put a great burden on us. We are, however, facing it with good heart.

I would only say that we are entirely in favour of disarmament, as complete as possible. Also, that non-aggression pacts would help greatly in bringing about an atmosphere of peace.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

28. Letter to Mahatma Gandhi's biographer. NMML, D.G. Tendulkar Papers.

29. See item 577; SWJN/SS/80/item 139.

30. Letter to the President of the American Taxpayers' Union, P.O. Box 4070, Bergen Station, Jersey City 4, N.J., USA.

**580. To Sharaf Athar Ali: Settling with Pakistan<sup>31</sup>**

April 15, 1963

Dear Mr Athar Ali,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th April. I have read it as well as the copy of your letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh with interest. With much that you have written I am in agreement. But sometimes a mere logical approach is not adequate. It is true that we have tried to come to a settlement with Pakistan about our various problems repeatedly. Although some of these have been solved, others remain, and Pakistan's attitude is not cooperative or helpful at all.

As for our mentioning the United States and the UK in our resolution, I do not see any special harm in this, and it certainly represented the viewpoint of the committee. Both of these countries came to our aid with great speed. Whatever the reasons that may have motivated them, the fact remains that they did help us actively when we needed this most.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**581. To L.M. Singhvi: Kumar Bihari Rohtagi's Death<sup>32</sup>**

April 16, 1963

Dear Shri Singhvi,

On receipt of your letter of April 5, I had further enquiries made in regard to the death by accident of Kumar Bihari Rohtagi, an Indian student in Leeds, UK. I do not think there was any delay in information being communicated to the next of kin. The accident took place at Leeds on the 27th February, 1963. The High Commission was informed by the Warden on the 28th, and immediately on receipt of this information, the High Commission sent a cable to the brother of the deceased. Arrangements were subsequently made for the ashes to be flown to India. A representative of the High Commission was present during the cremation.

The question of paying compensation to the deceased's relatives has already been taken up and the Consular Department of the High Commission is actively pushing the matter.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

31. Letter to a publisher, People's Publishing House and New Age Printing Press, Bombay; address: 91A Belvedere Road, London, SE 10.

32. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Independent.



**582. To Satyendra Narayan Agrawal: Sudhavati's Death<sup>33</sup>**

April 26, 1963

My dear Satyendra Narayan,

I am deeply grieved to learn from your letter about the death of Sudhavati. I had always looked upon her as a person of strength and health and I could not conceive that she would pass away in her youth so suddenly. This has come to me as a shock and I can well realise how you and her father Sri Prakasaji<sup>34</sup> must have suffered. I send you my deepest sympathy.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**583. To Ronald Frieze: Cannot Write for Book<sup>35</sup>**

April 29, 1963

Dear Mr Frieze,

Thank you for your letter of the 24th April.

The contribution you intend making may be of some use to others. I regret, however, that I am wholly unable to find the time to write anything that is worthwhile for your proposed book. Apart from this, I do not know that I can say anything definite on the subjects you mention. I have endeavoured to write something about myself in the books I have written. Even there I have not presumed to advise anybody. Our lives are a curious mixture of experiences which condition a person. The training we get is largely derived from these experiences which are special to every person.

You will, therefore, I trust, excuse me for my inability to help you in your undertaking.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

33. Letter to Deputy Speaker of Bihar Legislative Assembly; address: Naya Bazar, Bhagalpur 2.

34. Sri Prakasa, former Governor of Madras.

35. Letter; address: 22 Billson Street, East Brighton, Melbourne. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 84-A.

## V. APPENDICES

### 1. From Josip Broz Tito: Chinese Invasion<sup>1</sup>

*[Refer to item 462]*

January 15, 1963

I believe that our recent visit to the Soviet Union, which came on the invitation of the Soviet Government and its Prime Minister, N.S. Khrushchev, would be of interest to you. Therefore, I would like to inform you about it.

Our visit to the Soviet Union was predominantly for holiday purpose. We used this holiday not only for the all-round acquaintance with the Soviet achievements during the last six years but also for an exhaustive exchange of views on all important international problems as well as on the relations between Yugoslavia and USSR.

First of all, I must say that we are very satisfied with the cordial reception we were accorded by the Government and the people of the Soviet Union.

We were really impressed by the results and vast proportions of building activities in that large country, which, besides all other things, has to set apart huge resources for defence needs. Looking upon these great technical and other achievements in the Soviet Union, one must also have in mind that a great progress has been made there in regard to the quality of products as well.

Talks between the Yugoslav delegation, which was led by me, and the Soviet leaders headed by N.S. Khrushchev, were held in the friendly atmosphere and realistic analysis of the international problems and our relations.

The attitude of the Soviet leaders towards the Chinese aggression is similar to ours. There are certain reasons why Soviet Government did not come out with this attitude publicly. This is due to their conflict with the Chinese communists on ideological questions, and due to their different views on the question of peace and war and the co-existence among the states and peoples, regardless of their different internal systems. I attach great importance to the fact that the Soviet Union stands firmly for the principle of peaceful co-existence and to its firmness that the international problems should be solved in a peaceful way, through negotiations. It is, therefore, quite clear that, because of this, our views on many other important international problems came closer to each other.

1. Letter from the President of Yugoslavia. MEA, File No. 1(China)/62, Vol. III, p. nil. Salutation not available.



Various guessings in the West that Yugoslavia is now changing her foreign policy and is abandoning her status of the non-aligned country are baseless. On several occasions I talked with N.S. Khrushchev, tête-à-tête, on various problems and among them also on the role of the non-aligned countries. I have explained in detail to him the importance of these countries and also told him about Yugoslavia and her cooperation with them. I told him that it is out of the question for Yugoslavia to join the Eastern Bloc and that it is most important that we cooperate on all questions dealing with peace, development of socialism in the world and the establishment of better relations between Yugoslavia and Soviet Union and other Socialist countries.

An agreement has almost been reached on the Berlin problem and there is no danger of war conflict over this question. Khrushchev said that they agreed that American military units together with others could remain in Berlin under the flag of the UN.

Soviet leaders are not optimistic in regard to the disarmament. They do not believe that an agreement on this question is feasible, for they are of the opinion that the West, at least for the time being, until the German problem remains unsolved, will not agree to the disarmament.

They propose cessation of nuclear tests for military purpose with effect from January 1, 1963. But if the western powers do not agree, the Soviet Union will be compelled to resume the tests, though they require large material means and no matter how much they are unpopular and detrimental to the world. For they must not allow themselves to lag behind.

We have got the firm impression that the Soviet Union will not give rise to any war conflict. It wants to avoid war, in order to create conditions for the building of the country and fulfilment of the huge plans of development. This exactly led to an open break with the Chinese leaders, who want to involve the Soviet Union in the war, because it possesses huge military and economic potential. There is no doubt that in that conflict Yugoslavia will actively side with the Soviet Union, because that is in the interest of peace in the world.

Dear friend, I believe that we can look with much optimism on further development of the international situation. But, at the same time, I am of the opinion that the non-aligned countries should show as much unity and activity as possible in their actions on the international plane. I am also of the opinion that the non-aligned countries should be more active and united in connection with Chinese aggression on your country, for that is in the interest of peace in the world which concerns all peaceful countries. I would be very thankful to you if you could inform me about the situation resulting after the visit to China of her Excellency Mrs Bandaranaike. Nowadays, the Chinese Trotskyists and the international reactionaries have got united against non-alignment. Facing this

situation, we shall have to fight against attempts, especially made by Chinese, to split the common role of the non-aligned countries.

I do hope that you are also satisfied with the visit of our Vice-President Mr. Kardelj.<sup>2</sup> We believe that the successful exchange of views, which took place, was very useful.

With sincere regards and best wishes.

[Josip Broz Tito]

## 2. From Pushpa Krishnan: Wrongful Detention of M.S. Krishnan<sup>3</sup>

*[Refer to item 38]*

[30 January 1963]

Detention of my husband Shri M.S. Krishnan<sup>4</sup> under the  
Defence of India Rules

I submit this appeal directly to you, Sir, with hope that I will get justice from your intervention, as I have lost hopes and faith in the Home Department of the State. I had submitted one appeal more than a month back, through my legal advisers, to the Home Department of the State, and I have not received even an acknowledgment, let alone any reply. Again, on the 11th of this month, I appealed to the same department, with a copy to the Home Secretary, Home Ministry, New Delhi. Till now I have not received any reply, and I fail to understand why such a thing is happening, in spite of the Directive the Central Government Home Department has given to the States, not to keep unnecessarily detainees who have not done any anti-national activities. I believe the State Government has not at all taken any steps to review. I feel that this power to look into the individual cases by the States alone has resulted in their taking their own time even to casually examine their cases, in spite of my several appeals to the Home Minister of the State. Would you not consider this as most unjust and that it smells [of] a kind of persecution of a party on the poor individuals, who unfortunately do not come under their party flag.

2. Edvard Kardelj (1910-1979); Vice-President of Yugoslavia from 1946-1963.

3. Letter from wife of arrested communist leader from Bangalore; address: c/o Shri M.S.R. Iengar, 99 Sri Ranga, Bull Temple Road, Bangalore. Salutation not available.

4. (1924-2000); member, National Executive, AITUC, and Secretary, Hindustan Aircraft Employees Association.



I would be happy and relieved indeed if I could know that my husband is taken to custody under specific charges, and not because he is merely a communist. I know and I am absolutely convinced that he is first a nationalist and then a communist. He is entirely anti-Chinese.

He is in fact responsible for many resolutions, fully supporting the Government of India[’s] stand on this present issue of Chinese aggression and is also responsible to bring out resolutions to make the workers take back any strike notices and not to resort to any strikes during the emergency. And he has asked the workers to work round the clock to speed up production and help the defence of India.

I know that many officers themselves are convinced of his sincerity and integrity, and there is not an iota of any remote act even to make my husband to be so indicted and kept under detention so long. This calls for your intervention, and advise the Home Department of the State to immediately review the cases and set free such of those who are detained under Defence of India Rules, without any basis for such a detention. I once again request you to put an end to this sort of Jew Baiting, in the cause of justice. I hope to be excused for having used such an expression, and by your timely intervention, you will indeed help me to get over a very great anxiety, and the unfortunate position I am in.

[Pushpa Krishnan]

### **3. From S.A. Dange: A Sick Communist in Prison<sup>5</sup>**

*[Refer to item 37]*

[1 February 1963]

I have already raised in my conversation with you the question of the release of arrested comrades of the Communist Party. I am not raising that general problem in this letter. Here I only want to mention to you one very serious case which is not receiving attention from the authorities either in the State of Maharashtra or at Delhi.

This is the case of Comrade B.N. Mukherjee, who is an old Party member and is a resident of Maharashtra. He is suffering from cancer which has advanced to a serious stage. He had come to Bombay along with his wife for treatment at the Tata Cancer Hospital. He was staying in my house and was arrested from

5. Letter from S.A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI, New Delhi. Salutation not available.

there. He was incapable of delivering lectures or doing any active work because of the seriousness of the disease.

Since his arrest, his condition has worsened. He is now kept in jail and taken to the hospital for treatment.

You know a cancer patient, the moment he knows that he is suffering from cancer, begins to face the prospect of sure death. To keep such a patient in jail is certainly very cruel.

Every Minister whom we have seen in this respect has promised to consider the case but nobody really moves in the matter. You can easily see what it would mean if this comrade dies in jail, because the disease is spreading very fast. Formerly, it was located in his throat. Now it has spread to other parts of the body.

It seems the Intelligence Bureau report against him is the cause of his being detained in spite of illness, because he had gone to China for treatment some two years back and returned without any success. In view of this, neither the Ministers at the State nor those at the Centre have "dared" to move in the matter. It seems to me that the bosses of the IB are the supreme makers of decision in this respect.

Hence, I am compelled to write this long letter to you personally. I would urge upon you to take steps to release this comrade before anything serious happens to him in prison.

[S.A. Dange]

#### **4. From Mohanlal Saksena: People's Movement<sup>6</sup>**

*[Refer to item 161]*

4th February 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

On the 18th January I had sent to you a cutting of my article "People's movement for Defence and Development". I suppose you did not have the time to go through it. However, I am herewith sending a reprint of the same and I hope you will be able to glance through it. I am going to Lucknow tomorrow night and propose to start work in one or two places. But before doing so I would naturally like to have your reactions for I shall be the last person to do anything

6. Letter from Rajya Sabha MP, Nominated, address: 19 Gurdwara Rakabganj Road, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 17(530)/62-66-PMS, Sr. No. 24-A.



which might in any way, embarrass you. Moreover, even if it has your general approval it would facilitate its working a great deal.

As you will see it would be a seven-sided self stimulating movement. On the one hand it is aimed to stimulate in the people feelings of self-confidence, self-help, self-discipline and self-sacrifice; on the other it would be self-regulating, self-supporting and self-propagating. Starting with oneself it is expected to expand and embrace gradually the neighbourhood, the village community, the district and the whole country. In fact, the working teams consisting of three to seven pledge should serve as the vanguard to rouse the people to their sense of duty at this critical juncture and to harness their time, energy and enthusiasm to build up national strength and solidarity.

I need not write anything more except that it is but a draft plan and can be changed to suit local conditions which greatly vary even in different parts of the same State. It is not even obligatory for the pledges to take all the vows. They only indicate as to how the pledges are expected to redeem their pledge.

With best wishes and regards,

Yours affectionately,  
Mohanlal Saksena

## 5. From E. Goubert: Problems of Integration<sup>7</sup>

[Refer to item 264]

5th February 1963

Beloved Nehruji,

As my health is not sound to be exposed in the cold weather of Delhi, I could not go over there with my colleagues Sarvashri Venkatasubba Reddiar, C.E. Bharathan and P. Shanmugam. By this time, they would have submitted to your good self certain *doléances*<sup>8</sup> regarding powers to be conferred on our Representative Assembly and the mode of electing candidates to the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. Besides, they would have also exposed to your esteemed good self the deplorable situation faced for the present by the local Ex-French pensioners and the French-educated officials. Moreover, they will also bring to your kind attention the absolute necessity of reverting almost all the officers

7. Letter from a Pondicherry Councillor. MHA (M.E.A., File No. 31(101) POND/62, Vol. I, S. No. 23.)

8. French for grievances.

on deputation in Pondicherry for the sake of economy and savings and for effecting a 10% cut in our budget as preconized by the Central Government.

Now on my own behalf please permit me to bring to your kind consideration the following:

Before de facto transfer, we were given to understand that a democratic regime would be established in our State thereby putting an end to the autocracy of the bureaucrats. Contrary to the assurance given on those times, we notice with regret that the bureaucratic powers assert, establish and grow inch by inch and day by day.

1. The High Court in Pondicherry, which has been existing and functioning here for more than two centuries to the great advantage of the justiciables of the entire population of our State is today overrun by the High Court of Madras. For the first time in my life I see today one horse riding on the back of another horse, for that is the actual position facing us due to the extension of the Madras High Court's jurisdiction to our State.<sup>9</sup> The judgement delivered in Pondicherry by the Regular Magistrates knowing thoroughly the French jurisprudence, will be in future examined by the magistrates in Madras who, also, know nothing about the French Laws.

Since the advent of independence, the Government of India are trying their best to uplift the economic situation of the Indian people, to raise the standard of living of all, to develop the public welfare by annihilating poverty and all which is disadvantageous and detrimental to the common citizens.

I do not understand why and by what benevolent sentiment this judiciary measures were taken, a measure which is but a step to diminish the dignity of our magistracy and at the same time a measure which puts the Pondicherry justiciables in a painful and disadvantageous position by asking them to incur a heavy expenditure to go to Madras whereas they had every facility to obtain justice on the spot with the minimum expenditure.

2. Similarly, during the French regime, the elected representatives were enjoying in the Assembly as well as the Council of Government, a certain amount of prestige and also exercised appreciable and dignified authority. Since the merger, the French High Commissioner who had but nominal powers, gave room not to an Indian High Commissioner but to an omnipotent Chief Commissioner with some new powers

9. See SWJN/SS/79/item 65.



which were not enjoyed by the then *Haut-Commissaire*.<sup>10</sup> So the Head of the State has become in my opinion a small Rajah and his Chief Secretary, a big Minister. They are today the two great Masters, who with the support of the officers of the Central Government, have taken in their own hands the command and direction of the Pondicherry Administration. The Councillors of Government, who were not at all “Advisers” at any time but had a real responsibility and control of a few services which were under their charge, are today reduced to play a grand role of “puppet”. And the members of the Assembly have become today mere figure heads without least enjoying the privileges and authority conferred on a Member of the legislature. Therefore, the elected people instead of seeing themselves raised in their status, most supported in their dignity and more responsible in their functions, have also been placed, as the Magistrates and the justiciables, in a position clearly inferior and ridiculous.

On the other hand, exploiting the degrading condition in which the Government of India have placed the elected body, the High ranking officers on deputation are finding an immense pleasure to dishonour us in all the receptions and public functions by allocating seats in the front row only to themselves and their wives. It is no doubt for the sake of amusing and laughing themselves at our shameful condition.

Nevertheless, the democratic spirit has predominantly prevailed in India, when she has dethroned from their power all the Rajahs and Zamindars, the same spirit of democracy should also prevail to dethrone the officials from their bossing mentality and their power of omnipotence to give room for a regime purely democratic or republican. It is also astonishing to notice that such kind of authoritarian behaviour is seen only in Pondicherry and not anywhere in the rest of India.

3. Evidently when the officers in Delhi have decided to grant us the status of a Union Territory taking into account only our geographical position, they are trying cleverly and maliciously to introduce here the administrative regime followed and observed there, namely in other Union Territories like Manipur and Tripura. With all the force of vehemence, please allow me, Nehruji, to protest against this tendency; for, the territory of Pondicherry was enjoying for more than two centuries an autonomous status in all spheres viz. administrative,

10. French for Chief Commissioner.

judicial and fiscal, and was beneficiary of a number of prerogatives embodied in the really marvellous French Organisation.

If in Manipur and Tripura the public are not at present fully advanced, I am sure that one day with the progress in intellectual and social spheres giving birth to the aspirations towards beauty and humanism, they will not fail to raise their voice one that day to leave them administered themselves without the spoon-feeding attitude taken by the paid Government servants. It will not be wiser to put us on the same footing with those people lagging behind, and to treat our most advanced territory in the fields of administration and judiciary with other above-mentioned territories and force us to accept a mediocre position or an even inferior one to that of enjoyed by us during the past two centuries.

The Central Government are compelling us to suffer enormously by diminishing and by creating an impression that the merger had been a big blow to our dignity. That is why, not able to bear this affront and dishonour which emanate from the sad state of affairs, which is really painful to me as well as to the entire elected body, I am driven often and often to beseech your good self for a proper and convenient solution consistent with our prestige and status. All the well-thinking and literate people, who cherish the lofty sentiments of honour and dignity, do not fail to feel in their innermost recess this uneasiness created by the autocratic attitude of the officers. I am sure your good self, will be good enough to admit that the geographical or demographical conditions alone should not edict [sic] one Constitution, one Administrative and Judiciary regime. If it is so, there should be one kind of rulings for the great USA and different kind of rulings for the Luxemburg. Similarly, one sort of Constitution for the great India and another kind of Constitution for Monaco, Switzerland or Ceylon.

On the contrary, we should see and take into account the social and intellectual evolution of its inhabitants, its welfare and its advantage, briefly speaking, all those which are humanly beauty. Nevertheless, even it is a very small minority, it should get its portion of solar rays and the moral support. It is this support and this solar rays are now lacking to us and we are suffocating for the dire need of these boon.

Please therefore, Nehruji, help us to come out successfully from the sad state of affairs and I know that you are the one and only person capable of giving us our Freedom, because you are the champion of Freedom. With the firm hope that an efficacious remedy to our illness will not fail to emanate from



your benevolent good self, I beg you to accept with all my sincere thanks and well-wishes the expression of my profoundly devoted and respectful sentiments.

Yours sincerely,  
E. Goubert

## 6. From John F. Kennedy: Settle Kashmir<sup>11</sup>

*[Refer to item 523]*

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

I've been weighing whether to write you on the subject of Kashmir and am persuaded that a word from here would not be misconstrued at this juncture. Our interest in this subject stems from the same concern for the security of the subcontinent which prompted us to try to be helpful when India found itself under attack from communist China. Indeed, the United States is now so heavily engaged in the effort to assure the economic development and insure the security of the subcontinent, that I hope you regard our interest in this matter as not amiss.

For this reason, I will venture to speak frankly on an issue of such moment as Kashmir. We Americans are perhaps too far away to appreciate fully the passions aroused by this painful issue. Perhaps, however, this also gives us perspective to argue that the great issues affecting the subcontinent's future overshadow in significance the differences between India and Pakistan over Kashmir.

While the history of this problem, and the antagonisms it has aroused will demand statesmanship of the highest order on both sides to achieve such settlement, the open Chinese communist aggression against India seems to have provided a new and pressing reason for its achievement. I hope that this opportunity will not be allowed to pass.

What chiefly motivates me to write you are the strong Pakistani allegations, expressed to us in many ways, that India is not serious about negotiating an acceptable compromise settlement. I well realise that the Pakistanis may be pressing this point in order to induce the United States and United Kingdom to intervene. At the same time, however, it does underline the desirability of disposing of the argument to the extent it can be done. To this end, I wonder whether some public gesture on India's part placing a Kashmir settlement

11. Letter from the US President delivered on 7 February 1963. MHA, File No. KS-19/62, pp. 165-166; also, MEA, File No. P.V.104(8)/63, pp. 2-3/corr.

and Pakistan-Indian reconciliation in the context of the subcontinent's long-term need for security and economic development would not help give the negotiations renewed momentum and provide us grounds for urging reciprocal expression on Ayub.

Even more important, it seems to me, would be some concrete Indian proposals in the next round of talks which take sufficient account of their point of view to be proof positive to the Pakistanis that you are genuinely seeking a settlement. I believe Ambassador Galbraith has talked more specifically with you on this.<sup>12</sup> President Ayub told Harriman<sup>13</sup> that he recognised any viable compromise would be one that was unpalatable to both parties. I have no doubt that it will be hard for him too to accept a compromise, but I can assure you that we do not intend to support proposals which lean too far to one side.

Let me close with a private thought. President Ayub is in a weaker position in his own country than you are, and Pakistan is the lesser power. By these tokens it is harder for him to take the first step toward you than you toward him. I too have repeatedly been forced to accept that more is required of great powers than of others. It is always the weaker who must seem unyielding. I do not mean in anyway to discount the importance of Kashmir to India, or the many factors which make settlement difficult. But the costs of settling Kashmir, great as they are, must seem less in relation to India's larger purposes than they are to Pakistan's. If only this issue could be settled it would open new perspective in terms of India's role on the world stage, while eliminating a painful diversion which adversely affects the security of the subcontinent and inevitably complicates United States-Indian relations in a way disadvantageous to us both.<sup>14</sup>

12. Galbraith met Nehru on 6 February 1963. NMML, Engagement Diary.

13. Averell Harriman, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. See SWJN/SS/79/Appendix 73. See also Memorandum by Harriman on his second conversation with Ayub Khan, 29 November 1962. Kennedy Papers, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKNSF-111-016.aspx> Accessed on 21 August 2018.

14. On 6 February 1963 Kennedy wrote to Ayub Khan: "My sincere hope is that during the next round of talks in Karachi, both parties will get down to considering the possibilities for an international boundary running through Kashmir. This can be achieved through substantial compromises of present positions. Even if this goal proves impossible to achieve in the third round, it would seem essential at a minimum to fix an agreed date in near future for a fourth round of talks lest the crucial momentum of the negotiations be lost." Telegram, Amembassy Karachi NIACT 1129; 6 February 1963. Kennedy Papers, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKNSF-111-016.aspx> Accessed on 21 August 2018.



I hope that you will not mind my frankness in this matter. I have been so only because of our great interest in your country, and my own strong feeling that your personal role will be vital to the resolution of this dispute.

Sincerely,  
John F. Kennedy

## 7. From Morarji Desai: Science Research Grants<sup>15</sup>

*[Refer to item 412]*

7th February 1963

My dear Jawaharlal ji,

I have received your letter of the 28th January about the budget provisions for Scientific Research in 1963-64.<sup>16</sup>

It has not been possible to ascertain which particular provisions the Planning Commission has included in its statement which it has sent to you. As you will appreciate, scientific research work is distributed among different Ministries and the budget figures include provision for research as well as for administrative and incidental purposes. I have, however, examined some of the major provisions. For example, the recurring grant for the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has been fixed at Rs 5 crores in 1963-64 as against the revised estimate of Rs 5.27 crores for 1962-63. A number of other grants are practically as they were or have gone up. In Survey of India, for example, the grant has gone up by over Rs 1 crore as compared to 1962-63. For Botanical and Zoological Surveys, the grants have increased. On the other hand, there are reductions in items like non-official delegations, loan to National Research Development Corporation grants, quite a few of which are for buildings. Provision for Medical Research and Research Institutions has gone up from Rs 2.80 crores to Rs 2.90 crores. The provision for Agricultural research has also been increased. We have also provided Rs 7 crores for Research and Development on the Defence side as against Rs 4 crores last year. I wonder if the Planning Commission has taken this at all into account.

3. You are perhaps under the impression that the budget proposals come to the Finance Ministry through the Planning Commission, but that is not so. Just as there is scope for economy in administration, one can hardly say that there is

15. Letter from the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/115/63-70 PMS, Sr. No. 3-A.

16. See SWJN/SS/80/item 173.

no scope for this on the research and research institutions side. It is necessary to distinguish between physical programmes and the cost to be incurred for fulfilling them.

Yours sincerely,  
Morarji Desai

## 8. From V. K. Krishna Menon: National Defence College<sup>17</sup>

*[Refer to item 3]*

7 February 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

I was shocked to hear that “Government” has decided to close down, or indefinitely suspend, the National Defence College. I was very distressed to hear it and I write in the fond hope that you will prevent this happening. This was built up with great difficulty and took over 3 years to get it going. It has an international reputation and it serves both civilians and defence. There are similar Colleges in the UK, Canada and the USA whose “students” have come here year after year and I speak to them both in America and England every year. They have expressed great admiration for this. In the name of Emergency, a great many sins are committed. I know my voice is not effective, but in spite of one’s handicaps one tries to do things. I have taken upon myself to request you to stop the closing down of this place. It should not be difficult to cut down its intake so far as the Defence side is concerned although I know that this is only a spurious excuse. The real reasons are different. I hope you will save this Institution.

Affectionately,  
Krishna

17. Letter from the former Defence Minister; address: 19 Teen Murti Marg, New Delhi. MEA File No. SII/109-10/63, Sr. No. (2) /Corr.



## 9. From Mahavir Tyagi: Expenses on Rihand Dam Inauguration<sup>18</sup>

[Refer to item 4]

February 8, 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I am enclosing a cutting from the *Times of India* dated today. An expenditure of Rs 16,643/- on the inauguration ceremony of Rihand Dam (UP) was, you will agree, not altogether unavoidable. During these days of Emergency and crisis while on your appeals even the poorest school girls are donating their ear-rings to the National Defence Fund, it is hardly justified for politicians to waste such heavy amounts of tax-payers money on any function which smacks of self-eulogisation. Emergency apart, even in normal times you will agree that ceremonies like inauguration, laying of foundation stones and other annual functions are quite out of date. They are reminders of old British days when Governors were invited by loyalists in the hope of getting recognition by way of titles etc.

May I suggest to you to exonerate yourself by expressing your regret at such wasteful expenditure wherever it is incurred. Such ceremonies, if at all, must not only be simple but must be observed with the help of private subscriptions received from officials and non-officials. It would have a lasting effect if you could make a gesture by sending a cheque of Rs16,643/- to the Government of UP. I am sure they would not cash it.

Yours affectionately,  
(Mahavir Tyagi)

## 10. From Partap Singh Kairon: Punjab Visit<sup>19</sup>

[Refer to item 265]

February 8, 1963

Respected Shri Jawaharlalji,

You will kindly recall that when I made a request to you in Delhi last, you were good enough to agree to visit Punjab early in March. Subject to your approval, I am proposing to have a rally of one lakh volunteers of the Punjab Raksha Dal arranged at Amritsar on the 3rd March 1963. This Organisation is performing

18. Letter from Lok Sabha MP, Congress. NMML, Mahavir Tyagi Papers.

19. Letter from the Chief Minister of Punjab. PMS, File No. 8/236/63-PMP.

very useful work in the training of volunteers and 40,000 of them took part in a rally which was held at Ludhiana on the 27th January 1963. Your visit will indeed be a great encouragement not only to this Organisation but to the entire work of Civil Defence in the State, and I do trust you will find it possible to come in spite of your very heavy preoccupations.

2. It is also proposed to request you to find time on the same day to address a meeting of the State Citizens Council to be held at Amritsar. All this will depend on the time at your disposal.

3. I am confident you will kindly make it convenient to spend a full day on the 3rd.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Partap Singh

## 11. From Kolla Venkaiah: Release for Parliament Session<sup>20</sup>

*[Refer to items 41 and 43]*

9th February 1963

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

I requested you for directions to the State Government for permitting me to attend the recent session of the Parliament. Neither my letter dated 10th January 1963 and the telegram jointly given by me and two other Members of the Parliament, who are also detenus here were responded to nor our cases were reviewed by the State Government. I have received the Notice for the Parliament session and the session commences on 18th of this month. No doubt it is an important session and that too the budget session. Now I renew my request.

2. I have seen in the Press that the State Government as well as the Centre are thinking of new tax proposals. Almost all the tax proposals adopted during the course of last year hit hard the common man and mainly the poor. Against these measures widespread dissatisfaction has been expressed by the people in different bye-elections. The income of the poor and middle class families have in no way increased during the last 15 years and in many cases gone down. Any additional tax burden on the common man is not only inequitable and unjust but also unbearable. The people and our State are facing very serious problems

20. Letter from Lok Sabha MP, CPI; a detenu in the Central Jail, Rajahmundry. MHA, File No. 59/7/63-Poll. (I), p. 62.



regarding river waters, industries, reforms etc. I will be failing my duty if I do not express myself as a Member in Parliament.

3. I have to state again that I am detained here for no fault of mine. And it will be simply amazing if anybody asserts that my presence in New Delhi for the Session will impede the National Defence programme, carried on in the country.

4. Hence, I request you again to give a careful consideration to it and to direct the State Government for granting me the necessary permission for attending the Budget Session of the Parliament at New Delhi.

Awaiting an early reply,

Thanking you, Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,  
Kolla Venkaiah

## 12. From K.N. Kaul: Ruining Lucknow Botanical Gardens<sup>21</sup>

*[Refer to item 282]*

February 11, 1963

My dear Jawahar Bhai,

In 1960 the Gomati embankment gave way and our garden and the ground floor of the laboratory were under water, but we did not suffer much loss. Our workers risked their lives and saved the library and other valuable articles. Now a scheme of the PWD has been adopted by the UP Government to save us from future floods. The result would be that a large number of trees would be cut down and quite a good piece of land would be taken away from us to be included in the bed area of the Gomti. Besides this the sewage pump, which is generally kept off habitation area, would be installed in the garden. I tried my best to explain that with great efforts we have tried to create a garden worth its name in the country and other means may be adopted to face the flood problem of Lucknow, but of no avail.

In 1963 the Government orders were to transfer the whole garden to us, but at the actual time of transfer a portion of it was kept away by the Agriculture Department. This time I requested the Chief Minister, Shri Gupta ji,<sup>22</sup> for

21. Letter from the Director of the National Botanical Gardens, Lucknow; address: 16 Gokhale Marg, Lucknow. PMO, File No. 17(540)/63-69-PMS, Sr. No. 1-A.

22. C.B. Gupta.

the transfer of this land in lieu of the land which we will lose on account of this scheme. In a meeting which was especially called by the Chief Minister to discuss this matter, it was agreed to meet our demand and Shri Gupta Ji asked the Minister of Local Self-Government, Shri Vichitra Narain Sharma, to persuade the Agriculture Department to part with the land. Sometime after I learnt that the Agriculture Department people got a foundation-stone laid by the Minister of Agriculture, Shri Charan Singh, in the plot next to the new buildings of our laboratory. I again met Shri Gupta Ji in this connection, who showed his helplessness in the matter.

Now it is difficult for me to do anything in this matter. My feeling is that this will come in the way of developing our garden as was visualised by us.

Yours affectionately,  
K.N. Kaul

### 13. From Sirimavo Bandaranaike: Negative Press Reports<sup>23</sup>

[Refer to item 461]

11th February 1963

My dear Prime Minister

I enclose a copy of a news report originating from London through the *Times of India News Service* which was published in the *Times of India* 7th February, 1963 under the caption, "Naval Base in return for long-term aid" – "Peking's deal with Ceylon reported".

I am most distressed that a responsible paper, which I expected the *Times of India* to be, should have resorted to such sensationalism and published a report which is without any foundation and is so malicious. I have directed my Ambassador in Moscow to express my concern over this report to the Soviet authorities for necessary action in view of the reference to the Soviet bloc diplomats. I have also conveyed my concern over this report to the Chinese Government. Our High Commissioner in New Delhi has been instructed to issue a denial to Indian newspapers. Our High Commissioner in London has been similarly instructed to issue a denial in the British newspapers.

The fact that in democratic countries, like yours and mine, a free Press exists which enjoys full freedom of expression should not mean that they should be

23. Letter from the Prime Minister of Ceylon. MEA, File No. SI/104/6/63, pp.2-3/ corr.



allowed to get away with reports of this nature which are completely unfounded and which can have the most serious repercussions.

I am sorry that I have had to trouble you but you will appreciate that this is a matter of grave concern to me and my Government.

Please accept, my dear Prime Minister, the assurance of my highest consideration.

Sirima R.D. Bandaranaike

#### **14. From Bertrand Russell: Settle with Phizo<sup>24</sup>**

*[Refer to item 258]*

12 February 1963

Dear Mr Nehru,

I have been in contact with Mr Phizo and I have been impressed by the earnestness of his desire to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Naga question and by the importance of putting an end to undesirable features of the fighting in Nagaland. I find it hard to understand the difficulty of coming to an agreement which would put an end to the very painful occurrence incidental to the present policy of India. Mr Phizo is entirely willing, if the Government of India consents, to go to India and, if possible, to put before you methods of conciliation of which the need from a humanitarian point of view is very great. It is not for me to point out what must be entirely evident to you, that friendly relations with frontier populations are exceedingly important to India and that the Naga problem has wider implications.

Yours sincerely,  
Bertrand Russell

24. Letter from the philosopher; address: Plas Penrhyn, UK. NMML, Jawaharlal Nehru Supplementary Papers.

## 15. From T.T. Krishnamachari: Reorganisation for Coordination<sup>25</sup>

*[Refer to item 7]*

February 13, 1963

I have been giving considerable amount of thought to the talks that we had on the 10th night. As you are no doubt aware, I have no desire either to tread on the corns of my colleagues or to play on aggressive role in our set-up. However, it seems nothing can be done by being a mere co-ordinator.

2. I had discussed with Lal Bahadurji and Khera the reorganisation of the economic and/or production ministries. I am enclosing herewith the proposal that I put up to them with minor modifications. The need is to create four new units which would be self contained, with a link between all of them and co-ordinating their work. It does not matter much whether the minister on the top of each unit is a Cabinet Minister or a Minister of State so far as the co-ordinator is concerned.

3. The desideratum is the need for a vigorous industrial policy, having in view the progressive injection of State control and an ambitious scheme of industrialisation and having regard to compromises that may be necessary because of foreign exchange shortage and to a certain extent of shortage of technical know-how.

4. Closely allied to this is the problem of capital formation. While a country like the United Kingdom, in spite of decline in many aspects of the economy is going ahead with its schemes of saving, we in this country, even with the advantage of a socialist policy, have been slow in mobilising savings. Corporate savings and individual savings are the sheet-anchor of any scheme of capital formation and both these have to be encouraged. Besides we have to rope in the savings of the small people. This can only be done by offering the attraction of capital appreciation that investment in industry would give them. It seems necessary that a quasi-state sponsored Investment Trust whose assets would be invested in industries has to be started straightaway and investment in it encouraged. The foreign exchange required by this Trust could very well be provided by the foreign companies willing to operate in India as partners with the Trust.

5. I have said all this to you before. My somewhat large budget of proposals is meant to cover much more than what is immediately needed in

25. Letter from the Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination. NMML, T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, File 1963, copy. Salutation not available.



respect of defence production. I regard such a major reorganisation of the Economic Ministries as really imperative. You have always rightly emphasised that the organisation and strengthening of industrial and economic structure is indeed the best form of defence preparation. Unless you feel that political or other considerations come in the way of a major effort in this direction, I for one would not like to put forward temporary expedients which with some goodwill and patience might help in the better tackling of the immediate problems of defence production, but would not afford an adequate solution in the long run.

6. I would, therefore, summarise the main requirements of the immediate future.

- (1) Reorganisation of the Economic ministries is imperative.
- (2) Some power has to be vested in the co-ordinating ministry for supervision of operation of the strategic industries primarily and of the resources producing industries next. The exact wording of this scheme would be a problem, but nevertheless it has to be done.
- (3) The planning of new units and the reorganisation of the existing units/industries which have strategic importance would have, again, to be in the main the responsibility of the co-ordinating ministry.
- (4) One method by which an umbrella could be provided for overall action is by bringing all industries, under the scheme of implementation of Industrial Policy and vest the obligation on the co-ordinating ministry.

7. I would be grateful if you could give some little thought to the points I have made if need be. I would discuss this matter further with you, and perhaps Lal Bahadurji and thereafter with Chavan.

T.T. Krishnamachari

## 16. From T.T. Krishnamachari: Access to Defence Factories<sup>26</sup>

*[Refer to item 5]*

February 13, 1963

Thank you for your letter of 12th February sending me a copy of a draft for the Cabinet Secretary.

26. Letter from the Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination. NMML, T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, File 1963, Copy. Salutation not available.

2. This is certainly one of the ways of breaking the bottleneck. However, I think something more is necessary. I have written to you at length today making certain suggestions.<sup>27</sup> I would like you to go through that before you make up your mind about the course of action indicated in your letter of 12th February.

3. The main point is that I and my men will have to function very freely within the arena of Defence production and to some extent Defence Provisioning. I cannot ask for permission to go to factories, nor is it worthwhile my intimating that I am going there. You are aware, the position of an outsider, even a Cabinet Minister, in regard to Defence is very peculiar. So, I must have a specified and detailed position with the Defence set-up and those are the matters that I have indicated in my other letter to you. Please read that letter. I shall be available for discussion any time.

[T.T. Krishnamachari]

## 17. From the Communist Group in Parliament<sup>28</sup>

*[Refer to item 41]*

15 February 1963

Dear Prime Minister,

The budget session begins from February 18, 1963. In this connection we cannot but again draw your attention to the fact that 10 members of the Communist Group in Parliament are now under detention under the Defence of India Rules. These are:

Members of Lok Sabha

1. K. Anandan Nambiar
2. R. Umanath
3. Yellamanda Reddy
4. Kolla Venkaiah
5. Dasarath Deb
6. Biren Dutta
7. E.K. Imbichibava
8. K.K. Warior

27. See appendix 15.

28. Letter. MHA, File No. 59/7/63-Poll I, pp.40-41/c.



Members of Rajya Sabha

9. M. Basavapunnaiah
10. P. Ramamurti

It will be noted that Tripura has only two members in Lok Sabha and both are under detention. It seems Tripura will not be in fact be represented in Lok Sabha at all when the Bill for creating a new set-up in Tripura comes up before the House. This in fact means a serious denial of the right of representation to the entire people of Tripura over a very important matter which concerns Tripura and its people.

We much regret that despite improvement in the situation and the stand of our Group in Parliament in the context of India-China border question, the Government should have still thought fit to hold these colleagues of ours in absolutely needless captivity. In all humility we should like to say that we cannot at all understand the attitude on the part of the Government. We would again earnestly request you to intervene in the situation so that the above-named members of Parliament are immediately released, making it possible for them to attend its forthcoming session and discharge their responsibilities as Members of Parliament.

Yours sincerely,  
A.K. Gopalan  
Bhupesh Gupta

## 18. From K.D. Malaviya: Shell and *Daily Telegraph* Intrigues<sup>29</sup> [Refer to item 399]

February 17, 1963

My dear Jawaharlal ji,

I quote below some extracts of a telegram sent by the local representative of *Daily Telegraph*, London yesterday. Presumably, this gentleman is acting on behalf of the Shell Group: -

“Rationalisation of oil economy (in India) is bedevilled by political motives. Not only is there evident intention of squeezing out Anglo-American

29. Letter from the Minister of Mines and Fuel. PMO, File No. 17(463)/61-63-PMS (Vol. I), Sr. No. 42-A.

refineries in favour of still non-existent Government owned establishments, but paradoxically, higher purchases of Soviet oil are thought desirable to preserve balance with Anglo-American military aid to India.

There was some bewilderment in American official quarters today at announcement that, perhaps, new Indian refinery at Cochin, South India, is to be constructed by United States' firm—Phillips International, on terms which appear astonishing. Reportedly, Phillips will have only 25 per cent shareholding, remaining equity being in India governmental or private hands but will undertake to raise capital at favourable rates from United States and to export surplus refined products. It had been anticipated that the refinery would be built either by Italy's National Hydrocarbon Trust or by Shell International...

India's plans for increased refining capacity are larger, of long term character and several planned refineries for handling Soviet Crude (a lie) are still on drawing board."

2. The above telegram has ostensibly been sent to create confusion so that even the Phillips be made nervous on the proposals that they have made. Such is the pressure of Burmah Shell. Such propaganda might cool off the attitude of the Phillips International on the negotiations that we are having. This is one of the strong reasons why I am most disinclined to have any serious discussions with the Shell or the Essos even for elucidating their points or getting any information.

3. Enclosed herewith please find another interesting document which is being circulated by the Essos mainly aimed against me. I got it in my latest dak.

4. I propose to call the local representative of the *Daily Telegraph* and to ask him as to why he should send such distorted lies which are likely to create wrong impression on Governments of nations which are very friendly to us such as United Kingdom.

Yours affectionately,  
K.D. Malaviya



## 19. From Syed Jafer Imam: Fitness for Office<sup>30</sup>

*[Refer to item 91]*

[19 February 1963]

I thank you for your letter dated 14th February 1963 which I received on the 15th February 1963.

I hasten to convey to you that I have never at any time desired to disregard the advice which has been given to me by the President of India or yourself, because the advice given by you both was in the interest of myself, my family traditions and to maintain the respect of the judiciary of India.

An advice which is given to me by anyone does not mean that the advice given must be under an authority. I have never questioned the authority of the advice given to me.

My letter to the Chief Justice of India dated 14th February 1963 questioning him as to under what authority did he ask me to produce a certificate of fitness or to take leave was a question which arose out of his demeanour towards me, namely, that he would not permit me to discharge my duties by sitting in the Court without a certificate of fitness. It is my right to discharge justice to the people by the oath I have sworn at the time of my ascension to the Bench.

I have been attending the Supreme Court from 10-30 a.m. to 4 p.m. (as prescribed) regularly since 17th of July 1962 until 22nd January 1963. Within this period of my attending the Court I have delivered independently several judgments and they have been approved and accepted by my brother judges with whom I have been sitting during the hearing of the cases.

Further, my independent judgments have been delivered in Court in the presence of the Bar and the law has been exercised in accordance with the judgments.

On a point of principle, I have taken exception to the attitude taken by the Chief Justice of India against me for he has no well founded reason to remove my name from the cause list, and thereby, prevent me from discharging my duties firstly; secondly, he has no power to ask me to produce a certificate of fitness just because I took casual leave for 9 days from 23-1-1963 to 1-2-1963, which I was entitled to under the Supreme Court Rules.

I would like to mention that I have the greatest regard and respect for the President of India and yourself as we are well aware that there lies a family bond of friendship, which has been existing from generations as between yourself

30. Letter from Supreme Court Judge. Salutation not available.

and myself. Our family traditions have been united before now and I would be the last one to do anything to fetter it.

I wish to thank you for your kind and considerate letter dated 14th February 1963 and for the advice which you so kindly offered when I saw you last.

I have run my life on the wheels of principles and may God help me to live on the principles upon which I have lived up till now and until my death.

My soul will rest in peace, knowing that I carried out justice on the basis of principles. There will be no moaning of the past when I have crossed the bar, for principles have been my sheet anchor.

[Syed Jafer Imam]

## 20. From Sudhir Ghosh: Talk with US Ambassador in Moscow<sup>31</sup>

*[Refer to item 475]*

20 February 1963

My dear Panditji,

I am on my way to the United States. I stopped here for a couple of days and stayed with our Ambassador, T. N. Kaul, to have some talks with him in order to understand Russia's thinking on the India-China situation. He also arranged for me to have a talk with Ambassador Kohler.<sup>32</sup> I had a long talk with the American Ambassador and found it interesting. I venture to make a brief report on these things. I shall post this letter at the London airport tomorrow on my way to New York.

The first point that Ambassador Kohler made was that he honestly believed that the friendly contact between Prime Minister Nehru and Chairman Khrushchev is a matter of great value not only to India but to the non-Communist world including his own country, the USA, and nothing should be done by India, in her search for military strength (in view of the India-China situation) which is likely to injure this friendly relations between India and the USSR. He, however, pointed out that the informal friendly assurances of Chairman Khrushchev and the other Communist leaders like Messrs Kardelj<sup>33</sup> and Rapacki<sup>34</sup> that

31. Letter from Rajya Sabha MP, Congress. Sent from Embassy of India, Moscow. NMML, Sudhir Ghosh Papers.

32. Foy David Kohler (1908-1990); US ambassador to USSR, 1962-1967.

33. Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of Yugoslavia; see record of Nehru's discussions with Kardelj, SWJN/SS/80/items 317 and 319.

34. Adam Rapacki, Foreign Minister of Poland.



there was little likelihood of a repetition of Chinese aggression against India and that Chairman Khrushchev and others are going to do whatever they can to restrain the aggressive Chinese leaders by methods of persuasion should not be relied upon; because Chairman Khrushchev has very little leverage left in his hand by using which he could effectively influence thinking in Peking. Ambassador Kohler also explained that his Government had heard about the theory put forward by Messrs Kardelj and Rapacki and others that the invasion of India by China was a direct result of the Sino-Soviet rift and what has been invaded is non-alignment and not India; indeed the Sino-Soviet quarrel, in its present intensity, is not the cause but the effect of the invasion of India by China; the Kardelj-Rapacki explanations, Ambassador Kohler feels, should be taken by India with a large pinch of salt. Ambassador Kohler's assessment of the India-China situation—looking at it from his outpost in Moscow—is that India must assume that the violation of India's territorial integrity by China is bound to be repeated, perhaps in the very near future; that China will of course shrewdly choose the time and the area of attack; and therefore India must do everything in her power to increase her military power, by acquiring equipment for her airforce and army, upto whatever minimum level her technical advisers considered necessary, from whatever countries are prepared to help India; his own country, the USA, sees no objection at all in India taking 100 MIGs, instead of 12, and other military equipment from the USSR in as large a quantity as possible and if the USSR is prepared to give India a less informal assurance than she is giving in friendly conversation, India should welcome it; India should also do everything in her power to persuade the USA and Britain to make available to her whatever fighting aircrafts and other equipment she wants, according to her own assessment; but all this should be done in such a manner and, after such careful calculation, that the present friendly relations between India and the USSR is not jeopardized; it would be a bad thing for the world, including the USA, if that happened.

Ambassador Kohler said that, in the India-China situation, there is one important item of identity of interest between the USA and the USSR and that is that both desire that the conflict between India and China should be contained and restricted to as small a size as possible; he frankly admitted that that was the reason why the USA, much to the puzzlement of many Indians, has been very hesitant about offering fighting aircrafts and other military equipment in quantities that Indian opinion would have considered adequate. I asked the Ambassador if there was anything that could be built upon this identity of interest between the USA and the USSR; the Ambassador's answer was "no"; he did not think anything concrete or overt was possible. He added however that although Chairman Khrushchev had been proclaiming for the benefit of

world opinion that the Sino-Soviet rift was a “family quarrel” and President Kennedy was saying that, after all, the difference was over how best to destroy the non-Communist world, the truth, in his judgment, is that the rift is genuine and deep. The Russian Plan for building up her own economic might and the economic strength of other Communist countries is based on pure Russian nationalism; the Chinese want to create a situation to convince Russia that it is in her own interest and in the interest of world communism that the USSR should concentrate on building up the Chinese economy; here lies the deep conflict and both India and the USA should do everything in their power to make it deeper. What Ambassador Kohler says proves that you were right in not accepting, in your letter of 5th January to me,<sup>35</sup> the proposal I had submitted to you in my letter (and memorandum) dated the 2nd January.

I have, of course, reported all this to Ambassador Kaul. My address in the US is c/o Ambassador B.K. Nehru, Embassy of India, Washington D.C.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Sudhir Ghosh

## 21. From J.K. Galbraith: Delegation to US<sup>36</sup>

*[Refer to item 31]*

Priority

In the meeting with FONSEC Desai<sup>37</sup> this afternoon following emerged:

- (1) The Indian government is hopefully getting up its stocks on war production and defense planning and these are being put under a strong committee consisting of Chavan<sup>38</sup>, Shastri<sup>39</sup> and TTK<sup>40</sup> with latter as Chairman. He said in strictest confidence—that this is being very closely held here—that they would like TTK to go to US toward end of March with Mission of making clear domestic, civilian, and military production plans and external material and plant requirement. I said

35. See SWJN/SS/80/item 281.

36. Telegram No. 3303, from US Ambassador to Secretary of State, 23 February 1963. Kennedy Library; <https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKNSF-111-016.aspx> Accessed on 21 August 2018.

37. M.J. Desai, Foreign Secretary.

38. Y.B. Chavan, Defence Minister.

39. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Home Minister.

40. T.T. Krishnamachari, Minister for Economic Coordination and Defence Supply.



that I thought visit would be welcomed but stressed that it not be before TTK has made it clear he is solidly on top of situation here.

- (2) Patnaik,<sup>41</sup> Chief Minister of Orissa and the local Rostow of guerrilla warfare, wants to come to the US to talk about his projects. I urged that this be delayed at least until well after TTK visit. Patnaik is a 4-flusher of considerable ability and charm who is busy converting from Menonism to Patriotism. After some initial conversations [words redacted in the document] for I do not trust his discretion. We should not encourage visit although if he comes in end, I suspect he could safely have low classification discussion of special force operations and like.
- (3) Desai mentioned President's press conference response on air defense which was bannered in all papers here today. I took occasion to say multitude of problems would have to be negotiated out if we proceeded and cited examples. He mentioned as before concern of IAF for training and some high-performance planes. I urged importance of taking things a step at time.
- (4) I asked Desai to tell me how cautiously they felt they had to proceed as regards Soviets on these matters. He said Soviets did not seem seriously troubled by arrangements short of a formal alliance but, in any case, their feelings could not be considered. He said Khrushchev probably would stop over on way to Cambodia.
- (5) He asked me to see the Prime Minister who fears that I am browned off and angry because of their handling of the air umbrella snafu. I take this as directed mostly to my vanity which is fully appreciated here but will plan to see Prime Minister early next week.
- (6) I told Desai that I had given some thought to a trip to the US in the near future but not yet decided. He asked urgently to see me before possible departure.

Galbraith

41. Biju Patnaik.

**22. From K. D. Malaviya: State Shares in Refinery<sup>42</sup>**

*[Refer to items 400 and 401]*

February 24, 1963

My dear Jawaharlal ji,

Please refer to your letter No. 454-PMH/63 dated 22nd February 1963, regarding Gujarat's share in the Refinery. If I agree to a share of above 15%, the structure of the Indian Refineries will be completely changed and we will have, most probably, to surrender the Indian Refineries Ltd. to the State Governments of Assam and Bihar, both of which are hopelessly unprepared to take charge of the refinery. Having given 25% share to Gujarat Government for Koyali refinery, I cannot refuse this quantum either to Assam or to Bihar. As both the refineries of Assam and Bihar are under one company—Indian Refineries Ltd.—Government of India will have to forego 50% share in the Indian Refineries Ltd. at the rate of 25% to each Government. That means the composition of the IRL [Indian Refineries Ltd.] will have to be changed and its administrative and technical management may have to be given to the States of Bihar and Assam. I do not think it will be very much in the interest of public-sector refineries. We are having so many difficulties in connection with refineries. It might further increase and hence my difficulties. I will explain all these difficulties to Dr Jivraj Mehta<sup>43</sup> once more.

Yours affectionately,  
(Keshava Deva)

**23. From S.H. Butani: Meeting Sindhis<sup>44</sup>**

*[Refer to item 195]*

26.2.63

Dear Shri Nehru,

You have come many times to Bombay but never we had you in our midst in any of the camps of displaced persons.

Every time you meet your people at Choupatty and talk to them.

42. Letter from the Minister of Mines and Fuel. PMO, File No. 17(442)/60-70-71-PMS, Sr. No. 12-A.

43. Chief Minister of Gujarat.

44. Letter; PMS, File No. 8/237/63-PMP.



Are we, living in various camps, not worthy to welcome you and be honoured?

People say, “Mr. Nehru will never come to Kalyan or any other Sindhi camp. He is scared of Sindhis and is anti-Sindhi. Sindhis might do anything to you, hence Government never includes Kalyan in the programme, even if you pass by, in spite of many representations from Sindhis and so on and so forth...”

I don’t believe that “Jawahar Spirit” can be so coward. One who can come to Poona during pre-bifurcation days, would never be afraid to come Kalyan. After all we are also your people and you, our beloved leader.

[To] dissipate those doubts, may I request you to come to Mulund Colony for half an hour while on your way to Kalyan! We can make all the arrangements and you will not have [to] repent for the same.

During all these 16 years it was your duty also to have come to us and accepted our good wishes. We have needed you all the time but at the present moment we need your presence and few words badly.

May we hope you will make up your mind and oblige us?

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
S.H. Butani

## 24. From Bertrand Russell: Meeting British Peace Movement Members<sup>45</sup>

*[Refer to item 485]*

[26 February 1963]

It is a sincere and paramount hope of mine that the conflict with China may be amicably resolved. This hope has guided me from the moment of my written participation in the discussion of the issues.

I am also heavily engaged in the preparatory work for the Peace Foundation which you so generously agreed to sponsor. The value of the undertaking will lie, I believe, in its ambition and its scale of work. There are many things to do with the projects the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation will hope to promote, the relationship of its work to the Cold War and to neutral states, and such matters as are difficult to convey within the confines of a letter.

45. Letter from the philosopher; address: Plas Penrhyn, Penrhyndeudraeth, Merioneth, UK. Salutation not available.

I should like to ask if you would be able to host two representatives of mine who could put before you the plans of the Peace Foundation and discuss more fully on my behalf? The people who would represent me and bring to you my views, are young leaders of the British peace movement, with whom I have worked very intimately in recent years and in whom I have every confidence.

I should dearly wish to make such a visit personally but my age would make this a prohibitive venture. I hope very much you will feel able to invite my co-workers in the project. The two young men are ex-prisoners, like the two of us. I am sorry to impose upon you by asking for the fare to be provided but it is this sort of circumstance which we hope the Foundation will meet in the future.

[Bertrand Russell]

## **25. From S.N. Dwivedy: Hague Court and Arbitration<sup>46</sup>**

*[Refer to items 483 and 484]*

March 2, 1963

Sir,

I would like to draw your attention to your speech in the Lok Sabha on February 27 to a passage relating to Sino-Indian question which is altogether new so far as the Lok Sabha is concerned and has far-reaching consequences.

You might remember that while answering a point raised by me whether the Prime Minister still believes in negotiated peace with China, you said, amongst other things, as follows:

"I have previously referred to a reference of this matter to the International Court of Justice at the Hague or even to a proper arbitration by a number of countries."

I would like to underline this passage "or even to a proper arbitration by a number of countries."

So far as I know, this is altogether a new suggestion. You have never referred to any such thing in the Lok Sabha in the past.

I have gone through the debates. The suggestion for reference to International Court of Justice was made by you first on December 10, 1962, when the ceasefire proposals were being discussed. There was opposition even to this suggestion from many quarters and in your reply to the date,

46. Letter from Lok Sabha MP, PSP. MEA, File No. C/103(13) CH/63, p.1/corr.



you clarified stating that you would come before the Parliament when such a contingency arises.

There is a difference between Hague Court and arbitration by a number of countries. Before Hague, it will be a judicial proceeding while arbitration by others would mean something quite different and largely a political solution to be made by others to which we should never agree. This was made towards the end of your speech and the Parliament had no opportunity to express any opinion or even discuss this very important matter.

You have also stated that since you have made the suggestion in your letter, if China accepts—although there is remote possibility of their accepting it—you have to act. In view of this statement, the matter assumes added importance.

I hope you have not written to them that you would agree for arbitration by a number of countries. This committal, if it has been made, will be a great departure from the present position and I would therefore request you to make a statement in the House clarifying the position.

Yours sincerely,  
S.N. Dwivedy

## 26. From Chou En-lai<sup>47</sup>

*[Refer to item 488]*

Peking, March 3, 1963

Your Excellency respected Prime Minister,  
The Chinese Government has in its note of March 2, 1963 officially informed the Indian Government that the Chinese frontier guards have completed their plan of withdrawing 20 kilometres from the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959 along the entire Sino-Indian border in accordance with the Chinese Government's statement of November 21, 1962.<sup>48</sup> The Chinese Government has in the same note informed the Indian Government of the locations where it has established civilian check-posts within the 20 kilometre zone on its side of the line of actual control and that it has vacated the four areas where there is a dispute about the ceasefire arrangement. I am now writing to Your Excellency to propose once again that the two sides should speedily start direct negotiations on stabilisation of the ceasefire, disengagement and a peaceful settlement of the boundary question.

47. Letter from the Prime Minister of China. MEA, File No. c/103(13) CH/63, pp 4-5/corr.

48. See *White Paper*, Vol. IX, pp. 27-28.

In order to stop the border conflict, reopen peaceful negotiations and settle the boundary question, the Chinese Government has made unremitting efforts. Only four days after the outbreak of the border conflict, it put forward three peaceable proposals which are fair and reasonable. On November 21, 1962, it announced the measures of ceasefire and withdrawal adopted on its own initiative. China has released sick and wounded captured Indian military personnel and returned large quantities of captured weapons and military supplies of the Indian troops. The Chinese Government has responded positively to the appeal of the Colombo Conference and accepted in principle the proposals of the Conference as a basis for direct negotiations between China and India. In order to promote direct Sino-Indian negotiations, the Chinese Government has done all that is possible for it to do.

The 20 kilometre withdrawal of the Chinese frontier guards from the line of actual control has put them far behind their positions as of September 8, 1962. Moreover, the Chinese Government has further decided to refrain from establishing civilian check-posts in the four areas where there is a dispute about the ceasefire arrangement. All these actions on the part of China have created for direct Sino-Indian negotiations the necessary conditions in conformity with the dignity and self-respect of both sides, and first of all with that of the Indian side.

Therefore, I do not think there should be any more reason to delay the holding of talks between Chinese and India officials. As for the fact that there is a difference between the two sides in the way they interpret the Colombo Conference proposals, it can well be discussed and resolved in the talks and should not constitute an obstacle to the opening of the talks, China reserve its two points of interpretation of the Colombo proposals, but do not make their acceptance a precondition for the opening of the talks. I believe that, no matter what difference there may be between the two sides, they can be settled reasonably in the talks provided both sides have the sincere desire to stabilise the ceasefire, disengage the troops and settle the boundary question peacefully.

The Chinese Government's stand for direct Sino-Indian negotiations will not change. But if the Indian Government, owing to the needs of its internal and external politics, is not yet prepared to hold such meetings, the Chinese Government is willing to wait with patience. Now, thanks to the initiative and efforts of the Chinese side, there exist a *de facto* ceasefire and a *de facto* disengagement along our border. Even if the officials' meeting between the two sides is not held for the time being, the already eased border situation will not become tense again provided the Indian side refrains from making provocations again and from re-entering the four areas where there is a dispute about the ceasefire arrangement.



The participating nations of the Colombo Conference and all other peace-loving countries hope to see direct Sino-Indian negotiations, and they hope even more ardently that the Sino-Indian border situation will remain relaxed. In 1959 the Chinese frontier guards stopped border patrols for the purpose of relaxing the border situation, but the consequences were contrary to China's expectations. Now, the Chinese Government has again made tremendous efforts. It hopes that history will not be repeated. If unfortunately, it should be repeated, the Chinese Government believes that the whole world will be able to see even more clearly than before who should be held responsible for the tension along the Sino-Indian border.

Respected Mr Prime Minister, it is unfortunate that armed clashes should have broken out on the Sino-Indian border. Use of force can settle no question between us. And the Sino-Indian boundary question will have to be settled peacefully in the end. I sincerely hope that you will respond favourably to the Chinese Government's proposal.

Please accept, Your Excellency the assurances my highest consideration.

Chou En-lai

## 27. From Morarji Desai: Allegations against Birlas<sup>49</sup>

*[Refer to items 109, 127 and 128]*

6th March 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Please refer to your d.o. letter No. 557-PMH dated the 2nd March, 1963 with the enclosure relating to some companies controlled by the Birlas.

2. During the months of March, April and May, 1958, a number of letters accompanied by some documents were received from one Shri Padam Singh, a discharged accountant of the New Asiatic Insurance Co. Ltd (of Birlas), alleging misappropriation of funds, suppression of losses and manipulation of accounts of the company for the last several years. He also alleged that similar practices were indulged in by the Ruby General Insurance Co. Ltd (also Birlas). Since the two companies had some common business interests especially in overseas countries and their affairs were mixed, it was considered desirable to institute an investigation into the affairs of both the companies. The matter was discussed in the Finance Ministry and both the companies agreed to appoint auditors chosen by the Controller of Insurance to carry out investigations on the lines desired

49. Letter from Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/115/63-70-PMS, Sr.No.9-C.

by him (the Controller of Insurance). The two auditors so appointed were Shri S. Ghose, F.C.A., Calcutta and Shri S.C. Mathur, F.C.A., New Delhi.

3. The Auditors completed their enquiries and submitted their reports. These reports were examined by the Controller of Insurance. In consultation with the Law Ministry notices were issued to both the companies pointing out the irregularities and calling for their explanations. These explanations were thoroughly gone into by the Controller of Insurance and were sent to the Law Ministry for their advice, along with his notes. The Law Ministry then sought the opinion thereon of the then Additional Solicitor-General, now Solicitor General, Shri H.N. Sanyal. On a fair reading of the companies' replies and considering the notes of the Controller of Insurance, Shri H.N. Sanyal concluded that there did not exist sufficient justification for further action.

4. The companies did of course indulge in malpractices like falsification of accounts as many other insurance companies have done in the past. In most of the cases irregularities have been resorted to because of the excessive commissions having to be paid to agents more than what is provided for in the Insurance Act. This is a malady which I am determined to eradicate in all companies. Under the Insurance Act an Executive Committee of the General Insurance Council consisting of representatives of insurance companies and Government nominees is functioning. It is the object of this Committee to ensure adoption by the companies of sound business ethics. Most of the companies have adopted a Code of Conduct and agreed voluntarily to subject themselves to inspection by an Administrative Machinery. I am satisfied that the tone of the market is gradually improving.

I want that the good results that have resulted from the voluntary action of the companies should lead to better results. At this stage I would hesitate to do anything that would harm our objective, viz., putting the General Indian Insurance Companies on sound lines.

5. As I stated earlier, the investigations into the affairs of the two companies under reference arose out of the complaints of a discharged employee. A similar state of affairs had been more or less prevalent in other companies too. When the conditions in all the companies are tending to improve it would not be good that we single out one or two companies for punishment even by invidious publicity. In addition, the opinion of the Law Ministry is that there is no strong case for further action. I have satisfied myself that any rash step we now take might not only lead us nowhere but also create a fear in the minds of all the insurance companies. It will completely upset the Indian insurance market.

I see in the papers relating to the investigations of the two companies no evidence to conclude that the malpractices were resorted to by the companies



concerned for the personal gain of the directors. I had, therefore, on receipt of the final advice of the Law Ministry decided that no further action need be taken on the past actions of these companies. Instead, I expect all the companies to improve their business methods as a result of the tightening up of the inspection of the companies by the Administrative Machinery and closer adherence to their voluntary Code of Conduct.

6. B.K. Kaul, Chairman, Life Insurance Corporation, happens to be in Delhi on a short visit. He had dealt with this very case of these companies as Joint Secretary in the Finance Ministry and is fully familiar with the details. I feel that it would be useful if you would spare a short while to know from Kaul at first hand what the case is about. I have asked him to ascertain your convenience.

Yours sincerely,  
Morarji Desai

## 28. From Morarji Desai: Creating the Unit Trust<sup>50</sup>

*[Refer to items 362 and 349]*

6th March 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Thank you for your D. O. No. 549-PMH/63 dated the 2nd March 1963 enclosing two notes from TT.<sup>51</sup> So far as the question of setting up a Unit Trust is concerned, there is already a preliminary study by the Reserve Bank on the subject and Bhattacharyya<sup>52</sup> is engaged in crystallising concrete proposals for Government's approval. Very briefly, the idea is that the ordinary citizen, who is prepared to invest in shares but does not quite know which ones to pick up, should invest in what is called a unit trust and this institution will spread its investment over a wide range of industrial shares. In a sense, the Life Insurance Corporation also, which invests in industrial shares as well as Government Securities, performs the same role for the person who takes out an insurance policy. Through the Unit Trust individuals can invest their savings and without the risk which attaches to putting one's money in any one or a few industrial ventures. The basic idea is undoubtedly sound and will encourage both savings on the part of individuals and the flow of investment into industry in general. If

50. Letter from the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/115/63-70-PMS.

51. T.T. Krishnamachari.

52. P.C. Bhattacharya, Governor, RBI, 1962-1967.

you broadly agree with the idea, I might during the course of the Budget Debate say that Government is giving consideration to such a scheme.

2. As regards the enquiry into income, wage and price policy, I do not know whether the Reserve Bank is in any way particularly well-suited for undertaking such an enquiry. The Reserve Bank no doubt has a good team of economists, who can undertake a fact-finding exercise but I see no special reason for asking economists of the Reserve Bank rather than any others—either in the Government or in Universities—to undertake it. Once we go beyond fact-finding, then immediately policy issues will arise and I am inclined to be a little doubtful as to whether it would be useful and desirable to entrust the responsibility for making a pronouncement on the subject to the Reserve Bank. Quite obviously, in any such study, whoever undertakes it, the Reserve Bank could and should be consulted. What I am doubtful about, and Bhattacharyya shares my doubts, is about the usefulness of letting the Reserve Bank itself undertake a study of this kind on the policy plane.

Yours sincerely,  
Morarji Desai

## 29. From Mahavir Tyagi: Action over Chinese Malaysians Wrong<sup>53</sup>

*[Refer to items 489 and 490]*

8th March, 1963

My dear Jawaharlal Ji,

For your information, I am giving below an extract from a letter I have received from Shri B.K. Tiwari, representative of an Indian paper stationed at Singapore:

“The Malaya-India relations, following the imposition and later the withdrawal of visa regulations, have become strained. Our government should not have rushed to the press about the imposition of the new regulations. There were so many ways of preventing the suspicious Chinese from entering India. They could have taken the Chinese or Indonesian way—never saying ‘no’ yet delaying the permit. However, the damage is done.

The Indonesia – Malaya relations are also at their lowest ebb following the Malaysia project. I do not think there would be war. But one cannot

53. Letter from Lok Sabha MP, Congress. NMML, Mahavir Tyagi Papers.



say anything about the Indonesians. They are as unpredictable as the Chinese. They can do anything. With the growing Communist influence there, President Seokarno is in a tight corner. It is a question of time when the communists start trouble in Indonesia.”

Yours affectionately,  
Mahavir Tyagi

### **30. From S.K. Patil: Bharat Krishak Samaj**

*[Refer to items 291, 293, 294 and 295]*

March 9, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

Kindly refer to your letter No. 546-PMH/63 dated the 2nd March. On enquiries, I find that the Convention of farmers, referred to in your letter, is somewhat in the nature of the Annual General Meeting of the delegates and members of the Bharat Krishak Samaj. This Samaj, as at present organised, is not sufficiently representative of the large majority of farmers in India. Moreover, you may be aware of the considerable criticism in the Lok Sabha and by the Public Accounts Committee, regarding certain dealings of this Samaj, in respect of the payment of ground rent to the Government for the Exhibition Grounds occupied by the Samaj for the World Agricultural Fair some years ago.

On the whole, I am inclined to advise that the proposed Convention need not be regarded as sufficiently important as to receive your attention in the midst of your other pre-occupations.

I have consulted my colleague Ram Subhag Singh<sup>54</sup> who also shares this view.

Yours sincerely,  
S.K. Patil

54. Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture.

### 31. From John F. Kennedy: Give Pakistan a Position in Kashmir<sup>55</sup>

*[Refer to items 523 and 551]*

March 9, 1963

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

I appreciate your replying to my letter in the same frank manner in which I had written to you. I can understand the discouragement you expressed about Kashmir. I can see, however, how the accumulated tensions and emotions of the last sixteen years make the path of compromise most difficult to tread on either side.

I am persuaded you will agree from your own experience that, in negotiations such as those between India and Pakistan on Kashmir, day-to-day developments tend to take on an importance they do not always deserve. They sometimes seem to obscure the broader realities which initially cause each party to conclude that agreement rather than difference was in its national interest. As I think you will agree, the realities which dictate India's discussions with Pakistan include the security of the subcontinent from outside aggression, the need of fresh energies and resources for internal development, and the need to end the fear of one nation and one people of the subcontinent of another. These realities, and the talks resulting from them, provide a historic opportunity for laying the foundations of friendship, wellbeing and strength in South Asia. India's potential role and responsibility in this historical process is central and your own capacity to exercise a decisive influence is great.

In your letter you described the proposal made by India during the talks at Karachi. While this was a real step forward, I suspect that until India and Pakistan have made serious proposals which take into account the position of each regarding the Vale, they will not have made use of the historic opportunity presented by the talks. Pakistan certainly has not done so. But I hope that India would nevertheless begin discussion of the Vale. It would be tragic if that beginning were not made.

Let me, therefore, renew my urging that India continue to make proposals which will be proof positive to the Pakistanis that you genuinely seek a settlement by signalling a willingness to give Pakistan a substantial position in the Vale. I urge this not only because I hope that statesmanship can yet find the way to honourable compromise that is so much in the interest of the subcontinent as a whole. I urge it also because India would demonstrate to the world its sincerity in seeking a Kashmir settlement, and would clearly show

55. Letter from the US President. MHA, File No. KS-19/62, p. 169.



Pakistan, India's desire to compromise the central issue of the dispute. You will appreciate the dangers of waiting too long [to] take this step.

As to Pakistan I hold no brief for the timing of Mr Bhutto's visit to Peiping nor the extent to which Communist China has been enabled to use the conclusion of this agreement to serve its interests. We have made this clear to them. But we cannot relive the past, and with patience and tolerance there is still an opportunity for the future. I urge the talks go well at Calcutta and that real progress will be made.

Sincerely,  
John F. Kennedy

### **32. From Bertrand Russell: British Peace Movement Members Visit<sup>56</sup>**

*[Refer to items 485 and 486]*

11th March 1963

Dear Mr Nehru,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 3rd March. I am, of course, encouraged that India has accepted the Colombo proposals, and I sincerely hope that the Chinese will accept them and that no conceivable possibility of agreement will be allowed to go unexplored.

Thank you very much for your willingness to see my colleagues. I sincerely hope that the Gandhi Peace Foundation will be able to meet the request for travel expenses. Mr Diwakar wrote to me recently concerning this.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Bertrand Russell

56. Letter from the philosopher.

### 33. From Manubhai Shah: Industrial Policy Faltering<sup>57</sup>

*[Refer to item 404]*

March 11, 1963

My dear Panditji,

I hope you must have noticed that the vigour of industrialisation has totally gone, the small-scale industries are suffering the most. Nobody seems to be caring for basic industries, for "machine building" and "manufacture of industrial machinery". With great care, continuous vigilance and personal efforts I had tried to coordinate and integrate all aspects of industrialisation, namely, the large-scale industries, heavy industries, machine building industries, engineering industries; chemical industries, medium and small-scale industries, khadi and village industries, and I had succeeded in forging a well integrated picture of industrialisation. As a matter of fact, the tempo had arisen so much that people both in Government and outside felt that industrialisation is easy and anybody can do it and that I had particularly no role to play as the Minister of Industries.

It is true that the work of Export Promotion was so much more important that you thought that industrialisation does not need my services for the time being and I should work for exports. Maybe you had also other advices from friends that I had no role to play in the industrial development and the programme of industrial development will go on whether I am there or not. In some cases, wrong prejudices might have also been placed before you that in my absence perhaps Government will be able to organise industries better and the so-called economic concentration or licensing which was being wrongly reported to you to be happening while I was looking after the industries for the last six and a half years, would disappear. I know that these approaches were all ill talk and had no effect on your mind, but all these falsehoods were being spread.

If you now get the whole picture examined, more high pressure from big guns is being exercised than ever in the past to the detriment of small-scale and medium-scale industries and the tendency to license industries to big parties and only for a few preferred friends and areas is taking place now than ever before. Backward States and backward areas are suffering the most. Also nobody cares for the tempo of industries and particularly the zeal and follow-up for the machine building activities for which I used to have continuous non-stop contacts with every entrepreneur, small and big, are totally absent. People in the

57. Letter from the Minister of International Trade. PMO, File No. 17(543)/63-64-PMS, Sr. No. 1-A.



government with least experience of industrial development and no background of technologies are throwing the blame either at this or that but in the end the country's progress on industrialisation has been considerably slowed down. Even the low rate of production which is registered today is more a result of activities for the last six and a half years and I am quite sure that in the coming months and years the progress will be still slower because no new projects of any worthwhile dimensions have come up in the last nine months, excepting those that had already been sponsored earlier.

Regarding the public sector heavy industries, even the numerous public sector heavy industrial projects which I had negotiated and brought up to different stages are all slowed down and no new public sector heavy industrial projects are being thought of. This has to be a continuous process or else again the future of public sector heavy industrial programme will be dark to the detriment of the country.

When I was entrusted with Export Promotion and International Trade, I had humbly suggested to your good self that combination of industries along with exports (i.e. Commerce in general) is most essential at least for the next five years to come till our industries become export-minded. The larger exports in future over and above our growing basic traditional exports, have to come from manufactured goods of industries. This having not been done and industries and commerce (export promotion etc.) having been separated I find difficulty in persuading industries to become export-minded and export conscious. Much better results in increasing exports can flow if commerce and a large number of industries were together.

Anyhow, as far as the promotion of exports is concerned, I am still fully optimistic but I would be failing in my duty if I did not place before you my observations of the last ten months of working since the new Government was formed and the different departments of Commerce and Industry were broken up into segments ultimately resulting in slow progress of all these sectors. I am particularly worried about the very progress of machine building and basic machinery manufacture and the medium and small-scale industries, which are basic to our social and economic progress. These sectors require constant care and merely granting licences or giving admonitions and threats would not produce any results. They require mother's care and continuous guidance of a friend, philosopher and an integrated approach to constantly look after all their difficulties and solve them in a country like ours where industrialisation is being newly acquired.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Manubhai Shah

### 34. From K.C. Reddy: Reorganisation for Effective Industrial Policy<sup>58</sup>

*[Refer to item 404]*

March 12, 1963

My dear Panditji,

I write with reference to your letter of yesterday with which you had enclosed Shri Manubhai Shah's "Secret & Personal" letter dated the 11th March, 1963. As suggested by you, I have shown the letters to Shri Kanungo.<sup>59</sup>

In your letter, you have specifically asked about the Ranchi Heavy Engineering Plant. This project is no longer with the Commerce & Industry Ministry. It has, along with other Heavy Industrial units, gone over to the Ministry of Steel & Heavy Industries. So, it is Shri Subramaniam<sup>60</sup> who is in charge of "the basic industries for machine building and manufacture of industrial machinery".<sup>61</sup> These industries have also been specifically referred to by Manubhai Shah in his letter. If you approve, we felt, therefore, that we should show these letters to Shri Subramaniam also, for it is only then that we could jointly give you a complete picture of the current position.

To the extent that Shri Manubhai Shah suggests that the present division of the charge of Industries amongst the three departments viz. Department of Industries in the Commerce and Industry Ministry, Department of International Trade in the C&I Ministry and the Department of Heavy Industries in the Ministry of Steel & Heavy Industries, is not quite rational and may lead to certain practical difficulties in working. I would say that there is some basis for such a comment and others, including some of our colleagues, have expressed similar views even earlier. But to suggest that for achieving any success in the field of export promotion and international trade, combination of industries along with exports is most essential, at least for the next five years to come, is a proposition with which many people may not agree. In fact, there are people who even today query the appropriateness of Textiles, Jute etc., as industries being part of the charge of the Department of International Trade. Of course, administration will always be felt to be easy if the same Minister is in charge of everything.

58. Letter from the Minister of Commerce and Industry. PMO, File No. 17(413)/62-64-PMS, Sr. No. 4-A.

59. Nityanand Kanungo, Minister of Industries.

60. C. Subramaniam.

61. Manubhai Shah's words.



On these and other matters he has raised in his letter, I shall write to you again after discussing the matter with Shri Subramaniam, that is, if you approve of such a course.

I shall wait to hear from you in regard to my consulting Shri Subramaniam in this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
K.C. Reddy

### **35. From B.P. Chaliha: Deporting Pakistanis from Assam<sup>62</sup>**

*[Refer to item 196]*

The Budget session of the Assam Legislative Assembly is now on. In course of the debates on the Budget, the problem of infiltration of Pakistanis into the State was a special feature and members of all sections of the House expressed their great concern over this problem.

After we had stopped the physical deportation under the Foreigners' Act of the people who are staying in our State without authority, it appears that the number of surrenders of such people staying illegally in our State has gone down considerably. Our operations against Pak infiltration were stepped up from July 1962 and from July till October 1962 the monthly figure of detection and deportation of Pak Muslims continued to be about 2000 and 100 respectively. Even after we stopped physical deportation, voluntary surrenders of Pak Muslims continued for some time but when they realised that physical deportation was not taken resort to, the whole picture changed. The number of detections came down to about 1000 in November and December 1962. The number of deportations as a result of methods other than physical deportation came down to about 400. The same downward trend continued during January and February this year.

It appears that the other methods are not as effective as the one of physical deportation. What is most important from our point of view is the fact that pressure on the existing infiltrations by way of physical deportation is the only effective method of preventing further infiltration because no amount of police patrolling in the border can totally seal off a border of the length and nature of the border between Assam and East Pakistan. It has been our experience that

62. Letter from the Chief Minister of Assam. Salutation not available. MEA, File No: P. I/108(38)/63, Vol.I, p. 54/corr.

the only way of preventing further infiltration is to make Pak Muslims feel that Assam is no longer a safe house for them. Voluntary surrender or compliance with a quit-India notice by Pak Muslims is also dependent largely on vigorous action taken by the Police to physically deport Pak nationals from Assam. Prosecution in courts of law is not likely to be effective as the kith and kin of Pak Muslims in Assam do not depose against them and in most cases, it is not possible to produce other witnesses to take such cases to a successful conclusion as the areas in Assam where Pak Muslims take shelter are predominantly Muslim areas.

We, therefore, propose to resume physical deportation as early as possible, if you please approve of it. By the time you receive this letter, I hope the Fourth Round of talks between India and Pakistan will be over and measures contemplated by us would not prejudice the negotiations. I shall be glad to receive your approval to the contemplated measures as early as possible.

[B.P. Chaliha]

### **36. From S. Nijalingappa: Krishna-Godavari Waters<sup>63</sup>**

*[Refer to item 299]*

16th March 1963

My dear Panditji,

I have discussed with you the problem of Krishna and Godavari allocation of water as it related to the State of Mysore and the States of Maharashtra and Andhra. I am submitting the note which is enclosed to give you a brief survey and an idea of what our respective claims are. It has been shown therein how Mysore deserves the highest priority and sympathy. I am sure you are aware of the frequent famines that occur in these areas of Mysore, which comprise the notorious Bijapur District and surrounding areas. It is therefore that we insist that must be allotted 47½ per cent of the water available and that we may be given the green signal to carry out some of the projects including Malaprabha, Upper-Krishna, Upper Tungabhadra, Bheema, etc.

It is but natural that the entire state and the people are extremely anxious that they should have a fair allocation and immediate sanctions given for undertaking Malaprabha, Upper-Krishna and other medium and minor projects.

63. Letter from the Chief Minister of Mysore. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 54-A.



Hafiz Saheb<sup>64</sup> has kindly promised to bring relevant facts to your kind notice and have your advice. My only concern is that while you may not trouble yourself with all the details, you may appreciate our dire necessity for a better living in these areas and apply the test of socialistic pattern of society and help the poor and the economically backward.

Let me make it quite clear that so far as drinking water being made available to Madras City, I am fully prepared to forego 16 TMC<sup>65</sup> from anywhere, provided it does not involve commitments for irrigation.

Yours sincerely,  
S. Nijalingappa

### **37. From Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra: Formation of Malaysia<sup>66</sup>**

*[Refer to item 530]*

18th March 1963

Dear Panditji,

During the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference on 10th September, 1962, you may recall that the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Razak bin Hussein had the privilege of informing the Conference about the proposed Federation of Malaysia which would consist of the eleven states in the present Federation of Malaya, the states of Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo. The close association of these countries through blood, economic and administrative ties makes the Federation of Malaysia an ideal and follows a course of natural development. It provides for the quickest and most practical step for the achievement of independence for Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei. In making this proposal, my colleague the Deputy Prime Minister sought the views of members of Commonwealth representatives at the Conference. At its conclusion, the final communique of the Conference contained the following reference:

“They (the Commonwealth Prime Ministers) noted with satisfaction the great progress made towards the establishment of the Federation of

64. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Minister of Irrigation and Power.

65. Thousand Million Cubic feet of water.

66. Letter from the Prime Minister of Malaya. MEA, File No. 1114(21)-SD/61, Vol.-III, pp.233-235/corr.

Malaysia by 31st August, 1963: this would enable the State of Singapore, the territories of North Borneo and Sarawak and it is hoped the State of Brunei, with a combined population of about 3 million, to achieve independence as part of the enlarged Federation.”

Since this Conference I am happy to inform you that the preparation for the formation of the Federation of Malaysia is almost complete. Both the Legislative Council of North Borneo and the Council Negri of Sarawak endorsed the proposal unanimously. All political parties in North Borneo and five of six political parties in Sarawak also supported the proposal. Indeed, the recent elections in North Borneo which resulted in the towering victory for those parties with pro-Malaysia platform have reflected the true wishes of the people in this territory. A referendum was held in Singapore and the people accepted the plan by an overwhelming majority. The Sultan of Brunei has agreed to join but because of the existence of the state of emergency, it is not possible to assess the wishes of the people through election or referendum. Inter-Governmental Committees have completed the terms for the merger of North Borneo and Sarawak and these have since been accepted by the respective legislatures.

You may be aware, however, that attempts are made by neighbouring countries, for reasons of their own, to frustrate the formation of Malaysia. We are most perturbed by their sudden hostility towards Malaysia and their branding of our nation as “neo-colonialist”, “neo-imperialists” and other such uncomplimentary epithets. You may note that the proposed Malaysia is a grouping of independent states and in implementing it, attention has been given to the wishes of the Governments and peoples concerned, in order to ensure that the new state will be founded on the goodwill and aspiration of the peoples themselves.

We consider therefore that threats of armed interventions and a policy of “confrontation” by our neighbour Indonesia as an undue interference in our domestic affair.

The Indonesian Government has accused the Federation of Malaya of adopting a hostile policy towards Indonesia and according to them the Malaysia Plan would jeopardise the security of Indonesia. This accusation is groundless as we have always considered ourselves their good neighbour. Soon after our independence the Federation of Malaya entered into a Treaty of Friendship with Indonesia. In fact, this is the only treaty of a kind we have entered into with any country so far.

Malaya has also been accused of supporting the rebellion against the Government of Indonesia. We have strongly denied this accusation. In accordance with international practice, we have granted political asylum to



only a handful of rebels with strict conditions that they should not indulge in political activities.

My attempt towards mediation in West Irian in 1960 has also been misconstrued as a high-handed measure taken without discussion with the Indonesians, whereas and in fact, in this attempt, I have consistently adhered to the agreements reached in an exchange of letters between TunTun Djuanda, the then acting President of Indonesia and myself. Malaya made a every effort to demonstrate her goodwill towards Indonesia, even to the extent of denying port facilities to Dutch troop ships en route to Europe after the peaceful conclusion of the West Irian dispute.

We have also been accused of failing to consult Indonesia in proposing the Malaysia Plan. It should be stressed in this connection that Britain is responsible for these territories and we, therefore, felt that it was quite sufficient that Lord Selkirk,<sup>67</sup> the British Commissioner General for South East Asia had proceeded to Djakarta to acquaint the Indonesian leaders with details of the Malaysia Plan. Moreover, the Indonesian Ambassador in Kuala Lumpur was kept informed of every stage in the development of the Malaysia Plan and so had our Ambassador in Indonesia kept the President in the picture.

It is very unfortunate that the Indonesian Government has interpreted as an evil motive every sincere gesture and intention on our part and she has now regarded Malaya and the future Malaysia as a threat to her security. It is sadder still when our good neighbour, the Republic of the Philippines, joins Indonesia in their opposition to the setting up of Malaysia. Their ground to it is that they are the owner of the Territory of North Borneo by virtue of the fact that the said territory belongs to the heirs of the Sultan of Sulu<sup>68</sup> who are their subjects. Following this claim a discussion was held in London in February 1963 in which the British dispelled any doubt as to their ownership of the territory. One fact however is clear and that is no claim was officially made by the Philippine Government for the ownership of the Borneo territories prior to the announcement of the Malaysia Plan.

I can assure you that the people and the Government of the Federation of Malaya is extremely grateful to you and your great country for their continuing support and sympathy you have given to the concept of Malaysia.

Until Malaysia Day we expect mounting campaign against us aimed at forestalling the creation of Malaysia. The relationship between Indonesia and Malaya has deteriorated but both countries still maintain diplomatic relations with one another and I pray that it will get no worse.

67. George Douglas-Hamilton.

68. Sultan Mohammed Esmail Kiram I.

Your sympathetic consideration for our just cause would be most appreciated by our people and the peoples of the territories concerned and would contribute immensely to the cause of freedom, peace and progress in South East Asia. May I count upon you to continue with this support.

Assuring you of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra

**38. From Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Krishna-Godavari Waters<sup>69</sup>**

*[Refer to item 298]*

March 19, 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I am enclosing a copy of my proposed statement on the Krishna-Godavari question. As you are aware, we have had detailed discussions with the States concerned and given the matter a great deal of careful consideration. The proposals made are considered by us to be best in the circumstances. We have endeavoured to meet the points of view of the various States without compromising over the basic issue. This is the optimum development of the resources in the overall interests of the region as a whole. Any attempt to make any final allocations on the basis of incomplete data will lead to the same mistake which was responsible for the difficulties created by the 1951 allocations.

2. My proposals have been ready for some days, but I have been waiting for the six MPs to give us their views. Last evening, we have been finally informed in writing that the MPs concerned have not been able to come to any agreed conclusions. After you have had time to go through the proposed statement, you may like to fix sometime to enable us to discuss with you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim

69. Letter from the Minister of Irrigation and Power. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Volume I, Sr. No. 57-A.



### 39. D.R. Gadgil on Vivian Bose Report<sup>70</sup>

*[Refer to item 117]*

The report of the Bose Commission on the Dalmia-Jain concerns raises extremely important issues of policy. These may be considered initially in relation to provisions of law already in being or legal principles generally accepted. In relation to India, the two important regulatory instruments are the Company Law and the Regulation of Industries Act. It is important to observe the limitations of the general approach of the company Law. These were made clear in the report of the Company Law Committee of 1952. The Committee took the view that the Company Law was “essentially a formal systematisation of the structure and mode of operation of a particular type of economic institution and the complicated nexus of relationships which it has built up between the promoters, investors and the management is a bye-product of the operation of private enterprise, in what is usually called a ‘free’ society. Because of this general approach the Committee considered that the specific problems of economic policy as such were outside their purview. They considered that it was not the purpose of Company Law to anticipate what the economic policy should be, and endorsed the observations of the Cohen Committee<sup>71</sup> that “questions of economic policy should be dealt with by legislation directed to that subject and kept distinct from the general law governing companies.” Interpretation by courts of individual sections of Company Law have followed this approach. It has been held, for example, that in matters of amalgamation and reconstruction while courts will subject schemes of arrangement to careful scrutiny in accordance with the standards indicted, justifying judicial interference, the law does not require that transactions should be in the interest of the public. Therefore, the law being directed mainly towards regulating relationships between investors, promoters and management, does not contain provisions that are directly or by analogy, capable of dealing with a situation such as that disclosed by the report of the Bose Commission.

The Industries (Development and Regulation) Act is also limited in its scope. Basically, the Regulation of Industries Act is framed so as to promote the development of industries and to maintain continuity and efficiency of production and to conserve resources. Most sections of the Act emphasise these primary objectives. Only one sub-section 15(b), which was added in 1953, has wider reference when it provides that the Central Government may

70. [Not later than 19 March 1963]. NMML, T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, File 1963, copy.

71. The Report of the Committee on Company Law Amendment (1945), chaired by Lord Cohen.

make an investigation, when any industrial undertaking is being managed in a manner highly detrimental to the scheduled industry concerned or to "Public Interest." This, however, is the sole reference in the Act to public interest and the main provisions of the Act have not been modified to any substantial extent by the introduction of this concept. Powers under section 18 of the Act in relation to direct management or control of industrial undertakings by Central Government are highly circumscribed. They allow cancellation or variation of contracts in bad faith and bar right to compensation for termination of office or control when the management is taken over under sec 18B: but legal property rights continue unabated and there is no provision for a permanent transfer of ownership or management. It may be noted, however, that under this Act, the Central Government can revoke registration of an industrial undertaking if it has been obtained by misrepresentation as to an essential fact. (Sec. 10 A).

Turning to provisions in the legislation of other countries, there appear two broad areas on which attention has been concentrated. The first is that of flotation of companies and related matters of taking over bids, mergers and unit trusts. Its connection with these, the (UK) Jenkins Committee has recommended the integration of the Prevention of Fraud (Investment) Act with the Company Law. In relation to the qualifications of managers and trustees of unit trusts, the Jenkins Committee recommended that "The Act might set out specific grounds upon which the Board of Trade might decide that managers or trustees were unsuitable, e.g. because their directors or other officers were persons who had been convicted in an offence involving fraud or dishonesty, but the Board should also have a general power so to decide on any other grounds." The approach of the last clause is unusual and is evidently deliberately made general and broad. Ordinarily, however, such legislation in other countries seeks usually to prevent misleading or inadequate information being disseminated and to protect actual shareholders by making false statements punishable with imprisonment, as well as providing the persons who suffer damage, as a result of untrue statements, with a civil remedy.

The other area which has been much developed during the last decade, is that of legislation for prevention of restrictive business practices. Here the approach is that of identifying practices that are considered restrictive and undesirable and preventing them by prohibitions and penalties. It is common to create special authority for enforcement of the law. This legislation is concerned mainly with agreements, practices and sometimes with price regulation. The older USA anti-trust legislation and the Japanese law which was framed on that model provide also for forcible breaking up of combinations, mergers, holding companies etc. The original Japanese law was substantially modified in later years.



Under general criminal law principles, certain types of abuse of rights of property have been recognised as corrective action or penalty.

Inevitably none of this normal legislation contains directly any provisions capable of being applied directly to the situation disclosed by the Bose Commission. The problem posed by the findings of the Commission may be described as follows. It has been found that a group of businessmen has acted together in the past, in all kinds of devious, patently unfair or even illegal ways, and has as a result not only made large gains for its members, but has also enabled them to attain to such dominant economic position that a part of the old group, as such, and most of its members individually, today are among the most powerful and prosperous of business concerns and businessmen in India. The problem is whether the State, on the fact disclosed, will plead inability to do anything in the matter and allow these individuals to continue to affect powerfully the economic affairs of the country through command of positions and resources whose base at least was built up by resort to devious, illegal and unfair means. Demonstration in such a contingency would be highly demoralising not only to the general public but also to the business community.

It must be realised that there is at least a minority businessman who are at least as anxious as anybody else to maintain high standards of conduct. There have been discussions of Codes of Conduct for businessmen and some businessmen have openly advocated the need for businessmen to observe, for example, the provisions of Company Law, not only in the letter, but also in the spirit. It is, in the circumstances, highly necessary demonstrate that deliberate and proved flouting and misuse of legal provisions and open disregard of public interest should be visited with dire consequences. No doubt, such action cannot be taken under any present law. This is because, as pointed above, most laws necessarily take a restricted view and their provisions are limited to attainment of particular objectives. What is required in the present case is action which is based on a wide concept of the responsibilities of the state. It may be noted, in this context, that after the last world war, the West German Republic consolidated the concepts and offences in relation to economic transactions in a comprehensive manner. Among the concepts of classes of offences was one which grouped together action which “violates the interest of the State in the conservation and integrity of economic order as a whole or in individual branches.” Moreover, in relation to this new classification of economic offence the attitude adopted towards measurement of gravity of offence was also distinctive. “The yardstick is both the gravity of the interest that has been injured and the mens rea of the offender.” Only such a comprehensive approach will prove adequate in this case. The view has to be taken that the whole set of transactions revealed by the Bose Commission and the persons involved

is the Dalmia-Jain manipulation must be dealt with from the point of view of maintaining the integrity of the economic order. That the offenders deliberately used loop holes in law and perpetuated frauds in order to acquire wealth and power is clear; that they deliberately obstructed the work of the Commission and delayed justice is also patent. Therefore, the only way of establishing confidence in the beneficent operation of economic society is to see that these persons do not continue to profit from their misdeeds, that they are divested of their wealth and power and that in future they hold no position of trust and responsibility in any major economic concern activity.

Action in this matter can be suggested and supported by establishing analogies in a number of directions. Firstly, there is the analogy in the breaking of mergers and combines under anti-trust; it is obviously harmful to the public interest that the large groups of concerns under managing agencies formed and operated in the manner disclosed should continue within the power of this group. The forcible break-up of the managing agency control over public companies in the group is an obvious first step. The second is expropriation without compensation so that they are penalised for the previous chain of frauds, etc. and do not continue to profit from it. Thirdly, the taking over of concerns managed by such persons under government management. For these types of action analogy can be established with powers under the Regulation of Industries Act. Lastly, it has to be ensured that in future these persons do not hold office such as that of directorship in any private or public limited company. The total action programme is thus to break up managing agency groups formed by these persons, expropriate their interest in the concerns controlled, take over under public management undertakings at present run by them, and prevent them from holding office in the future. Most of this action appears justifiable by analogy and is required by circumstances. The one point that would have to be carefully considered is the concerns or groups of managing agencies that can be taken to be affected by the results of the enquiry. If the enquiry is supposed to affect merely the concerns which were the subject of inquiry, the total effect of action may be small. If, however, the action required is interpreted as being against persons against whom the enquiry has given findings, the coverage of action will be the totality of economic activity under control of these persons.

It is obvious that action in this regard is not a matter for the lawyer at all, in the present state of law nothing is likely to be proposed or done against those persons. It is only when a wide "public interest" view is taken, and the approach defined as that relating to the integrity of the total economy, then special legislation promoted on lines suggested above may make impression on a steadily worsening situation.



## 40. From Bertrand Russell: Make Concessions for Negotiation<sup>72</sup>

*[Refer to item 514]*

19th March 1963

Dear Mr Nehru,

I learn from the Chinese Government that the differences now separating India and China, with regard to the commencement of bilateral talks, lie in the interpretation placed upon two aspects of the Colombo proposals. The one is to do with the advance of Indian troops into the area vacated by Chinese forces in the Eastern sector, and the other to do with the presence of civilian checkpoints in the Western sector in which China has effected a retreat on the part of her troops.

I note that India has accepted to Colombo proposals without reservations, whereas China has only accepted them in principle. I very much hope that China will, on reflection, accept them without reservations as you have done. But, if it proves impossible to persuade China to do this, are there not steps which India could honourably take to obviate the very small differences now remaining between the two powers?

You understand how anxious I am to see this dispute settled amicably and permanently. You know that I do not wish to plead especially for any party. Is it not possible for you now to agree to talk with the Chinese and to settle through negotiations all outstanding questions? Surely it is of great significance that the Chinese have now withdrawn, for whatever reasons, to positions behind those occupied by them on September 8th, 1962 the very condition you had set for the commencement of such talks. Surely the unilateral ceasefire and withdrawal on their part must be felt to count as some indication of their willingness to discuss matters. It seems that the differences which now separate your Government and that of the Chinese as regards the beginning of talks are so small and so clearly do not prejudice the ultimate determination of the boundary that it would be an utter tragedy for events to take a more belligerent course because the rare opportunity for serious negotiations is not taken while peace exists.

I appeal to you to make a gesture now and to sit down with the Chinese and to begin talks. Considering that Indian civilian posts can be placed in the vacated area in the Eastern sector, is it not possible to forgo insistence upon moving up your troops to the McMahon Line and to begin talks while the area is void of any armed forces? Would it not be possible to accept for the moment the absence of civilian posts in that sector of Ladakh from which the Chinese

72. Letter from the philosopher. NMML, Jawaharlal Nehru Supplementary Papers.

have withdrawn forces? So much depends on agreement and on cooperation and, however difficult it may seem in terms of short term national interest, I am convinced that the genuine interests of India are entirely to be served through immediate negotiations with the Chinese Government,

With my good wishes and regard,

Yours sincerely,  
Bertrand Russell

#### 41. From A.P. Jain: Biju Patnaik on Defence<sup>73</sup>

[Refer to item32]

March 22, 1963

My dear Jawaharlal ji,

Enclosed herewith please find a cutting from the *Hindustan Times* of date.

The news may not be quite correct, but there appears to be some sub-stratum of truth. It is obvious that it has been sponsored by someone interested.

At a time when the Chinese threat on the border persists a news of this nature denigrates the importance of defence. The Defence Minister symbolises our defence efforts and to create a feeling that he may be leaving the office reacts adversely. Krishna Menon is gone and how often are we going to change our Defence Ministers? Is the Chief Ministership of a state more important than the Defence Department in emergency?

There is also a mention of seeking American aid for guerrilla type warfare as also more military equipment through lend-lease. Chinese are already interested in showing that we have gone into the American camp and news of this nature lends support to their propaganda.

I do not know what part Mr Patnaik has in this news. However, I have no doubt that it is harmful to the nation. I hope you will look into it and ensure that no encouragement, direct or indirect, is given to such news from our side.

Wishing you best,

Yours sincerely,  
Ajit Prasad Jain

73. Letter from MP and President of the UPCC; address 5 Rafi Marg, New Delhi. NMML, A.P. Jain Papers, Sub. File No: 13.



**42. From Mahavir Tyagi: Patnaik Interview in Washington<sup>74</sup>**

*[Refer to item 33]*

March 23, 1963

Here is a cutting of Patnaik's press interview in Washington. Why did you send this third rate man to U.S.A.? He has made a mess and confused all issues. He is neither honest nor sincere to you, or, the Party. But it is really our bad luck that you are not a good judge of men, and you allow your personal likes and dislikes to sway your judgments. Will you please find an earliest opportunity to disassociate yourself from the view expressed by him? I am confident that you are not thinking to bring him into your Cabinet. He would be a disgrace to us all.

With kind regards,

Yours affectionately,  
Mahavir Tyagi

**43. From Mahavir Tyagi: Don't Abandon Hills to China<sup>75</sup>**

*[Refer to item 33]*

March 23, 1963

My dear J. Lalji,

Enough thought does not seem to have been given, so far, to the defence of the hilly areas. In this connection I feel like sounding a note of caution to you personally. I hope you would not take amiss.

In meetings, both private and public, you have given expression to the expert view of Army officers to the effect that tactically it would not be a good strategy to give a pitched battle to the Chinese on the hills, they would draw the enemy on to the plains where they could put up a real fight for success. While on merits the proposition is quite unassailable, you should please never forget to couple it with a clarification to the effect that it does not mean allowing Chinese to cross the hills without any resistance, and that we are putting up strong defences all along our borders, where civilians, armed guards of the border police, and the Army would give a combined resistance. In case the Chinese

74. Letter from Lok Sabha MP, Congress. NMML, Mahavir Tyagi's Papers. Salutation not available.

75. Letter from Lok Sabha MP, Congress. NMML, Mahavir Tyagi's Papers.

again dared violate the sanctity of our internationally recognised borders, we too would be free to move about according to demands of war strategy.

If you forget to emphasise this point, and repeat what the Army Officers say, a feeling of intense fear and utter alarm would sway the whole population in the hills. They would be justified to think that your war strategy abandons their families to the enemy. Once their sense of security is shattered, there would be a trend for mass exodus from hills down to the plains. All will go jittery and it is in such conditions that armies too tend to go out of control.

May be, I myself have become too panicky. But the fact is that enough is not being done towards war preparedness.

With kind regards,

Yours affectionately,  
Mahavir Tyagi

#### **44. From J.K. Galbraith: US Strategy on Kashmir<sup>76</sup>**

*[Refer to item 550]*

I have now settled in my mind on the tactics for the next approach to the Indians on Kashmir. This, supplements and extends EMBTELS 3602 and 3607 to which incidentally I have as yet had no response. We assume here that the Department has not lost its interest in a Kashmir settlement. If this is so, would hope there might be more positive indication to this effect in the speed and precision of future comment.

As the basic point of departure, let me note that I have exhausted my present line of argument. The Indians are listening to my speeches on the security of the subcontinent and the need to placate our Congress with exceptional equanimity. I would attribute this to my own incoherence were it not that the eloquent letters drafted for the President are producing an equal absence of perturbation. At the same time as shown by the past and the forthcoming trips of the local power elite to Washington, Indians have a continuing and increasing concern for war production assistance, longer run defense aid and air defense. There is also increasing concern about developing independent strength by the IAF. As the immediate fear of the Chinese air force recedes and national pride

76. Telegram No.3693, 25 March 1963, from the US Ambassador to Secretary of State. Kennedy Library; <https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKNSF-111-016.aspx> Accessed on 21 August 2018.



re-asserts itself, they are beginning to think of new equipment. This yearning will continue and increase.

One further point. Instead of waiting for April Talks, there is a chance for speeding up these dreary negotiations by getting the Indians to outline an offer in advance. This would put them in very good light, and put the Paks in a position where they would have to prepare a responding step. This offer should be fairly definitive and could be wholly contingent on a Pak response. The Calcutta exercise (Embtel 3602) is causing me to have doubts about whether the existing forward process is going forward at all. We need a bigger step. In light of the above I propose:

- (1) After preparatory work with Krishnamachari, Shastri, and Fonsec Desai and possibly Chavan, I propose to go to see PRIMIN and put forward a plain political bargain. Alternatively, "I may ask" the above cast to do it for me and preliminary soundings with TTK suggest that this could be best course. The deal is that we will give the Indians substantial support on machinery, equipment and raw material for the development of their defense industry. We will give them back up support on air. We will negotiate a sizeable program of longer-term aid. These things we are prepared to work out with Krishnamachari on his forthcoming visit to Washington. But we must however have something from the Indians. That is a clear indication that they will make a substantial concession, not a sliver, in the valley. I shall note that one dominant view, which I happen to hold, is that the Vale should be divided with the rights to the Valley Residents to move and trade freely across the line. There must also be ironclad guarantees to the Pakistanis on the rivers. Something on this line should be offered in advance of Karachi as a major move to settlement. At Karachi Indians should propose a joint team of experts to work on mutually acceptable arrangements in Vale for presentation first to ministers and then to summit.
- (2) I will stress that early indication of offer along the foregoing lines will serve two purposes: (A) It will set the stage for Krishnamachari's negotiations and enable him to sew up these vital matters, and (B) It will make it possible for us to put the arm on the Paks in an equally serious way. We do not know whether the Paks will accept. But the Indians will have put the ball plainly in their court. If Paks don't respond to a suitable offer, we will of course go ahead with military aid. The Paks will have lost their right to complain.
- (3) The foregoing concerns the major step. I come now to a later stage of the bargain. I plan to say that we are aware of the Indians need for

Transport planes, high-performance fighters and pilot training. The C-119s we will provide as part of the present program. However, we have no choice but to go slow on the high-performance fighters and pilot training and probably C-130 type transport because of an adverse and damaging Pakistan reaction. But it should be understood that just as soon as a Kashmir settlement is effected, we will provide planes and training so welcome to the accretion to the air strength of the non-communist world. I am perfectly aware that this takes us some steps beyond present thinking. Notice however that it is an offer that is contingent on a settlement. Should we get a settlement, some fighters and training would be a small price. And it gives Indians strong incentive for further adjustment and amendments beyond the major step. Once we get the major steps, small changes can follow always assuming the Paks can be brought along.

There are risks in the above strategy and I have no doubt that they will be adequately discussed. This is the first time we have descended to quite such a crude bazar level with Indians. They may not like it and the sensitive Nehru soul may be somewhat seared. The Communists and the Menonites will xell<sup>77</sup> [probably sell] a barter of sacred territory for the defense and sound off. However, I must confess that I have exhausted the verbal lines of approach including those that are still to be suggested by the department and this is the most practical next step. Moreover, It might work. Accordingly:

- (1) May I have Washington support for the defence production, air defense, and longer-range arms aid which are our part of the bargain? May I note that if caution causes you to cut back on my offer, you will be directly damaging my case. And may I note that these are things that in one form or another, we are going to do anyway, so why not use them?
- (2) To avoid misunderstanding I should give some indication of the general magnitude on defense production and while these figures need not be precise, I will need guidance and neither vagueness nor parsimony will help me a bit.
- (3) May I have specific approval for talking about the longer-run air prospect in event of a full settlement?
- (4) May it be understood (Embtel 3607) that air defense deal with procedure, but at the moment it seems at all odds the most promising course.

77. The original document mentioned: 'as received' after an asterisk.



- (5) May it be known that I view with continuing alarm the indication in the cables that Sandys<sup>78</sup> may return to the sub-continent and I regard as irresponsible the failure to tell the British when this talk of the glint in Sandys' eye comes up how disastrous this would be. (They are clear here). I am in fact persuaded that at any time we seem to be close to agreement he will be back with hope of propping up his admirably unpromising career and presumably with his talk of CENTO, Nuclear Deterrents and the rest. I must again use in strongest terms the grievous damage that this would do and the importance of preventing it. If nothing else serves, you must have in mind a direct appeal by the President to Macmillan.
- (6) May I have, for God's sake, reasonably prompt reply? If you are very prompt, I might plead for speed here so you could put bite into Bhutto. May I also remind all hands that just as Washington considers it prudent to remind ambassadors to move with all firmness, vigour and determination, so ambassadors are entitled in characteristic humility to ask Washington to collect itself effectively for supporting action. I notice with mild distaste my feeling that while I should be expected to move GOI with some celerity, the tempo USG must be taken as given and very deliberate at that.

Galbraith

## 45. From K. C. Reddy: Industrialisation<sup>79</sup>

*[Refer to items 359 and 404]*

March 25, 1963

My dear Panditji,

(Omitted: paragraph 1)

2. I have now discussed this matter with Subramaniam and Kanungo<sup>80</sup> and would like to set down our reactions to Manubhai Shah's letter.

78. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of States, Commonwealth Relations, UK.

79. Letter from the Minister of Commerce and Industry. PMO, File No. 17(543)/63-64-PMS, Sr. No. 5-A. Only excerpts available in the NMML.

80. C. Subramaniam and Nityanand Kanungo; Minister of Steel and Heavy Industries and Minister of State for Industry in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, respectively.

(Omitted: paragraphs 3 and 4)

5. The background to the present situation is the following. Largely through pressure from Manubhai Shah, in respect of several industries, licences covering the entire Third Plan targets for these industries had been given, right at the start of the Third Plan. In many cases people secured licences, probably without the intention of implementing them and only in order to keep other likely applicants out. In the last twelve months or so, we have been constantly reviewing outstanding licences and steps taken by licensees for implementation. We have had to revoke, in 1962, as many as 407 licences. This very rapid licensing did also involve a contingent commitment of foreign exchange resources until certain licences were revoked. This created a certain avoidable and premature pressure on foreign exchange resources. There were also other difficulties which came to light. For instance: (i) In licensing, not much thought had been given to economies of scale of production or standardisation. A large number of small capacity licences had been issued involving uneconomic production based on a large number of different foreign collaboration arrangements. (ii) Not much thought had been given to a rapid increase in the indigenous content of manufactures. This resulted in an excessive demand for foreign exchange resources for import of components. In the absence of adequate foreign exchange resources, there was idle capacity or a threat of it. (iii) The selection of small scale industries had not in all cases been happy. A large number of consumer goods industries had been licensed in the small scale sector, based on imported raw material. While we have been doing everything possible to avoid hardship, when a serious shortage of foreign exchange arose, these units were some of the first to suffer. Obviously, the unemployment of a large number of urban and semi-urban factory labour could not be contemplated. Much of the attenuated foreign exchange resources available for import of raw material, components etc. were consumed by the organised sector of industry (both medium and large scale.) We have been trying to remedy this situation rapidly by shifting the emphasis of small scale industries to the manufacture of components and ancillaries for the larger and basic industries especially in the public sector, e.g., Hindustan Machine Tools, Heavy Electricals Limited etc.

(Omitted: parts of paragraph 5)

I attach a few statements which bear on the licences issued during 1962 to the larger industrial groups in the country (Statement I) and on the distribution of licences region-wise. The policy we are now following in regard to the larger



industrial groups is that where an industry is not reserved for the public sector we license these industrial houses for the more difficult priority industries which call for the acquisition of foreign collaboration facilities, foreign exchange from private or semi-public lending agencies abroad and the provision of experienced managerial talent. We are no longer licensing these houses for the easier and quick-profit-making industries. In regard to regional distribution, we have given preferential treatment to backward areas like Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala etc. Technological considerations, of course, sometimes dictate the location of particular industries in areas where industry is already fairly concentrated. Otherwise preference is given to the industrially backward States.

(Omitted: paragraphs 6-8)

9. In regard to your specific enquiry relating to the Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi, I enclose a statement (Statement III) showing the dates of commencement of production in the various units at Ranchi, according to the Russian and Czech Project Reports, and the present position. You will see that the schedule is not only being adhered to but has been somewhat accelerated. In fact, apart from manufacturing cranes for supply to Heavy Electricals, the Heavy Engineering Corporation is undertaking the manufacture of structural steel work and cranes required for its own (building) construction. Even before the emergency came upon us, the Department of Heavy Industries has been devising ways and means of erecting and utilising machinery and equipment which have arrived, by manufacturing, sometimes even ahead of schedule, items which may not be on a future regular manufacturing programme of the completed factory. Subramaniam's approach is that in all these projects into which very heavy investment goes, production according to schedule and, under the emergency situation, even an acceleration of the production schedule, is important. He has enjoined rapid and quiet work at Ranchi. When you were invited by Manubhai Shah in September 1961 to "inaugurate" something, there was nothing on the site except the land. Even in regard to the acquisition of the land, there was still some difficulty. Subramaniam is anxious that there should be something tangible achieved in Ranchi before he requests you to go there. This may be in the near future.

10. It is quite wrong to say that activity in regard to the sponsoring and the implementation of industrialisation has slackened. On the other hand, in spite of great difficulties, we have been going ahead with determination, correcting errors and deficiencies and laying the foundations of self-sustaining growth and of the elimination, as far and as quickly as possible, of dependence on foreign

assistance, foreign know-how and foreign personnel. In order to achieve targets and avoid the lumping of deliveries and payments during the latter half of the Fourth Plan—as has happened during the Third Plan—it will be necessary, from next year onwards, to do some advance licensing for the Fourth Plan. We are already considering this in basic sectors of industry e.g. machine tools and machine building, cement, fertilisers, basic chemicals etc. All this adds up to continuous and rational planning for which one might take some credit.

(Omitted: after paragraph 10)

Yours sincerely,  
K. C Reddy

#### **46. From Morarji Desai: Aid for 1963-1964<sup>81</sup>**

*[Refer to item 356]*

27th March 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

As you probably know, the World Bank Consortium to consider further assistance to India's Third Five Year Plan is scheduled to meet in Washington at the end of April. Mr Escott Reid<sup>82</sup> as well as other members of the Bank staff have been in India studying our requirements as well as general trends in the economy to prepare for this meeting. We have to indicate the level of aid, which we expect at this juncture, and to justify it by relevant facts and figures. The Consortium will be considering our requirements for the coming financial year, namely 1st April 1963 to 31st March 1964.

2. As usual, we have had statements from all the Ministries concerned about what they need in terms of foreign exchange to carry through all the projects and programme which they propose to take up during the coming financial year. The total of all these requirements adds up to the somewhat formidable figure of Rs 1000 crores, while in the first two years of the Plan Consortium aid amounted to Rs 560 crores per annum on the average. As you know, even to get this level of aid we had to make tremendous efforts, and at a time when we are seeking additional defence aid from these very countries, it would, to my mind, be wholly unrealistic to expect any sizable increase in the

81. Letter from the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37(104)/61-63-PM, Vol. II, Sr. No. 153-A.

82. Director of the South-Asia and Middle East Department of the World Bank.



level of economic aid for the coming year. This judgment is corroborated by such informal views as we have received, both from the World Bank sources and from the Governments concerned.

3. As usual, the estimated requirements of Ministries have been scrutinised in the Finance Ministry in close cooperation with representatives of the Planning Commission. In order to keep the level of our aid requirements at a reasonable figure, we have first of all left out projects for which we expect aid from non-Consortium sources. Then again, there are some projects about which we have reason to believe that assistance may not be forthcoming from the World Bank or the Consortium countries. Finally, there is the fact that in many instances credits promised remain unutilised for long periods of time, because all the preparatory work for a major project takes much longer than is originally envisaged. We have, therefore, applied the test of the physical readiness of the project to proceed as one of the criteria for including it in our presentation to the Consortium. We have been able to make sizable reductions in our estimates of requirements by taking account of these factors. At the same time, we are going to try to get as high a proportion of the available aid in a form, which gives us the maximum freedom and flexibility in using it for different purposes. Thereby, not only can we have larger imports of material and equipment needed for such diverse purposes as agriculture, scientific research and tele-communications, but can also take up projects not being formally presented to the Consortium if later on the project is ready to proceed and we do not want it to wait till next year for external assistance. Incidentally, a reasonably high proportion of aid not tied to individual projects will also enable us to meet defence needs by stepping up the domestic production of various items needed for our armed forces and for which the import of raw materials or components is necessary.

4. The final picture we propose to present to the Consortium, therefore, is for aid amounting to just below Rs 600 crores, of which about Rs 260 crores should, according to our presentation, be not tied to individual projects, and Rs 336 crores be for projects. In our project list we have naturally included the steel plant at Bokaro, the atomic power plant at Tarapore as well as the Kandu reactor in Rajasthan. We are asking the countries concerned to agree to a position, under which only certain sums of money in respect of these three major projects would be debited to this year's aid and actual expenditure in subsequent years would come out of aid to be promised in the future.

5. The points, which I have briefly summarised above, as well as the proposed project list and other relevant data have been discussed and agreed to

at the meeting of the Secretaries' Committee of the ECC.<sup>83</sup> Nandaji<sup>84</sup> has also seen them and agreed with this line of action. I am sure you will agree that the restraint which we are exercising in presenting our demands is necessary and justified in the present circumstances.

Yours sincerely,  
Morarji Desai

**47. From Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Intrigues by Governor's Staff<sup>85</sup>**

*[Refer to item 118]*

March 28, 1963

My dear Panditji,

Your kind letter together with an anonymous letter, that you enclosed therewith, has been duly received by me. As I have been touring the districts, I could not reply to you earlier.

I have enclosed a detailed reply to the various allegations that have been made therein. You will find from it, that the allegations are not true. The small details about which the complaints have been made clearly show that somebody intimately connected with my office should have written this.

My suspicions are that my Secretary might have done it. He has been the Governor's Secretary in Bihar for nearly 8 years. Ever since, I came, I have been noticing that he has developed strong likes and dislikes. I felt that I ought not to keep any person as Governor's Secretary for more than three years at a stretch or at the most, for the period of the Governor's tenure. I, therefore, wanted to change the Secretary even when I came here in May 1962. But he asked me to keep him for a year as he intended celebrating his daughter's marriage sometime in January this year. His term of one year expires in July 1963. But he now wants to continue as Governor's Secretary until he retires, which may be some six years later. I did not agree and he told me to my face that he would curse me if I did not give him extension here as by reverting to his parent department in the Ministry of Defence, he will get less salary.

83. Economic Coordination Committee.

84. Gulzarilal Nanda, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

85. Letter from the Governor of Bihar. Sent from Patna. NMML, M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar Papers, D-424/A.



He is highly arrogant in his behaviour. Further soon after I came here, I found that the administration was in a bad way. The gardens were not kept neat and tidy, servants were not regular at work, proper and regular accounts not being maintained and there were no up to date lists maintained of the moveable properties of Raj Bhavan. I asked the Accountant General to get the accounts audited. The audit is now progressing. I also ordered the taking of an inventory of all the articles and the maintenance of proper registers for everything purchased and kept in the Raj Bhavan. I felt that the organisation was kept chaotic to escape scrutiny. Since I have taken upon myself to set things right, my Secretary seems to have been upset.

I am afraid that he engineered this letter giving distorted versions and details of trivial matters. This, I suspect, is the background of the letter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar

#### **48. From Sampurnanand: Enamelled Gold Jewellery<sup>86</sup>**

*[Refer to items 355 and 358]*

March 28, 1963

My dear Jawaharlal Ji,

When I saw you the other day, you told me that you are thinking of visiting Jaipur sometime in the near future. May I know if you have been able to decide when you would be free to come here? Would you confine your visit to Jaipur only or visit some other places also? Your reply will help us in making necessary arrangements.

The announcement has been made that gold at the international price will be made available to manufacturers of ornaments for the foreign market. This means that the enamelling industry will be saved. This is good. May I in this connection remind you of the suggestion I made that a certain quantity of such goods should be available in the country itself. It is so unnatural that enamel goods prepared in the country should be completely banned in the country itself. You might remember that I suggested that a certain surcharge might be levied from Indian customers over the price charged from foreigners. Let the surcharge be heavy but there seems to be no moral justification for not permitting

86. Letter from the Governor of Rajasthan. PMO, File No. 37/114/63-66-PM, Volume, I, Sr. No. 10-B.

Indians who want to patronise this art and are willing to pay a heavy price for their taste to do so.

Yours sincerely,  
Sampurnanand

**49. From Morarji Desai: Gold Control and Jewellers<sup>87</sup>**

*[Refer to items 355, 358 and 321]*

1st April 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

You may recollect that you wrote to me some time ago regarding the enamel work, i.e. Meenakari of Jaipur. I considered the matter and was about to send a reply when I received your subsequent letter No. 750-PMH63 dated the 22nd March, 1963, suggesting that “Meenakari “kundan” i.e. gold leaf work of Jaipur and Varanasi could be permitted not only for export, but also for sale within the country to foreigners.

2. The “meena” and “kundan” crafts have traditionally been done with gold of 24 carat or very near that. However, with 14 carat gold, which is the highest permissible under the Gold Control rules, “meena” work has been done successfully and the “kundan” effect also produced by more than one jeweller in recent weeks. If these come more into fashion, as I expect they would, the craftsman at Jaipur and Varanasi etc, should not be affected to any considerable extent.

3. The free use of 24 carat gold by jewellers, irrespective of quantities, has had to be prohibited because it is in this form that smuggled gold comes into the country and circulates. So a general exception in favour of all the Jaipur and Varanasi workers will not be feasible. I am arranging, however, that “meenakars” and “kundan” workers who will produce jewellery under regulated conditions only for export and for sale within India to tourists against foreign exchange will get suitable quotas of 24 carat gold. If their export performance is good, arrangements will also be made to import gold for them at the international price to strengthen their competitive position. Purchases for presentation to VIPs can be made, whenever necessary, from these meenakars etc. by the Government. The scheme is being worked out in detail by the Economic Affairs

87. Letter from the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/114/63-66-PM, Vol., I, Sr. No. 10-A.



Department in consultation with the Department of International Trade and will be ready for implementation very soon.

4. Arun Chandra Guha's letter which you, forwarded to me does not deal with the "meenakari" or "kundan" workers, but refers to the condition of goldsmiths in general. His statements appear to exaggerate very much the gravity of this problem. The main difficulty of the small goldsmith has been the lack of orders from large jewellers for execution. The large jeweller did not like control over gold and has been tardy to come forward and cooperate with the Government's policy. A change has, however, just set in and in Delhi, Madras etc, several jewellers are getting 14 carat jewellery made by their workmen and selling them.

5. I am nevertheless fully aware of the problem of unemployment of small goldsmiths and have, in fact, written already to all the Chief Ministers, making certain proposals regarding the grant of relief in a constructive manner and I hope that in deserving cases some assistance will be given.

Yours sincerely,  
Morarji Desai

## 50. From Sundarlal: Abul Kalam Azad's Works<sup>88</sup>

*[Refer to items 63 and 66]*

1.4.1963

My dear Jawaharlal,

Permit me please to forward to you copy of a resolution passed by the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Delhi branch.<sup>89</sup> I am told the copyright of Maulana Azad's works legally vests in the Sahitya Academy under a duly executed arrangement. Why then should the Delhi market be full of unauthorised and unbecoming publications of those works, doing such an injustice to the memory of the late Maulana Saheb? And why should not the Academy take early steps to bring out suitable and authorised editions of the same? If the Anjuman can in any way help in this task it is ever at your service. I request your early attention.

With high regards and all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Sundarlal

88. Letter from President, Anjuman Taraqqi-i- Urdu (Hind), Delhi Branch; address: Delhi Branch, Ali Manzil, Kucha Pandit, Delhi. Sahitya Akademi Records, File No. S.A. 267, Part. IV, Collected Works of Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad (Main).

89. Resolution available in NMML, not reproduced here.

**51. From Jagjivan Ram: American TV Programme on India<sup>90</sup>**

*[Refer to item 144]*

3.4.1963

My dear Jawaharlal ji,

Kindly refer to your letter No.152-PM0/63 dated the 2nd April, 1963, about my appearing in a TV programme. The fact of the matter is that a unit of National Broadcasting Company, New York, approached me for an interview on Television. They came to my residence with their equipment on the 7th May, 1962. In the course of televising, they requested for a small message. On my saying that they could ask any question and I would reply, their representative posed a specific question. No record has been kept but the question and answer were more or less on the following lines:

Question: Is the problem of Scheduled Castes in India similar to the problem of Negroes in America? If so, how India is solving it?

In reply, I said that the two problems were not similar. In fact, there is basic difference between them. Contrary to what has been denied to Negroes legally and constitutionally, here in India we have provided for equal opportunity and right for everyone in our Constitution. There is no discrimination in that sense. Here the problem has grown as a result of certain ways of social life, certain customs and conventions. The concept of Varna and Jati (caste) came in later in Hindu society. It is, therefore, a social problem. A Negro is not an untouchable; he can touch anything and everything, but it is not so in case of Scheduled Castes. This again is a social prejudice. The Government of India is breaking these social barriers through planned programmes of literacy and education, and by taking necessary measures to safeguard the interests of Scheduled Castes. These barriers are gradually disappearing.

This was the gist of what I said.

Yours sincerely,  
Jagjivan Ram

90. Letter from the Minister of Transport and Communication. PMO, File No. 43(202)63-PMS, Sr. No. 5-A.



**52. From M.C. Chagla: Roy Thomson on Khrushchev<sup>91</sup>***[Refer to item 555]*

April 5, 1963

My dear Panditji,

Roy Thomson came to lunch with me yesterday and had a long talk with me. He is, as you know, a powerful press lord here—owns about a hundred newspapers, including the well-known *Sunday Times*. He was talking about his recent visit to Moscow, when he took with him more than a hundred industrialists. He was tremendously impressed by what Khrushchev told him. He told me that, as a deep dyed capitalist who had made lots of money, communism for a long time was anathema to him; but he was beginning to realise—and this is a curious sentiment coming from him—that communism was the proper thing for the have-nots and capitalism for the haves. He had also realised that unless Russia had passed through early stages of communism, it would not have achieved what it has succeeded in doing. He was convinced that Khrushchev wanted peace; and he was also struck by growing signs of prosperity in Moscow. He mentioned to him the menace of China, and expressed by gesture that China would one day cut the throat of Russia. Khrushchev, of course, pretended to be shocked by such an opinion and denied so horrible a possibility. But Thomson's feeling was that Khrushchev has a full realisation of what is happening and what might happen in the country of his major ally.

I told him whether it was not necessary, in view of the pressure on Khrushchev both from China and the Stalinist front in Russia itself, that the West should make some concessions to him, so that he could demonstrate to his people that the policy of peaceful co-existence had paid off. He entirely agreed with me; and he said that, to the extent that his papers could influence such a development, he would do so. He also agreed with me that Khrushchev had made a very big concession in agreeing to continue the American, French, and British troops in West Berlin under the United Nations auspices; and he accepted the suggestion that an agreement by the West on these lines would be a mere change in form and not in substance. He also told me that in any treaty which the West might sign with him with regard to Berlin, he would be prepared to incorporate a declaration that both sides should aim at an ultimate German reunification. This also, according to him, was an important step forward. Khrushchev also told him that the West should now accept the German

91. Letter from the High Commissioner in London. PMO, File No. 43(200)/63-71-PMS. Only extracts available in NMML.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

frontiers, because any change in the frontier could only be brought about at the cost of all-out war.

(Omissions)

He is now interested in two projects which are soon going to be started, and in which there will be British and Canadian collaboration. One is a printing press near Delhi which will be better than any press in the United Kingdom, and the other is a newsprint making mill.

(Omissions)

Roy Thomson was also very keen on setting up television in India.

I realise that in view of our foreign exchange shortage we have to decide on priorities; but I venture to say that television, if it helps the education of our people, should have a top priority. You know the spectacular success Japan had in this field.

Yours sincerely,  
M. C. Chagla

### **53. From Julius Nyerere: Rhodesia<sup>92</sup>**

*[Refer to item 454]*

6th April 1963

Dear Mr Nehru,

I have just written to Mr Macmillan on the subject of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and feel that it might be useful if I informed you of our concern on this matter, and the attitudes I have expressed to the British Prime Minister. Through this means we shall lessen the possibility of misunderstanding growing up between Commonwealth members on this issue. Because although the legal responsibility lies entirely with the Government in Westminster, Tanganyika is vitally concerned. The complete absence of natural boundaries between African States, and the historical interchange of populations means that Tanganyika must be interested in territories contiguous to it.

First then, is our pleasure that Britain has conceded to the Northern Rhodesian Government the right to secede from the Federation of Rhodesia

92. Letter from the President of Tanganyika. MEA, File No. V-II/154(10)/63, pp. 4-6/corr.



and Nyasaland. This reaction does not stem from opposition to the idea of Federation as such; on the contrary, we in Tanganyika are anxious to promote unity between African States. But unity can only bring peace and prosperity when it is based on the will of the people concerned. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was started against the opposition of the African population, and it never succeeded in winning their support. Therefore, the power to dissolve this Federation is a necessary precondition to the establishment of viable links between those countries, and between any or all of them and the rest of Africa.

There is, however, one further step necessary in Northern Rhodesia before we can feel assured about future cooperation with the country on our South-Western border. The present extremely complicated constitution has given rise to a situation where the Party which obtained an overwhelming majority of the votes is forced to go into coalition with another group in order to form the Government, and even then, is faced in Parliament with a numerically very strong opposition. This inevitably means that all the Ministers and Members of Parliament are all the time looking over their shoulders at the masses, unable to take political risks or give the leadership which is necessary for effective government and peaceful development. It is therefore a matter of urgency that talks start on a new constitution in accordance with the request of the Northern Rhodesian government.

The most difficult question, however, concerns Southern Rhodesia. With Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia both advancing through internal self-government to independence, the demand from southern Rhodesia for independence, is natural, and I believe, irresistible. The people of that country are quite as "ready for independence" as the rest of us—indeed their general level of education is above that prevailing in many other Commonwealth countries. Economically the country is developed, and although the South has leant heavily on the resources of Northern Rhodesia during the period of Federation there can be little doubt of the basic viability of that country. Then too, Southern Rhodesia has enjoyed the status of a "Self-Governing Colony" for almost forty years.

Despite these factors there is one matter which must prevent immediate independence unless Britain is to abandon the policy she has followed consistently during the post-war transformation of her Empire into an enlarged Commonwealth, and at the same time to leave herself open to justified charges of racialism. The present Government of Southern Rhodesia is responsible to a Parliament of 65 Members; since the election this year 15 of those Members are Africans. All Members are elected on a restricted franchise based on high education and income qualifications, so that the electorate—for all seats—is predominantly European. The European position under the present franchise is

in fact so overwhelming that the nationalist movement in the country refused to take part in the elections; their grounds were that whatever their support among the African population there was no hope of securing a voice in the legislature. The population of Southern Rhodesia, on the other hand, is estimated at (1959) Europeans 215,000; Africans 2,860,000.

These facts mean that the present Government of the colony is a minority one. I do not like to talk in terms of Europeans and Africans, but the situation there forces one to do so because the whole structure of Southern Rhodesian society and government is based on such distinctions. Indeed, the present Government was elected on the platform that too many concessions had been made to African nationalism and that the traditional separation of the races was being undermined.

British policy, on the other hand, since 1947 has been that at independence the Government of the territory concerned must be really representative of the people of the country. Indeed, we in Tanganyika have often criticised Britain for being pedantic on this point. Thus, the long and difficult negotiations for constitutional change in Kenya have been designed to ensure that minorities, as well as the majority of the people, shall have an effective part to play in the government of that country before independence. In Ghana in 1956 Britain insisted on a new election before independence was granted because a small but vocal minority was claiming that the Government of that time was unrepresentative of the people; in Nigeria too independence was delayed for some time in order to ensure that the less politically developed people of the North were properly represented. In fact the only exception to this policy which comes to my mind occurred in 1910, in South Africa—with results which we all know.

Therefore, if Britain is to be consistent in her policies, and live up to her best traditions, there can, only be one answer to the Southern Rhodesian Government's demand for independence. This is that the Country can have independence on the same conditions as have applied to all other colonial territories. In other words, that independence will be granted only to a Government which is representative of the people, which requires new constitution and new elections on a democratic basis before independence takes effect.

There is no doubt but that a decision along these lines will cause considerable political difficulties for the British Government. For one thing, the present constitution of the Colony says that no change of this nature can take place without the consent of the Southern Rhodesian Parliament—which is most unlikely to be obtained for alterations in the direction I have outlined. For another, the ruling group there has powerful support within the business



community in Britain and within the Conservative Party itself. But the legal sovereignty over Southern Rhodesia rests with the British Parliament; they have the power to suspend the constitution of any colony right up to the day of independence. They, and they alone, have the legal right and duty to take decisions on this matter.

There is, of course, the possibility that the present Government of the Colony will take matters into their own hands and declare itself independent if Britain adopts her normal procedure in this case. This is a risk—and one which is embarrassing for any British Government. But there is an equal risk, in the other direction. If independence is granted without conditions, or if it is seized and no action taken against the transgressors, there is bound to be violence. This danger is nothing to do with the organised nationalist movement; it exists because the people would, under these circumstances, feel that their last hope of justice had gone, and would therefore give way to a spontaneous destructive urge.

This danger of violence from one side or another presents a real dilemma for the whole Commonwealth, because it could not fail to have international repercussions. But it must be faced, and again it must be settled in accordance with justice, and the past practice of the United Kingdom. British troops were sent to join in the fight against Mau Mau, because Britain felt that this was an attempt by a minority to impose their will by force on the rest of the community. Similarly, in Malaya, and in other places. Surely therefore, it is not possible for the Commonwealth Members to acquiesce in a retreat from the threat of force by an acknowledged minority, however well-armed that minority might be? On the contrary, both justice and precedent require that a firm stand is taken on principle. And in fact it may well be that by making this position clear enough and firm enough the Southern Rhodesian Government will accept the moral and legal weakness of its own position. The whole Commonwealth will then be spared a period of great stress and conflict.

In conclusion may I say that in sending this letter I do not intend any discourtesy, to you or to Mr. Macmillan—who knows that I am writing to you. But this issue seems to me to be so dangerous, and yet so amenable to a solution based on the principles of the Commonwealth that I have felt obliged to explain our attitude. I am certain that if Britain takes the decision called for by her history—as I sincerely hope she will—she will require the firm and public support of us all to avoid unnecessary bloodshed.

May I take this opportunity to send my personal good wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,  
Julius K. Nyerere

**54. From A.P. Jain: Resignation<sup>93</sup>**

*[Refer to item 69]*

April 8, 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Please refer to your letter d.o. No. 873-PMH/63 dated the 5th April. I had to do some hard thinking, and the high regard and affection which I bear for you hardly leaves a choice for me to say "no".

During the whole episode the most shocking thing for me was the admission of Mr Gupta in the meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board on March 31, that he had specifically requested the AICC to refrain from referring the matter of new admissions to lower Congress organisations and the casual manner in which the secretariat of the AICC had dealt with the matter.

A little more than two years ago C.B. Gupta had won the election for the Presidentship of the UPCC on the issue of upholding the dignity and prestige of the Congress organisation. Politicians generally have a short memory, but if they decline to have any memory, politics would be reduced to sheer opportunism.

You have referred to the wider issues which enjoin upon us the need to put up with difficulties. Consequently, in accordance with your advice I am writing to the President of the Indian National Congress accepting the apologies and withdrawing my resignation from the P.C.C. Presidentship.

Yours sincerely,  
Ajit Prasad Jain

**55. From Kwame Nkrumah: Colombo Proposals<sup>94</sup>**

*[Refer to item 513]*

I informed you through your High Commissioner, Mr Kakkar,<sup>95</sup> that the Government of China has agreed to accept the Colombo proposals as a basis for opening of talks, and that the two points of interpretation previously mentioned should not be taken as a necessary condition for the opening of negotiations.

It has been explained that these two points of interpretation are merely points which the Chinese propose to raise at the talks and this may in fact be

93. Letter from the President of the UPCC; address: 5 Rafi Marg, New Delhi. NMML, A.P. Jain Papers, Sub. File No: 13.

94. Message from the President of Ghana. Salutation and date not available; date probably 8 April 1963. MEA, File No. c/103(2) CH/ 63, Vol II, p.7/corr.

95. J.C. Kakkar.



regarded as virtual acceptance of the Colombo conference proposals. I consider this as a definite improvement in the Chinese position, which should make possible the beginning of the second stage which you refer to in paragraph 4 of your letter dated February 19th, 1963,<sup>96</sup> the stage where the two Governments can raise any points for discussion.

It has come to my notice that Your Excellency's High Commissioner raised a point in a letter addressed to my Ministry of Foreign Affairs on February 26th, 1963. He wrote: "I note that you still do not think the right way of ending the deadlock is for the Chinese to accept the Colombo proposals without reservations."

I would like to assure Your Excellency that I am doing everything I can to get the Chinese to accept the proposals without reservations. The first fruit of these continuing endeavours is the Chinese undertaking not to make the two points of interpretation previously raised by them a necessary condition for the opening of talks. I am, of course, continuing my appeal to the Chinese with the utmost expectation of enabling the direct talks between you and Chou En-lai to begin.

May I, therefore, earnestly request your Excellency's assurance that if the Chinese confirm to me that their present position is in full accord with the attitude I have described in this letter, you will be able to agree that the door is open for direct negotiations between India and China.

Accept, Your Excellency, my highest consideration.

[Kwame Nkrumah]

## 56. From Atulya Ghosh to S.N. Sinha: Panjhazari's Misdemeanour<sup>97</sup>

*[Refer to item 74]*

8th April, 1963

My dear Chief Whip,

I am drawing your attention to a particular matter regarding the ensuing election of Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament.

Shri Panjhazari, one of the present Secretaries, came to see me at my house and in course of conversation told me that there may be three candidates from Rajya Sabha for Secretaryship of the Party:

96. See item 508.

97. Letter from President, West Bengal PCC to the Chief Whip of the CPP.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

1. Smt. Maya Devi Chettry.
2. Shri M.P. Bhargava.
3. Shri Panjhazari himself.

He requested me, as all the candidates are well-known to me, I should exert my influence to prevent contest among them and my suggestion about the candidature of one among these three will be accepted by Shri Panjhazari. You know, I cannot take any interest regarding Executive election of the Party as I am almost a permanent absentee; but as Shri Panjhazari himself requested me, so I sent information to Smt. Maya Devi Chettry not to contest and also had a talk with Shri M.P. Bhargava. After discussing the matter with several friends, I sent my suggestion to Shri Panjhazari through Shri R.S. Doogar, our Deputy Chief Whip that Shri M.P. Bhargava should contest this time; but I was amazed to hear from Shri Doogar that when my opinion was conveyed to Shri Panjhazari, he became angry and used hot words to Shri Doogar, this is really amazing.

You know, I never want to mix with all these elections and politics. I was requested by Shri Panjhazari himself, otherwise I would have never intervened in this matter. This is really strange. I thought I should bring this to your notice as he is a whip of the Party.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Atulya Ghosh

### 57. From Harold Macmillan: Talks with Pakistan<sup>98</sup>

*[Refer to item 537]*

Since my last message I have been following closely the course of the talks with Pakistan and developments on your frontier with China. I have been concerned by the bellicose statements from Peking recently. From our own sources we have no evidence to suggest the likelihood of an early renewal of Chinese attacks but I can well understand your anxiety to prepare against any such eventuality. We look forward to Mr Krishnamachari's<sup>99</sup> visit here and our discussion with him.

98. Message from the British Prime Minister, delivered by the British High Commissioner on April 9, 1963. MHA, File No. KS-19/62., p. 173

99. T.T. Krishnamachari, Minister of Defence Production and Economic Coordination.



I know that you have to face the problem of how best your own resources and those which your friends can make available can be used for the most effective defence of India. We have been anxious to assist you to meet the immediate Chinese threat. But our own resources are not unlimited; and, as I said in my message to you after the Nassau meeting, we have to take into account also our relations with Pakistan and our own public opinion.

Frankly, I have been disappointed at the lack of progress in the talks between India and Pakistan on Kashmir. I recognise the deeply held convictions on both sides. I understand also the reluctance of the negotiators to put forward proposals unless it is certain that the other party will reciprocate. But progress towards a settlement would produce such great benefits to the defence and peaceful development of the sub-continent as a whole that I know you will forgive me for urging that every attempt should be made at the next round of talks in Karachi to break the present deadlock. I am writing also to President Ayub to express to him the same hope.

Harold Macmillan

## 58. From C.B. Gupta: A.P. Jain's Charges<sup>100</sup>

*[Refer to item 72]*

April 9, 1963

My dear Panditji,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter that I have addressed to Sri Sanjivayya, President, Indian National Congress. My letter speaks for itself. I am very much aggrieved to find that Sri Ajit Prasad Jain has chosen to attack me in public about my conduct and has accused me of betrayal of organisational interests.

I have requested you to see that he withdraws the erroneous remarks that he has publicly made against me and not compel me to come out with my reply which I am sure will do damage to his reputation and to the organisation over which he presides as President of the UPCC.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,  
C.B. Gupta

100. Letter from the Chief Minister of UP and Leader of the UP Legislature Congress Party. NMML, A.P. Jain Papers, Sub. File No. 13.

## 59. From Morarji Desai: Restricting Gold Use<sup>101</sup>

*[Refer to item 363]*

11th April 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

A few days ago, you sent me, with your letter No. 814-PMH/63, a letter from Sampurnanandji about gold enamelling.<sup>102</sup> While noting that “meena” work on pure gold will be permitted for export Sampurnanandji considers it unnatural and immoral that the sale of such articles should not be generally permitted within India. He suggests that 24 carat gold products should be sold to Indians at a price higher than that charged to foreigners.

2. I am sorry that the basic reasons for gold control are not yet clear to a person of Sampurnanandji’s experience of public affairs. The subject has been debated at length in Parliament and has received wide attention in the Press. It is well-known that smuggled gold, which has been causing an illicit foreign exchange drain of Rs 40 to Rs 60 crores per year, comes into the country usually in the shape of bars and ingots of 24 carat or almost 24 carat purity. To beat the smugglers, we have had to devise a series of restrictions so that pure gold cannot pass freely from hand to hand within the country. If, on the plea that “meena” and “kundan” products should be freely manufactured and sold, we allow thousands of goldsmiths and jewellers to acquire and keep pure gold in primary form, smugglers will get immediate encouragement and our restrictions will become useless. Special authorisation of jewellers, who manufacture only for export, to keep and use pure gold is possible because the number of such jewellers will be small and we shall be able to segregate them and keep a strict watch on them.

3. I may add that there is nothing unnatural or immoral in Indians foregoing the acquisition of a few articles which are manufactured in this country exclusively for export. Western countries used to produce a number of goods after the Second World War which were only for export and not for internal sale. Japan used to export crockery items with lines of liquid gold on them which could not be sold for yen currency. As I wrote to you on April 1, “meena” work is already being done on 14 carat gold and the “kundan” effect has also been produced with this alloy. Indians who wish to have “meena” and “kundan” products can buy these goods.

101. Letter from the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/114/63-66PM, Volume I, Sr. No. 12-A.

102. Item 358 and appendix 48.



4. I have explained the position at some length thinking that you might like to send a suitable reply to Sampurnanandji.

Yours sincerely,  
Morarji Desai

## 60. From Morarji Desai: Travel Comfort for Senior Officials<sup>103</sup>

*[Refer to item 361]*

12th April 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Your D.O. No. 869-PMH/63, dated the 5th April, 1963, enclosing a copy of your letter to Jagjivan Ramji about tourism. I fully share your views about the possibilities of developing tourism in India. Jagjivan Ramji wanted a Committee to be set up to make recommendations to Government on the development of tourism and he asked that L.K. Jha<sup>104</sup> should chair the Committee. I agreed to it and the Committee has just started its work, but Jha tells me that basically much of what any Committee can really recommend is summed up in the observations which you have yourself made in your D.O. to Jagjivan Ramji.

Regarding air travel, as you know, I myself was of the view that even Ministers might well travel tourist, but knowing that this would not be readily acceptable, I had proposed that only Ministers should travel First. In view of your observations, however, I suggest that we might include Ministers, Members of Parliament and Secretaries to Government among the categories of people who should continue to travel first.

Yours sincerely,  
Morarji Desai

103. Letter from the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 27(50)/59-65-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 74-A.

104. Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Finance.

## 61. From Raghu Vira: Democracy and Indian Languages<sup>105</sup>

*[Refer to item 154]*

14th April, 1963

My dear Panditji,

I am taking the liberty of writing to you on the very vexed problem of how to preserve democracy in this country.

You have decided to keep the democratic form but not to use the languages of the people. You have decided to continue the language of the colonial period which makes us sad.

You have decided thereby to stampede the Indian languages out of official business and thereby to stampede the Indian languages out of the Parliament and state legislatures and Central and State Secretariats.

You have decided to distribute three thousand crores of rupees every year to the English knowing two per cent people in India. The remaining 98% must be satisfied with wages averaging Rs 2/- to Rs 3/- a day.

The prolegomena of the Indian Constitution promised equality of status and opportunities to the people of India. Pandit Ji, this equality of status and opportunity you have made available only to the English knowing 2%.

I am sorry to note all this. Indian languages are divorced from knowledge, from justice, from legislation, from administration, from social and from civilised livelihood itself.

Commerce and industry are also being usurped by the English knowing super-caste.

The monopoly of the super-caste of English knowing men and women is now being extended to children. It is the biggest monopoly in the world. All power and prestige is tied to English.

All glory to you, Sir. May be that sometime you will ponder in coolness whether it is just and honourable, whether it is democratic or simply a continuation of colonialism.

I am writing this to you as an old friend, as one who is witnessing the cruel smashing of India's personality and uniqueness at the hands of the leader in whom the public had reposed its full faith and devotion.

105. Letter from former Rajya Sabha MP and Jana Sangh Leader; address JaddressJ-22, Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi-16. PMO, File No. 52(12)/57-63-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 112-A.



Panditji, there is still time to mend matters, if you could only ponder and take the view that democracy must impose upon you the compulsion the people's tongues.

Knowledge is transferable from one nation to another and from one speech to another. As a humble contemporary of Gandhiji may I repeat the master's words to refresh your memory "As long as English continues to be the (official) language of the Indian people, India shall be a slave".

You are the beloved and responsible heir to Mahatmaji. May be that you can see what the 98% do see. May be that your heart can once again beat in unison with 44 crores of non-English knowing hearts.

You will pardon me if this humble letter of mine I release to the people as well.

With deepest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Raghu Vira

## 62. From Panjabrao Deshmukh: Afro-Asian Rural Re-Construction Organisation<sup>106</sup>

*[Refer to item 449]*

April 15, 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

You are already aware of the formation of the Afro-Asian Rural Re-construction Organisation during the Second Afro-Asian Conference on Rural Re-construction which was held in Cairo at the invitation of the Government of United Arab Republic.

With your permission, I had led the Indian delegation to this Conference which also included Shri Shriman Narayan, Member, Planning Commission. You were kind enough to send very inspiring message to this Conference, which was greatly and affectionately applauded by all delegates.

The constitution of the Organisation was voted by delegates representing Governments of 18 countries in which I and Shriman Narayanji associated ourselves as representatives of India.

After the formation of the Organisation, the President of the Organisation, Dr M.N. Hashad, Minister of Agriculture of the United Arab Republic, had extended the invitation to the Government of India through you to formally

106. Letter from Lok Sabha MP, Congress. PMO, File No. 42(51)/62-71PMS, Sr. No. 13-A.

join this organisation, which was specially brought into existence by the Afro-Asian nations to consider problems facing rural reconstruction touching such important fields as Community Development, rural co-operation, rural banking and credit, rural cooperative trade etc, etc., which were not being handled by any agency of the United Nations, or any other governmental agency either at international or the regional levels.

You had yourself been kind enough to point out in the above mentioned message how vital the subject of Rural Reconstruction was especially for raising the economy of the bulk of the people of Africa and Asia and about which the Governments of the two continents were most anxious and concerned in the present stage of development of the Afro-Asian countries.

By now 15 Governments of Africa and Asia have already joined the organisation. More than half a dozen Governments are expected to become members shortly. The rest of them will follow when the first conference of the duly established organisation is held in Malaya at the invitation of the government of the Federation of Malaya. The Executive Committee of this Organisation will be in session on the 17th and 18th of April here in Delhi. The Minister of Agriculture of UAR who is the President of the Organisation and the Minister of Agriculture of Malaya who is Vice-President are arriving here today to participate. It is rather sad that in spite of the lead taken in the formation of this important Organisation by India only this country remains to declare its intention to join this Organisation formally. I am happy to report to you that some of our closest friends such as President Nasser of the UAR, President Nkrumah of Ghana, President Sukarno of Indonesia, Mrs Bandaranaike of Ceylon and others have not only exhibited personal interest in the Organisation but have already given their blessings by joining this Organisation.

The matter had been before the Government of India for nearly one year but I was told in reply to my letter to Shri R. K. Nehru that it will not be possible in this very limited time at our disposal to convey the decision of the Government of India to join the Organisation. This is rather unfortunate but probably can't be helped. Even so I beg that you may be pleased to send us a message of encouragement from you on this occasion when the meeting begins at 9 a.m. on Wednesday the 17th instant which will be appreciated very greatly by us and the delegates of the ten countries out of 11 who are members of this Committee and who are coming to New Delhi to join the session.<sup>107</sup> It is, I submit highly noteworthy that only one member of the Executive Committee would not be able to attend. That is Tunisia which has sent a cable regretting absence.

107. For message, see item 451.



The countries participating in addition to India are:

U.A.R. by Minister of Agriculture, Dr Hashad who is the President;

Ghana by its Ambassador;

Libya

Sudan,

Morocco

Japan

Malaya by Minister of Agriculture,

Indonesia

Lebanon

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,  
P.S. Deshmukh

### 63. From Manubhai Shah to Dharma Teja: Japan Trade<sup>108</sup>

*[Refer to item 364]*

April 15, 1963

My dear Dr Teja,

This is in further reference to our talks yesterday evening. As you already know, we have scores of Japanese trade and business delegations coming to India every year and numerous groups of businessmen from India visiting Japan. While the trade between the two countries is undoubtedly going on in an expanding manner, it has not been possible for us so far to bring round the Japanese businessmen to any large-scale reciprocal trade between India and Japan. As a matter of fact, our annual trade balance between the two countries is much adverse against us (minus Rs 25 to 26 crores per year) for the last decade. It is always therefore, in our interest to have high-powered trade delegations coming from that country to India to discuss specific trade and shopping lists even outside the free trade going on between the two countries. This may take the form of barters or specific commodity exchanges or specific mutual buying and selling long-term contracts. In the past 7 years, more than fifteen high-powered trade delegations have come from Japan on official invitation with no results at all. Even last month we had a high-powered 18-man trade delegation from Japan representing textile, electrical, iron ore, shipping and

108. Letter from the Minister of International Trade to the Chairman to the owner of Jayanti Shipping Company. PMO, File No. 44(58)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 1-B.

mineral trades of Japan. But beyond creation of goodwill, these delegations have not produced concrete results.

I would, therefore, suggest that as a result of your recent discussions with the leading Japanese businessmen, it will be very good if you can draw up a list of such top representatives who expressed interest to you and you may write on behalf of our businessmen as represented by FICCI and other business associations requesting them to form a high-powered delegation, in which you may propose such names as you have contacted and they may be requested to include more names as they choose. After getting such a tentative list from Japan, and I have already talked to the President of the FICCI that he will be prepared to send a formal invitation on behalf of FICCI and other business associations of India backed by the Government of India to the Japanese businessmen, so that the two business delegations may meet in India with the support of the Japanese Government on the one hand and the Indian Government on the other.

In order to achieve some results, an advance expert team of 5 to 6 people representing various trade interests of Japan may come here in advance to discuss with our counterpart team specific commodities, quantities and volume of trade and shopping lists, which Japan would like to buy from India and India would buy from Japan. After detailed talks have crystalised at expert level, the two-high-powered business delegations can meet in Delhi and, if further necessary in Tokyo for a second and final meeting. This may achieve some concrete results as a start.

I have had formal and informal talks with the Japanese Ambassador here also who would be prepared to get some officials of the Japanese Government included in such a trade delegation and likewise we shall also include some senior Government officials in our trade delegation. The effort would be very much worth making even though in 1959 and 1960 a thirty-man Japanese delegation came here, stayed here for several weeks and had several meetings and talks but brought no results. The technique and the procedures will, therefore, have to be altered somewhat on the above lines if we want some concrete results. I have no doubt that if specific commodities and items are tackled from both sides which are of known interest to both the countries, we may be able to produce some results. I have spoken to Shri Morarji Bhai<sup>109</sup> also in this respect and he approves of the above approach.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Manubhai Shah

109. Morarji Desai, the Finance Minister.



## 64. From Humayun Kabir: Reduced Budget for Culture<sup>110</sup>

*[Refer to item 333]*

Thank you for your letter No. 931-PMH/63 of April, 10, 1963. I am very glad that you have agreed about the Conference of Orientalists. We shall now go ahead and hold it in January 1964 as originally proposed.

I take it that your general directive applies to our other cultural activities as well. We shall prune severely our programme of external cultural activities and reduce the budget for the purpose for 1963-64 by 40 percent on last year's original figures. These cultural activities include the exchange of lecturers, professors and scientists with foreign countries, assistance to learned societies in those countries and occasional exchange of troupes of artists. We have cultural Agreements with sixteen countries and Rs 15 lakhs—the amount we have provided for 1963-64 is by no means large. Our last year's programme with the USSR alone covered some 63 items.

You have issued a general directive that work should be decentralised in the interests of economy and efficiency. May I suggest that so far as our External Cultural Relations are concerned we may be allowed to operate within our budget in consultation with the Ministers & External Affairs and Finance I hope you will agree that after these two Ministries would agree to our proposals and it should not be necessary to go to the Secretaries Committee for a further clearance.

Humayun Kabir

## 65. From C. Rajagopalachari: Constitutional Amendment on Language<sup>111</sup>

*[Refer to item 157]*

18th April, 1963

My dear Jawaharlal,

This is truly an SOS to you in my personal capacity. I beg of you to direct the present Languages Bill to be withdrawn. Do get a completely new draft

<sup>110</sup> Note, 15 April 1963, by the Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. Cabinet Secretariat, File No. 10/12/CF/63, Government of India, p. 2.

<sup>111</sup> Letter from the leader of the Swatantra Party. Sent from 60 Bazlullah Road, Tyagaraja nagar, Madras – 17. PMO, File No. 52(12)/57-63-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 119-A.

prepared by competent unbiased draftsmen to put the “assurance” you gave on the subject, in the form of a constitutional amendment not as a Parliamentary Bill in terms of the existing article 343(3) in the Constitution.

The Bill should reduce your assurance into legal shape, conveying the intention and purpose fully in letter and spirit, including a definite provision that the giving up of English should depend on the unanimous desire of the legislatures of the non-Hindi States and this also should be based on substantial free votes and not on a party manipulated simple majority vote in State legislatures.

This is an extraordinary letter for me to write to you. I am in a position to know how feeling is growing in this region. Your assurance saved the situation and now it is time it should be unequivocally put into the Constitution. The original article on Hindi taking the place of English should be clearly amended.

I realise your difficulties. But the South should not be encouraged to think in terms of hatred and fear of the North. The constitutional amendment I have suggested will stop this feeling and you can set it in through.

Yours affectionately,  
C. Rajagopalachari

## 66. From Chou En-lai<sup>112</sup>

*[Refer to item 488]*

April 20, 1963

Your Excellency respected Prime Minister:

I thank you for your letter of March 5, 1963. Much to my regret after the Chinese Government made so many efforts towards reconciliation, you have once again rejected the Chinese Government's proposal for the two sides quickly to start direct negotiations on the stabilisation of the cease-fire disengagement and the peaceful settlement of the boundary question.

In your letter you said that Sino-Indian talks can start only after the Chinese Government has, like the Indian Government, accepted in toto the Colombo proposals and the clarifications made by the Ceylonese Prime Minister in New Delhi. I cannot see why you have taken such an attitude which leaves no room for consultation.

Like me you are aware that the main aim of the Colombo Conference was to promote direct negotiations between China and India for a peaceful settlement

112. From the Prime Minister of China. PIB.



of the boundary question; that the task of the conference was to mediate, not arbitrate; and that the conference proposals are merely a recommendation for the consideration of China and India, not a verdict or adjudication which China and India have to accept in toto. The Indian Government is, of course, free to accept the Colombo proposals, in part or in toto. But I cannot understand why talks cannot start until the Chinese Government, like the Indian Government, has accepted in toto the Colombo proposals.

The Colombo Conference did not adopt any document other than the six-point proposals. The clarifications made by the Ceylonese Prime Minister and her colleagues in Peking and New Delhi do not constitute an official document of the Colombo Conference, therefore, the question of accepting these clarifications as a component of the Colombo proposals does not arise. As it has now been established that the clarifications produced in New Delhi are not even a document prepared by participating nations of the Colombo Conference, it is all the more, out of the question that they must be accepted.

In your letter you said that it is because of the sincere desire of the Government of India to settle the boundary question peacefully that you accepted the Colombo proposals without any reservations, that is, you accepted in toto the Colombo proposals and the so-called clarifications produced in New Delhi, and no longer insisted on the position stated in your letter to me of December, 1962 which called for so-called restoration of the state of the boundary that prevailed prior to September 8, 1962. As far as the Chinese Government is concerned, we would of course be glad if that were indeed the case. But unfortunately it is not so. You said in the Indian Parliament on January 23, 1963 that “on full consideration of these matters as contained in the Colombo Conference resolutions and their clarifications, we came to the conclusion that these proposals fulfilled the essence of the demand made for the restoration of the status quo prior to 8th September.” With regard to the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, you even said: “The Colombo Conference proposals have certain advantages over one which we had previously indicated, that is, the restoration of the 8th September position.” At a meeting commemorating the 15th anniversary of the death of Gandhi on January 30, 1963, you said: “When India received the proposals of the Colombo powers we give them most careful consideration, but we did not react immediately because some of the clauses were not clear,” and that “since the clarifications brought the proposals close to India’s demand for the restoration of September 8 position, India accepted them in toto.” Thus, how can it be said that what India calls its unreserved acceptance of the Colombo proposals means that it has ceased to insist on its original stand for the so-called restoration of the state of the boundary prior to September 8? Indeed, is it not because the Indian Government, by exploiting

the ambiguities of the Colombo proposals, had interpreted the proposals as conforming with the Indian stand that it estensibly proclaimed its unreserved acceptance of the Colombo proposals?

It is the Indian Government's persistent demand for so-called restoration of the state of the boundary prior to September 8, 1962 that gave rise to the dispute concerning certain areas in the cease-fire arrangement. But in your letter, you described this dispute between China and India concerning certain areas as one between the Chinese Government and the Colombo Conference nations. This attempt to cover up the fact of the Indian Government's holding to its unreasonable stand by means of such misrepresentations will not succeed. The Colombo proposals are a recommendation made by the six Asian and African countries to China and India to help our two countries settle our dispute through direct negotiations. China and India say each have its own view about the Colombo proposals. Taking an honest attitude, the Chinese Government accepted the Colombo proposals in principle as a basis for direct Sino-Indian negotiations, and at the same time presented its differing opinions as its own interpretation, but reserved them for discussion and resolution in the negotiations, without making acceptance of China's interpretation pre-condition to the opening of direct Sino-Indian negotiations. The Colombo Conference nations deemed this to be the Chinese Government's positive response to the Colombo proposals. They did not hold that direct Sino-Indian negotiations can be started only when both China and India accept the Colombo proposals in toto. But the Indian Government, while trying to turn the Colombo proposals into an adjudication, attempts to present India's interpretation of them as clarifications by Colombo Conference participants, and to force it not only on the Colombo Conference nations, but also on China. This is a dishonest approach, which also shows that India has no intention whatever to hold negotiations.

You said in your letter that you were prepared, when time comes, to refer the Sino-Indian boundary dispute to an international body like the International Court of Justice at the Hague. You further said that there could be no fairer and more reasonable approach than this proposal. The Chinese Government is of the opinion that complicated questions involving sovereignty, such as the Sino-Indian boundary question, can be settled only through direct negotiations between the two parties concerned, and absolutely not through any form of arbitration. The Chinese Government has never agreed to refer the Sino-Indian boundary dispute to International arbitration, nor will it ever do so. On August 7, 1961 you stated in the Indian Parliament that "Arbitration was not considered a suitable method for settlement of the dispute over 51,000 square mile of Himalayas border land facing Tibet." After that you stated more than once that arbitration is not suitable for disputes over sovereignty. But now,



when the Chinese Government has created conditions for direct negotiations between China and India and when all the countries and people concerned for Sino-Indian friendship are eager to see early negotiations between China and India, not only the Indian Government has prevented Sino-Indian negotiation by setting unreasonable pre-conditions but you have suddenly changed your attitude by describing arbitration as the most fair and reasonable approach, This sudden change of attitude is plainly an attempt to cover up the fact that the Indian Government refuse to negotiate.

The Chinese Government has made the most magnanimous efforts to promote a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. On its own initiative, China has taken the measures of cease-fire and withdrawal, repatriated the sick and wounded captured Indian military personnel, returned the captured war material of the Indian troops, and vacated the areas where there is a dispute about the cease-fire arrangements and refrained from establishing civilian check-posts there. Of late, the Chinese Government on its own initiative has further decided, and begun, to release and repatriate all the three thousand and more captured Indian military personnel. I wish to remind Your Excellency once again that, as a result of the withdrawal of the Chinese frontier guards, they are now far behind their positions as of September 8, 1962. This is a great regard for India's dignity and self-respect. The Chinese Government has, of course, every right to set up civilian check-posts in the areas where there is a dispute about the cease-fire arrangement, however, in response to the Colombo proposals it has decided to vacate these areas and refrain from establishing civilian check-posts there. This is another major effort made by the Chinese Government in regard for the dignity and self-respect of both sides, and above all of the Indian side anyone making a comparison between what the Chinese Government had done and the views set forth in its statement of October 24, 1962 will see what great concessions China has already made in order to promote a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. But what has the Indian Government done? Far from making any positive response to the efforts China made on its own initiative, the Indian Government has become even more frenzied in its anti-China clamours, in seeking US military aid and in making war preparations after the border situation was eased. India has continued to violate China's territory and air space along the Sino-Indian border. It has persecuted the Chinese nationals in India and even gone so far as to throw more than two thousand of them into concentration camps—although part of them are being brought back by ships sent by the Chinese Government, many victimised Chinese nationals are still obstructed from returning to China. It has forced the termination of the Chinese consulates-general in India. It has placed restrictions on the diplomatic activities of the Chinese Embassy in India.

It has unjustifiably taken over the branch establishments of the Bank of China in India. It has applied censorship on mail and cables between China and India which is permissible only when there is a state of war. And it has more overtly instigated the fugitive Tibetan rebels in India to carry out criminal activities against their motherland. I believe that everyone who respects the facts will make a fair judgement as to who truly has the sincerity for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

At present, the situation on the Sino-Indian border has already eased owing to the efforts made by China on its own initiative. Even if negotiations cannot be held for the time being, the Sino-Indian border situation will not become tense again provided the Indian side does not resume provocations. If, after obtaining large quantities of military aid from the United States and placing itself in the position of a country which is in effect aligned, India should again intrude into the areas vacated by the Chinese frontier guards' twenty-kilometre withdrawal on the Chinese side from the line of actual control of November 7, 1959, including the areas where there is a dispute about the cease-fire arrangement, and rekindle flames of war on the Sino-Indian border, the people of the whole world will see the aggressive nature of such Indian activities even more clearly than before.

Your Excellency respected Prime Minister! In asking that the Chinese Government, like the Indian Government, should accept in toto the Colombo proposals and the so-called clarifications produced in New Delhi as a pre-condition to negotiations, you are actually serving an ultimatum for China to accept the Indian Government's interpretation of the Colombo proposals. This absolutely will not do. In the past you always advised other countries to settle disputes peacefully through negotiations without setting any pre-conditions, why has the Indian Government taken a diametrically opposite attitude towards the Sino-Indian boundary negotiations? Although the Indian Government has taken such an attitude, I urge you once again to consider the proposal that the two sides accept in principle the Colombo proposals as the basis for negotiations and start negotiations immediately on the stabilisation of the cease-fire, disengagement and the peaceful settlement of the boundary question, reserving their different interpretations of the Colombo proposals for settlement in the negotiations. This is the hope of the Chinese Government as well as of the people of the whole world. If the Indian Government, owing to its internal and external political requirements, is not prepared to hold negotiations for the time being, the Chinese Government is willing to wait with patience. If, under outside influence, the Indian Government should put blind faith in force and provoke fresh conflicts on the Sino-Indian border, that will be something



which the Chinese Government does not want to see, and which will not be excused by the Chinese and Indian peoples and the people of the whole world.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of highest consideration.

[Chou En-lai]

## 67. From M.C. Chagla: US and UK Kashmir Plan<sup>113</sup>

*[Refer to items 539 and 551]*

I met Lord Home<sup>114</sup> this morning. He first discussed Laos with me and said that Avtar Singh<sup>115</sup> was doing a fine job and had been very helpful. He said that he had just received a telegram which seems to suggest that the situation was a little better. He felt that the two Princes might agree to the functioning of the International Commission. I told him that I felt that Russia was as much interested as the US and UK in maintaining peace in Laos and was not very happy at the Chinese manoeuvres there. He agreed but he felt that Russia did not seem to have much influence in Laos and would not openly condemn Chinese support to Pathet Lao forces.

Then he talked to me about Pakistan. I told him that we were very perturbed about US Ambassador and the UK High Commissioner settling a plan for the solution of the Kashmir problem behind our backs and handing over copy of it to Pakistan. Difficult as the negotiations had been so far this would make them even more difficult. He said he could not believe that the UK High Commissioner would do such a thing without keeping India in the know and without consulting us. I shared his surprise but I said that is exactly what had happened. I further said that the plan envisaged by these two diplomats was entirely unworkable and unacceptable. A sort of a condominium with the present relations between India and Pakistan was unthinkable. A condominium-like Federation required a frame of mind and approach which was wholly absent in Pakistan. I was perfectly frank with him and told him that what Pakistan was doing at present was nothing less than blackmail. She was telling the US and UK that unless they force a Kashmir settlement upon India, she would walk out of SEATO and CENTO and make friends with the Communist powers. I pointed out that we had agreed to carry on the negotiations under most trying circumstances. Pakistan had signed an agreement with China; she still carries

113. Telegram from the High Commissioner in London. MHA, File No. Ks-19/62.

114. Alec Douglas-Home, the British Foreign Secretary.

115. Chairman, International Control Commission for Laos and Vietnam.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

on vituperative propaganda against us; she had made a fantastic claim at the negotiating table for division of Kashmir which would leave us with 1½ districts and she had now introduced the question of the river Chenab which was baseless. He seemed to agree with all that I had to say but he said that it would be very difficult to persuade the UK Government to give military aid to India when the people here would be saying why is India maintaining all these divisions on the Pakistan frontier and spending money on them when that money could be utilised for defence against China. I told him that you had suggested several times a no-war declaration to Ayub but Ayub had refused to sign such a declaration. That clearly showed that Pakistan had an *arrière pensée* and contemplated war against India under certain circumstances. In view of this we could not possibly leave our frontier unguarded. He asked me whether India would remove her divisions from the Pakistan frontier if Ayub agreed to such a declaration. I said that when we were satisfied that there was no danger of any aggression from Pakistan, we could then certainly think of reducing our military strength to a considerable extent. He was surprised that Ayub should not agree to such a declaration. He said he was going to Karachi and one of the main things he will have to discuss would be whether it would be possible to reduce the tension on the Indo-Pak frontier and make it possible for India to concentrate all her military strength on the Chinese frontier. If that could be done, he said it would be easier for UK to give military aid to India.

My strong feeling is that UK Government will be difficult if our negotiations with Pakistan break down. Home made it clear that even if Pakistan were to blame public opinion in this country will not be able to understand or appreciate the situation. I understand from him that Sandys<sup>116</sup> is accompanying him to Karachi. I am trying to see Sandys and also Wilson<sup>117</sup> leader of the Labour opposition. It is necessary that the Labour Party at least should understand what our case is.

116. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

117. Harold Wilson.



**68. From N.C. Thimma Reddy: Foreign Investment<sup>118</sup>**

*[Refer to item 365]*

26th April 1963

Respected Panditji,

I am glad that the Finance Minister has modified the Super Profit Tax to a certain extent with a general assurance that any of the tax burden will be removed, if they are proved as standing in the way of economic development of the country.

Consistent with the Industrial Resolution of 1948 may I humbly suggest a formula that would invite the foreign capital on a massive scale which I have pleaded for in my last letter. The participation of foreign capital to the extent of 40% with the Government of India's contribution towards the share capital by equal (40%) percentage leaving the balance of 20% to the Indian public, will solve all our problems of foreign exchange and of technical "knowhow", consistent with our national interests.

In other words, this is only a mixed economy within a industry, which is otherwise recognised as public and private sector under the existing policy of the Government of India. It is needless for me to enumerate all the advantages accruing from this formula, for the rapid industrialisation of the country, and you may kindly have it examined in all its aspects. In my humble opinion this is the only way of securing the foreign investment on a scale that will go a long way of "banishing the poverty" from the country. If accepted in principle, I shall be glad to discuss this matter in detail with the officials of the Government of india concerned, at your kind initiative.

With deepest regards,

Most sincerely yours,  
N.C. Thimma Reddy

118. Letter from Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 93, South Avenue, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 17(463)/61-63-PMS (Vol.I), Sr. No. 45-A.





## GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations)

Ahimsa	Non-violence
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AINEC	All India Newspaper Editors' Conference
AIR	All India Radio
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
BDO	Block Development Officer
C & I	Commerce and Industry
CENTO	Central Treaty Organisation
CID	Crime Investigation Department
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Parliamentary Party
CS	Commonwealth Secretary, MEA
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
CWC	Congress Working Committee
Dalpati	Leader of a group
DGS	Director-General of Supplies
DIB	Director of Intelligence Bureau
DIG	Deputy Inspector General [of Police]
ECM	European Common Market
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
FS	Foreign Secretary

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

GOC	General Officer Commanding
Goondabaazi	Hooliganism
I & B	Information and Broadcasting
IAF	Indian Air Force
IB	Intelligence Bureau
IFS	Indian Foreign Service
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INA	Indian National Army
J & K	Jammu and Kashmir
Jyotishi	Astrologer
Kisan	Farmer
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MP	Member of Parliament
MRA	Moral Re-armament
Mushaira	Poetry Recitation session
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NDC	National Defence Committee
NEFA	North Eastern Frontier Agency
Patrika	Magazine
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
POW	Prisoner of War
PRO	Public Relations Officer
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
Purdah	Veil
PWD	Public Works Department
RSP	Revolutionary Socialist Party



RSS	Rastriya Swam Sevak Sangh
Sangrahalayas	Museums
Sarkar	Government
SDM	Sub-Divisional Magistrate
SDO	Sub-Divisional Officer
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation
SG	Secretary-General
Shashtrarth	Meaning according to the Shashtras
TIFR	Tata Institute of Fundamental Research
UAR	United Arab Republic
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USIS	United States Information Services
Yatra	March/Journey





## INDEX

- Aaron Eugene Kofi Asante Ofori-Atta, 564, 572, 672
- Abdul Salam Muhammad Aref, 691
- Abdulla Al-Salia Al-Sabah, 689
- Abdullah, Shaikh, (SWJN/FS/7/p. 308), 463
- Abdullah, Tariq, 463
- Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, 553
- Abusa, 666
- Aeronautical Society, Annual Meeting of, 517
- Afghanistan, 113, 551, 583
- Africa, 20, 77, 200, 214, 221, 290, 490, 510, 531, 553, 556, 560, 591, 617, 621, 630, 711, 730, 815, 826; Countries of, 531, 538, 558, 559; nationalism, 816
- Afro-Asian Conference (see also Moshi Conference), 556, 557, 560; Organisation for, 556, 558, 561
- Afro-Asian Conference on Rural Reconstruction, 825; Organisation for, 552, 553, 825
- Afro-Asian countries, 540, 556, 613, 691, 826
- After Nehru Who*, 165
- Agarwal, Munnalal, 130, 300, 301
- Agrawal, Satyendra Narayan, 743
- Ahimsa Central Library, 438
- Ahmed Hassan El-Feki, 689,
- Ahmed, Fakhruddin Ali, (SWJN/SS/38/p. 262), 325
- Ahmed, Fayaz, 425
- Ahmed, Zahir, 140
- Ahmedabad, 514
- Air India, 353, 580, 582
- Air Umbrella, 32, 224, 526, 527, 569, 601, 602, 771
- Aiyar, C.P. Ramaswami, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 113), 83
- Ajmer, 158
- Aker, Milburn P., 524
- Algeria, 510
- Ali Sabry, 85, 437, 540, 687, 691,
- Ali, Mohammad, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 109), 230, 427
- Ali, R. Yusuf, 365
- Ali, Sharaf Athar, 742
- Aligarh Muslim University, 427, 735
- Aligarh, 465, 735
- All India Congress Committee, 87, 113, 120, 126, 132, 158, 187, 543, 661, 740, 818
- All India Institute of Medical Sciences, 144

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- All India Maithili Sahitya Samiti, 440  
 All India Manufacturers' Organisation, 494  
 All India Newspaper Editors' Conference, 173-175  
 All India Radio, 164, 437, 598  
 All India Sarva Seva Sangh, 429  
 All India Trade Union Congress, 347, 746  
 Allahabad, 134, 269, 403, 437, 472, 475, 476  
 Along, 378  
 Alva, Joachim, (SWJN/SS/16 pt II/p. 587), 633  
 Alva, Violet, 6, 328  
 Alwaye, 112, 343  
 Ambala, 277  
 Amin, S.G., 295  
*Amrita Bazar Partika*, 561, 562  
 Amritsar Small-Scale Manufacturers Association, 479  
 Amritsar, 111, 281, 288, 393, 394, 478, 480, 481, 757, 758  
 Amroha, 128, 129, 132  
 Anand Kumar, 422  
*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 175, 176, 179, 181, 182, 562  
 Ananda Mangala, 425  
 Andamans, 306  
 Andhra Pradesh, 120, 328, 329, 330, 411, 788, 805; Government of, 329, 408; river waters dispute, 408  
 Androsov, P.I., 468  
 Aney, M.S., (SWJN/FS/3/p. 12), 228, 589, 593  
 Angola, 630  
 Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu (Hind), 811  
 Annaswamy, S., 155  
 Annie Besant, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 104), 190  
 Ansari, Faridul Haq, (SWJN/FS/3/p.347), 175, 391, 560  
 Anthony, Frank, (SWJN/FS/15/p. 211), 239, 247, 254, 255, 265, 266, 267  
 Anti-Trust Laws, 173  
 Ao, P. Shilu, 364, 365, 381, 382, 389, 391  
 Arab nationalism, 691  
 Arabian Gulf, 164, 477  
 Arabic (language), 260, 268, 631  
 Aram, M., 600  
 Arambagh, 440  
 Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, 527  
 Arora, Arjun, 600  
 Arya Anathalaya, 521  
 Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, 435  
 Arya Samaj, 435, 436  
 Aryanayakam, E.R.W., (SWJN/FS/13/p. 440), 116, 455, 456  
 Asia, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 42, 77, 200, 214, 216, 221, 290, 490, 499, 531, 553, 566, 576, 581, 582, 607, 617, 621, 643, 647, 654, 707, 711, 730, 826; countries of, 591, 643, 647  
 Asian Games, 619  
 Assam, 143, 233, 323, 325, 327, 357, 368, 369, 370, 371, 374, 376, 377, 378, 388, 483, 638, 772, 787, 788, 805; Government of, 326, 327, 386; Legislative Assembly of, 787; and, Assam Regiment, 357, 358, 360; Assam Rifles, 378, 386  
 Assamese, 376, 734  
 Association of Southeast Asia, 705  
 Athens, 543; News Agency Bulletin, 575



- Atomic Energy Commission, 344, 345, 508, 517; Chairman of, 505, 506, 516
- Attlee, C., 575
- Atul Products Limited, 471
- Atwal, Surjit Singh, 669
- Australia, 86, 519, 578, 655, 704; High Commission in India of, 654
- Austria, 600, 733
- Autobiography*, 423, 734
- Averoff-Tositas, Evangelos, 575
- Ayyangar, Ananthasayanam, (SWJN/SS/5/p. 81), 157, 185-187, 808-809
- Azad Memorial Building, 523
- Azad, Abul Kalam, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 353), 82, 120, 121, 179; Works of, 811
- Azad, Bhagwat Jha, (SWJN/SS/41/p. 584), 123, 270
- Azad, Prithvi Singh, (SWJN/FS/12/p. 60), 272, 304, 306, 738
- B.C. Roy Memorial Children Hospital, 446
- Badaun, 278
- Bade, R.C., 252, 363, 610, 679
- Badeshi, Rang Rao, 279
- Bagot, 338
- Bagri, Maniram, 98, 99, 611
- Bahuguna, Kamala, 135
- Bakhshi, Ghulam Mohammad, (SWJN/FS/9/p. 440), 339, 340, 702
- Bakula, Kushak, (SWJN/SS/20/p. 181), 439
- Balasore, 392
- Balat, 325
- Baltimore Sun, The*, 96, 99
- Bandaranaike, F.R. Dias, 687
- Bandaranaike, Sirimavo, (SWJN/SS/61/p. 635), 180, 561, 562, 564, 572, 613, 636, 669, 672, 673, 674, 678, 681, 685, 686, 760, 761, 826, 830, 831
- Bandung Conference, 665
- Banerjee, S.M., (SWJN/SS/43/p. 119), 267, 365, 385, 388, 611
- Bang Pass, 656
- Bangalore, 746
- Bangkok, 706
- Bank of China, 834
- Banthra Farm, 403
- Barahoti, 734
- Barcelona, 736
- Barritt, N.W., 740
- Barua, Hem, (SWJN/SS/38/p. 67), 95, 99, 100, 101, 102, 125, 213, 217, 223, 225, 227, 228, 230, 233, 258, 325, 326, 361, 362, 364, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 379, 382, 383, 384, 385, 387, 388, 389, 587, 595, 596, 605, 608, 609, 619, 622, 624, 625, 628, 631, 633, 634, 635, 637, 638, 640, 641, 652, 658, 679
- Basavapunnaiah, M., 765
- Basra, 145
- Basumatari, A., 588
- Bath, 736
- Batibung, 656
- Belgaum, 149
- Benediktov, I. A., (SWJN/SS/49/p. 425), 726
- Bengal, (see also West Bengal), 105, 246, 272, 437, 501
- Bengali, 166, 243, 244, 256, 257, 260, 262, 264, 268, 269

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Berhampur jail, 105f  
 Berlin, 524, 539, 540, 541, 564, 745, 813  
 Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 605, 773  
 Berwa, Onkar Lal, 364, 610, 651  
 Betgora, 326  
 Bhabha, H. J., (SWJN/FS/13/p. 536), 344, 345, 503, 505, 506, 512, 516, 517, 519, 520  
 Bhagalpur, 737, 743  
 Bhagavantam, S., 519, 520  
 Bhagwan Mahavir Birthday Celebrations, 428  
 Bhagwat, Tara, 600  
 Bhakra Dam, 80, 399, 521  
 Bhakt Darshan, 734  
 Bharat Darshan Tour, 375  
 Bharat Krishak Samaj, 408, 409, 781  
 Bharat Sevak Samaj, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 111, 274, 294, 295, 331  
 Bharathan, C.E., 749  
 Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 426; Chairman of, 426  
 Bhargava, M.P., 34, 35, 820  
 Bhatia, Prem, 574  
 Bhatia, Rajendra Singh, 400, 401  
 Bhattacharya, G.L., 695-697  
 Bhattacharya, P.C., 779  
 Bhave, Vinoba, (SWJN/SS/5/p. 74), 116, 176, 177, 180, 182, 272, 339, 429, 432, 436, 439, 440, 599, 668  
 Bhilai, 299, 353, 483  
 Bhimani, Manubhai, 155  
 Bholapeta, 326  
 Bhoodan Movement, 429  
 Bhopal, 118, 296, 297, 350, 351, 352, 353, 464  
 Bhutan, 206, 664; Government of, 206; Treaty of Friendship with, 206  
 Bhutto, Z.A., 208, 591, 593, 606, 634, 694, 783, 803  
 Bigelow, Bert, 600  
 Bihar, 29, 52, 53, 55, 87, 115, 186, 187, 246, 248, 274, 278, 297, 331, 332, 333, 334, 336, 413, 456, 483, 772; Citizens' Council, 295; Congress legislators of, 114, 335; Government of, 107, 333, 335; Panchayat Parishads of, 295; Advocate-General of, 334  
 Bijapur, 788  
 Birla, Ghanshyam Das, 463  
 Biyani, P.R., 414, 577  
 Blomberg, Frary von, 433  
 Bodh Gaya, 145  
 Bokaro, 807  
 Bombay, 116, 145, 147, 152, 183, 301, 306, 322, 356, 412, 425, 428, 433, 437, 457, 462, 470, 506, 509, 544, 642, 645, 646, 709, 714-717, 739-740, 742, 747, 772; High Court, 151; PCC, 116;  
 Bomdila, 143, 370, 374, 375, 594  
 Border Roads Development Board, 359  
 Border Roads Organisation, 143, 451  
 Borneo territories, 791  
 Borooah, P.C., 376, 384, 650, 651  
 Bose, S.C., 155, 156  
 Bose, Sisirkumar, 519  
 Bose, Subhas Chandra, (SWJN/FS/3/p. 46), 107, 133, 156  
 Bowles, Chester, (SWJN/SS/16 pt II/p. 716), 720  
 Boyd Orr, John, 137



- Brady, Thomas F., 699  
 Breliot, Lois, 518  
 Brij Bhasa, 421; region, 421; Sammelan, 421  
 Bristol, 688  
 British Titanium, 344, 345  
 Brownlow, Donald G., 730  
 Brunei, 705, 789, 790  
 Buchman, Frank, 117  
 Buddha, 321, 425, 434; and Buddhists, 259, 321; Buddhism, 17, 18, 241, 293, 321, 437  
 Bundy, McGeorge, 720  
 Burma Reunion, 714, 716  
 Burma, 76, 323, 360, 361, 362, 363, 367, 601, 641, 682, 706; Government of, 363, 367, 583; Army of, 360; Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of, (see Ne Win also), 682; Chin Hills of, 361  
 Burmah Shell, 766  
 Butani, S.H., 322, 772, 773
- Cabinet, reshuffle in, 97; Secretary, 3, 81, 359, 442, 480, 481, 483, 505, 517, 520, 545, 763  
 Cachar, 361  
 Cairo, 166, 539, 552, 561, 679, 688, 690, 691, 825  
 Calcutta, 176, 179, 230, 231, 292, 303, 413, 420, 447, 504, 508, 607, 638, 694, 696, 700, 722, 778, 783, 801; Productivity Council, 484  
 Cambodia, 548, 706, 707, 708, 771; Chief of State of, 547, 572; Declaration on the neutrality of, 707  
 Canada, 86, 257, 578, 756
- Cape Comorin, 222  
 Caroe, Olaf Kirkpatrick Kruuse, (SWJN/SS/4/p. 365), 582  
 Centennial Pacific Trade Centre, 739  
 CENTO, 198, 710, 714, 715, 803, 835  
 Central Advisory Board for Education, 464  
 Central Asia, 260  
 Central Board of Irrigation and Power, 34  
 Central Europe, 572, 576  
 Central Parliamentary Board, 112, 818  
 Central Press Advisory Committee, 174  
 Central Research Institute for Cooperation, 522  
 Central Training Institute for Labour, 544  
 Ceylon, 7, 76, 226, 525, 561, 591, 752, 826; Government of, 11, 687;  
 Chagla, M.C., (SWJN/FS/ 3/p. 347), 161, 390, 710, 727, 813, 814, 835  
 Chakravarti, P.R., 123, 364  
 Chakravartty, Renu, 259  
 Chaliha, B. P., 105, 323, 326, 358, 360, 361, 368, 787, 788  
 Champaran, 41  
 Chand, Tek, 156  
 Chandigarh, 164, 398, 399, 400, 738; Panchayat Bhavan, 399  
 Chandramouli, J., 120  
 Chandrasekharan, K., 579  
 Chandrashekhar, 600  
*Changing India*, 527, 528  
 Chatterjee, H.P., 267, 268, 678  
 Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar, (SWJN/SS/38/p. 172), 256, 420  
 Chaturvedi, S.N., 123  
 Chaudhry, Ram Narayan, 395

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Chaudhuri, Tridib Kumar, (SWJN/SS/29/p. 397), 266, 584, 587
- Chauhan, Nawab Singh, (SWJN/SS/38/p. 107), 421
- Chauhan, Prithviraj, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 111), 25
- Chavan, Y.B., (SWJN/SS/43/p. 78), 1-3, 86, 96, 97, 110, 145, 225, 357-359, 394, 451, 502, 519-520, 578, 645, 660, 677, 688, 709, 715, 716, 717, 763, 770, 798, 801
- Chavara, 341, 342, 343, 344
- Cheena Bhavana, 583, 601
- Chen Yi, (SWJN/SS/35/p. 591), 649, 687
- Chenab, 338, 725, 836
- Cherian, P.C., 117
- Chettiar, A.N.M. Murugappa, 443
- Chettry, Maya Devi, 550, 820
- Chib, S.N., 448
- Chicago Sun-Times*, 524
- Chief Justice of Nigeria, 158
- Chief Justice of the Philippines, 158
- China 11-12, 14-15, 17-18, 25, 27, 32, 54, 73-74, 76-77, 81, 86, 91, 93, 97, 104, 108, 116, 196, 197, 199, 201-202, 206, 208, 216, 224, 227, 289, 293, 296, 384, 499, 500, 510, 514, 515, 524-526, 531-537, 540, 546, 556, 559, 560, 563, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 578, 579, 581, 582, 583, 587, 590, 591, 594, 601, 602, 605, 606, 607, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 616, 617, 620, 623-626, 628, 629, 636, 642-643, 645-647, 652, 654, 655, 658, 659, 660, 663, 665, 666, 667, 668, 671, 673, 674, 677, 678, 679, 682, 683, 684, 686, 687, 691, 692, 694, 700-702, 706, 710, 711, 719, 720, 722, 730-731, 748, 753, 769, 774, 776, 797, 799, 813, 819, 820, 830, 831, 832, 833, 835, 836, admission to the United Nations of, 642; aggression by, 10, 13, 18, 31, 42, 50, 51, 54, 73, 76, 78, 86, 92, 93, 104, 109, 110, 115, 123, 134, 135, 183, 190, 191, 200, 210, 212, 214, 222, 289, 293, 296, 298, 299, 313, 315, 348, 349, 368, 369, 370, 373, 372, 381, 413, 489, 492, 509, 525, 526, 533, 534, 536, 538, 560, 563, 565, 570, 574, 575, 582, 595, 629, 631, 641, 645, 647, 650, 652, 654, 661, 662, 665, 666, 667, 675, 682, 684, 691, 694, 700, 701, 711, 713, 719, 721, 724, 726, 727, 729, 730, 731, 741, 744, 745, 747, 769, 820 ; border agreement with Pakistan of, 209, 230, 591, 610, 694, 711; anti-Indian policy of, 534, 559, 616, 668; differences with USSR of, 559, 574, 622, 645, 654, 727; air force of, 653, 800; armed forces of, 73, 525, 650, 651, 585, 586, 587, 588, 652, 797, 586, 648; consulates-general in India of, 833; Embassy in India of, 583, 833; frontier guards of, 649, 775, 776, 777, 833, 834; government of, 11, 30, 85, 86, 200, 205, 219, 226, 293, 564, 585, 586, 587, 602, 603, 604, 606, 607, 612, 613, 614, 616, 642, 648, 649, 656, 658, 659, 669, 670, 672, 678, 681, 682, 684, 686, 687, 730, 760, 775-777, 797-798, 818, 830-834; support to Pathet Lao forces, 835



- Chinese Red Cross Society, 656  
 Chinese Trotskyists, 745  
 Chinese-Malayans, 615, 780  
 Choksi, J.D., 443  
 Chopra, M.S., 142  
 Chopra, Ram Partap, 148  
 Chotsag, 664  
 Chou En-lai, (SWJN/SS/15 pt I/ p. 118), 228, 583, 603, 604, 612, 648, 685, 687, 775, 777, 819, 830, 835  
 Choudhury, M.M., 734  
 Choupatty, 642, 772  
*Christian Science Monitor*, 96, 97  
 Churchill, Winston, (SWJN/FS/4/p. 52), 632  
 Ciba Research Centre, 470, 471, 544  
 Citizens' Defence Committee, 642; Chairman of, 645  
 Cochin, 303, 766  
 Cold War, 108, 538, 690, 701, 773  
 Colombo Conference, 540, 564, 583, 613, 614, 649, 670, 671, 678, 687, 673, 674, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 776, 777, 830, 831, 832; proposals of, 11, 14, 30, 85, 205, 210, 212, 225, 226, 537, 541, 564-566, 569, 572, 573, 587-589, 596, 597, 604, 610, 613, 614, 636, 640, 642, 648, 649, 652, 654, 667-674, 677-680, 683-687, 691, 711, 776, 783, 797, 818, 819, 830-834; and, Colombo Powers, 85, 210, 574, 587, 677, 569, 652, 665, 672, 680, 681  
 Colombo, 540, 561, 613, 677  
 Commonwealth countries, 538, 553, 554, 817, 815  
 Commonwealth of World Citizens, 737  
 Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, 578, 703, 705, 789  
 Communist Party of India, 229, 259, 341, 344, 346, 391, 508, 696, 103, 104, 536, 652, 747; detenus of, 395; Members of Parliament of, 106; Chairman of, 747  
 Community Development, 88, 209, 271, 272, 348, 375, 496, 530  
 Company Law Amendment (1945), Committee on, (chaired by Lord Cohen), 793  
 Company Law, Committee of 1952, 793  
 Conference of Orientalists, 434, 829  
 Confucianism, 18  
 Congo, 538, 554, 572  
*Congress Forum*, 122  
 Congress on Diseases of the Chest, 467  
 Congress Parliamentary Party, 125, 127, 240, 557; Chief Whip of, 819  
 Congress President, see D. Sanjivayya  
 Congress Seva Dal, 108  
 Congress Working Committee, 112, 119, 126, 133, 193, 404  
 Connaught Place, 493  
 Constituent Assembly of India, 263, 529  
 Constitution of India, 82, 249, 824; article 343(3), 235, 830  
 Controller of Insurance, 778  
 Convention of Indians Thinkers, 446  
 Cooke, Hope, 401  
 Cooperative Movement, 89, 522; in Bihar, 333, 336  
 Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, 705, 755  
 Cuba, 202, 538, 539, 542, 564, 644

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

*Cultural Understanding in Medieval India*, 417

d'Egville, Howard, 701

D'Sousa, Laura, 336, 337

Dacca, 97, 326, 723; High Court, 695

Dag Hammarskjöld, (SWJN/SS/23/p. 511), 137, 138

*Daily Telegraph*, 482, 765, 766

Daji, Homi, 365

Dalai Lama, (SWJN/SS/16 pt II/p. 647), 656, 663, 665, 709

Dale, Ernest, 736

Dalmia-Jain, Commission Enquiry Report (see also Vivian Bose Commission Report), 152; group of companies, 137, 138, 151

Dange, S.A., 103, 232, 747, 748

Daoud, Mohammed, 582

Daphtary, C.K., 91, 125, 160

Das, Govind, 110, 253, 438, 588

Das, Jagmohan, 298

Das, Kalyani, 105

Das, Rabindra Mohan, 392

Das, S.R., 453, 454, 455, 549, 601, 616

Dasgupta, Debotosh, 272

Dasgupta, Subhayu, 484

Datar, B.N., (SWJN/SS/29/p. 162), 6, 10, 33, 34, 143

Datta, V.N., 572

Davar, M.C., (SWJN/SS/58/p. 363), 111, 129

Dave, Krishna, 543

*Dawn*, 165

Dayal, Rajeshwar, (SWJN/SS/5/p. 573), 551, 554

de Gaulle, Charles, (SWJN/SS/39/p. 721), 572, 690

de Souza, Mick, 505

Deb, Dasarath, 106, 764

Deb, S.C., 558

Defence of India Act/Rules, 28, 104, 107, 158, 171, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 207, 229, 306, 432, 746, 747, 764

Dehlavi, S.K., 571

Dehradun, 404

Delhi 70, 74, 80, 85, 92, 96, 119, 139, 159, 164, 179, 184, 271, 274, 292, 302, 321, 322, 330, 331, 337, 339, 382, 389, 394, 402, 415, 425, 437, 440, 443, 502, 521, 545, 552, 563, 564, 572, 612, 613, 645, 671, 683, 685, 686, 687, 706, 714-717, 727, 731, 735, 747, 749, 751, 757, 779, 811, 814, 826, 828; Agri-Horticultural Society of, 277; Congress Committee of, 132; Gliding Club, 454; Pradesh Brij Kala Kendra of, 421; Chief Commissioner of, 523

Deo, P.K., 362, 592, 594, 595

Deo, Shankarrao, (SWJN/FS/7/p. 617), 583, 600

Department of Atomic Energy, 341-343, 503, 507, 509, 514-515

Department of Chinese Language and Culture, 583

Department of Economic Affairs, 810

Department of Heavy Industries, 786, 805

Department of International Trade, 786, 811

Desai, M.J., (SWJN/SS/4/p. 155), 92, 165, 365, 381, 393, 551, 590, 603, 615, 655, 664, 703, 705, 713, 720, 770, 801



- Desai, Morarji, (SWJN/FS/13/p. 5), 15, 110, 148, 151, 153, 162, 163, 232, 426, 434, 441, 443, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 463, 488, 493, 501, 504, 755, 756, 777, 779, 780, 806, 808, 810, 811, 822, 823, 828, 837
- Deshmukh, B.D., 123
- Deshmukh, C.D., (SWJN/FS/15/p. 635) 167
- Deshmukh, P.S., (SWJN/SS/5/p. 368), 408, 409, 410, 552, 553, 825, 827
- Deshmukh, Shivaji Rao S., 516
- Deshpande, G.A., 456
- Deshpande, Govindrao, 600
- Deshpande, N.R., 552
- Dey, S.K., (SWJN/SS/6/p. 96), 275, 333, 415
- Dhadda, Siddharaj, 429
- Dhansiri, 386
- Dhar, D.P., 338
- Dharamshala, 663
- Dhariwal, 479
- Dhebar, U.N., (SWJN/SS/17/p. 406), 738; Commission headed by, 372, 378
- Dhola, 596
- Diaz, Joseph C., 741
- Digha Ghat, 332
- Digha, 392, 667
- Directive Principles of State Policy, 82, 661
- Disarmament, Conference, 540, 541; Geneva Committee on, 564
- Diwakar, R.R., (SWJN/FS/5/p. 311), 113, 116, 420, 605, 783
- Djakarta, 791
- Djuanda, TunTun, 791
- DMK, 247
- Doha, 477
- Doogar, R.S., 820
- Douglas-Hamilton, George, 791
- Douglas-Home, Alexander Frederick, 710, 835
- Dr B.C. Roy Memorial Committee, 407
- Dube, Jagpat, 121
- Dube, Mulchand, 10
- Dunkirk, 25
- Durgapur, 326
- Düsseldorf Industriekurier*, 727
- Düsseldorf, 727
- Dutta, Biren Chandra, 106, 764
- Dwarkadas, Kanji, 190
- Dwibedy, Bairagi, 36, 546
- Dwivedi, M.L., 585, 586, 677
- Dwivedy, S.N., 91, 125, 149, 218, 516, 597, 602, 603, 652, 774, 775
- East Pakistan, 325, 695, 696, 787; Government of, 326, 695
- ECM, 572
- Economic Weekly*, 442, 493
- Economist, The*, 355
- Eden, Anthony, (SWJN/FS/7/p.105), 624
- Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Fund, 732
- Egypt, 76, 688; Chairman, Executive Council of, 636
- Elwin Committee, 372
- Engineer, Aspy Merwan, 517
- English Channel, 25, 518
- English Language, 111
- Essos, 766
- Europe, 20, 28, 202, 290, 342, 353, 487, 537, 571, 621, 631, 791, 815, 816

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association, 549
- Factional Politics in an Indian State: Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh*, 151
- FAO, 136, 138, 470
- Farmer, Jack H., 84
- Farrukhabad, 129, 130, 300
- Fatehpur, 415, 416
- Federation of Working Journalists, 174
- FICCI, 154, 155, 485, 828
- Films Division, 433
- Finland, 257
- Five Year Plan, 11, 12, 19, 20, 24, 32, 50, 72, 75, 123, 192, 215, 242, 291, 294, 316, 318, 348, 445, 448, 461, 464, 465, 488, 495, 500, 531, 533, 567, 661, 666, 701; and Fourth Plan 26, 726, 806
- Foreign Affairs*, 527, 528, 720
- Foreigners Act, 615, 787
- France, 17, 25, 74, 196, 201, 202, 290, 315, 466, 467, 509, 510, 515, 528, 540, 690
- Frankfurt, 518
- Frederica, 572
- Freedom from Hunger campaign, 136, 469, 470
- French Indian Socialist Party, 393
- French language, 243, 244, 258, 267, 466, 467, 631, 813
- French Revolution, 28
- Friendship March to Peking, 601
- Frieze, Ronald, 743
- Frontier Speaks*, 113
- Fulbright, J.W., 721
- Gadgil, D.R., (SWJN/FS/15/p. 248), 442, 793
- Gagarin, Yuri, 728
- Gaitonde, P.D. 505
- Galahad, Walter, 542
- Galbraith, J.K., (SWJN/SS/37/p. 181), 93, 713, 718, 720, 722, 723, 754, 770, 771, 800, 803
- Gandhi National Memorial Fund, Chairman of, 605
- Gandhi Peace Foundation, 605, 783; Chairman of, 604
- Gandhi Peace Prize, 542
- Gandhi Sangrahalayas, 120
- Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, 113, 116, 420
- Gandhi, Arun Manilal, (SWJN/SS/41/p. 849).739
- Gandhi, Indira, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 232), 110, 418, 420, 731, 734
- Gandhi, M.K. (also Gandhiji) , 16, 37, 41, 42, 50, 55, 72, 73, 113-115, 179, 193, 219, 223, 251, 262, 269, 272, 288, 290, 306, 314, 318, 418, 432, 440, 441, 460, 498, 528, 529, 530, 647, 668, 730, 741, 831; film on, 418, 420; biographer of, 733, 740, 741
- Garnier, Jean-Paul, 466
- Gauhati, 133; University of, 374
- Gayatri Devi, 570
- Gee, Edward Pritchard, 424
- Gelling, 594
- General Indian Insurance Companies, 778
- Geneva Agreement, 706
- Geneva Protocol, 708
- Geneva, 117
- German language, 243, 244, 258, 631



- Germany, 25, 52, 74, 196, 201, 202, 290, 295, 540, 564, 727, 813
- Ghana, 76, 564, 816, 826, 827; Government of, 684
- Ghaziabad, 405, 406
- Ghose, Bibhu Nath, 737
- Ghose, S., 778
- Ghose, Subodh K., 519
- Ghose, Surendra Mohan, 82
- Ghosh, Atulya, (SWJN/SS/19/p. 418), 407, , 819
- Ghosh, Niren, 391
- Ghosh, Sudhir, (SWJN/SS/4/p. 515), 584, 768, 770
- Gilagora, 326
- Gilgit, 571
- Gill, Hazara Singh, 400
- Giri, Tulsi, 692
- Goa, 336, 338, 429, 528, 637; Elections in, 337; PCC President of, 337
- Goa, Architecture in, 429
- Gold Control, 154, 426, 810
- Golwalkar, M.S., (SWJN/SS/8/p. 288), 323, 692
- Gomti, 759
- Gonda, 153
- Gopal, S., (SWJN/SS/40/p. 603), 551
- Gopalan, A.K., (SWJN/SS/15 pt II/p. 156), 341, 344, 345, 346, 765
- Gorakhpur, 275
- Gore-Booth, Paul, 710, 713-714, 716
- Goregaon, 470
- Goubert, Édouard, 393, 749, 753
- Govindpur, 325
- Greece, 543, 575, 577
- Guardian*, 574
- Guha, A.C., 446, 527, 811
- Gujarat, 87, 136, 246, 482, 483, 709, 772; Government of, 772
- Gulhati Commission Report, 409
- Gundevia, Y.D., 93, 554, 580, 581, 582, 615, 705, 707, 713, 720
- Gupta, Bhupesh, (SWJN/SS/18/p. 335), 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 182, 190, 391, 444, 696, 765
- Gupta, C.B., (SWJN/SS/44/p. 289), 128, 130, 132, 151, 153, 276, 278, 279, 300, 301, 354, 402-405, 435, 475, 663, 759-760, 818, 821
- Gupta, Dnyanprakash S., 463
- Gupta, Priya, 101, 217, 225, 232, 515, 609
- Gupta, Ram Ratan, 150, 151, 152, 153
- Habibullah, E., 698
- Hague Court of International Justice, 86, 693, 774, 775
- Hajarnavis, R. M., (SWJN/SS/p.39/p.362), 6, 33, 34, 149
- Hajong, 325
- Hangen, Welles, 165
- Hanumanthaiya, K., (SWJN/SS/14 pt I/p. 496), 632
- Harijan*, 120
- Harinarayananand, 274, 331
- Haryana Lok Samiti, 596, 677
- Haryana, 78, 80
- Hashad, M.N., 825
- Haverford School, 730
- Heart Disease and Hard Water*, 740
- Heavy Electricals Limited, 296, 804
- Heavy Engineering Corporation, 805
- Heda, H.C., 680
- Henderson Times, The*, 84
- Hicks, David, 550
- Hidayatullah, Habib, 145

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Himachal Pradesh, 142, 305, 306, 723, 738  
Himalayas, 303, 433, 535, 643, 666, 832  
Hindon, 503  
Hindu Code Bill, 460  
Hindu Mahasabha, 103  
*Hindu*, 114, 247, 294, 440, 470, 517, 719, 727,  
Hindustan Aircraft Limited 688;  
Employees Association of, 746  
Hindustan Machine Tools, 804  
*Hindustan Standard*, 181, 561-562  
*Hindustan Times*, 798  
Hissar, 395, 397, 398  
Hitler, Adolf, (SWJN/FS/5/p. 477), 25  
Hooja, M.M.L., 665  
Hopkins and Williams Travancore Ltd., 344, 345  
Hubble, J. R., 654  
Hungary, 622  
Huns, 428  
Husain, Zakir, (SWJN/FS/3/p. 67), 690  
Hussein, Tun Razak bin, 789  
Hyderabad, 140, 295, 330  
  
Ibrahim, Hafiz Mohammad, (SWJN/SS/41/p. 845), 121, 132, 408, 411, 412, 416, 789, 792  
*Illustrated Weekly*, 370  
ILO, 549  
Imam, Syed Jafer, 140, 146, 767, 768  
Imbichibava, E.K., 764  
INA, 432  
Inamdar, S.V., 108  
Inchera, 631  
India Aid Fund Committee, 295  
India International Centre, 165, 167  
*India Reformer*, 133  
India-China border conflict, (see China also), 564, 616, 648, 649, 654, 661, 674, 683, 686, 687, 691, 723, 765  
Indian Air Force, 31, 32, 86, 93, 97, 195, 502, 551, 579, 602, 650, 654, 719, 771, 800,  
*Indian and Eastern Engineer*, 505  
Indian Army, 95, 145, 195, 226, 358, 625, 649, 776, 797; Director General of Supplies, 479  
Indian Council of Agricultural Research, 413  
Indian Council of Child Welfare, 521  
*Indian Farming*, 368  
Indian Institute of Public Administration, 81  
Indian Military Academy, 404  
Indian National Committee for Space Research, 514  
*Indian Observer*, 400  
Indian Parliamentarians for Peace, 547  
*Indian Petroleum*, 493  
Indian prisoners of war, 86, 640, 656, 658, 659, 678  
Indian Rare Earths Ltd., 343  
Indian Red Cross, 656  
Indian Statistical Institute, 446, 447, 504  
Indonesia, 76, 85, 92, 303, 319, 435, 546, 615, 619, 620, 704, 705, 781, 790, 791, 826, 827; relations with Malaya, 780; government of, 703, 790; Treaty of Friendship with, 790  
Indo-Pakistan talks, 606, 703, 712  
Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, 726  
Indus river, 700



- Indus Water Treaty, 693  
 Industrial Policy, 484, 784, 786;  
     Resolution of 1948, 837; and,  
     Industries (Development and  
     Regulation) Act, 793  
 Institute for Peoples of Asia, 726  
 Institute of Mathematical Science,  
     462  
 Integrated Child Welfare  
     Demonstration Project, 522  
 International Congress on Diseases of  
     the Chest, 468  
 International Control Commission,  
     1954, 706; Chairman of, 835  
 International Court of Justice, at the  
     Hague, 227, 532, 602, 603, 604,  
     614, 642, 661, 774, 832  
 Iran, 551, 714, 715  
 Iraq, 12, 15, 452, 541, 691  
 Israni, Nanak Ram, 158  
 Italy, 244, 258, 448; National  
     Hydrocarbon Trust of, 766  
 Iyer, V.R. Krishna, (SWJN/SS/40/p.  
     383), 106
- Jabalpur riots, 105  
 Jagadri, 277  
 Jain, Ajit Prasad, (SWJN/SS/10/p.  
     200), 94, 126, 128, 300, 428, 798,  
     818, 821,  
 Jain, Jawaharlal, 600  
 Jain, Rameshwar Dass, 397  
 Jain, S.P., 151  
 Jain, Shriyans Prasad, 137, 154, 485  
 Jain, Takhtmal, 118  
 Jaipur, 303, 401, 426, 446, 450, 809,  
     810  
 Jamir, S.C., 382, 383  
 Jammu and Kashmir, 338, 339, 357,  
     359, 605, 612, 694, 699, 723  
 Jammu and Kashmir, Prime Minister  
     of, 565, 702  
 Jamna, 438, 439  
 Jana Sangh, 29, 112, 130, 134, 158,  
     182, 230, 252, 323, 363, 364, 390,  
     592, 610, 651, 671, 695, 824  
 Japan, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 52, 117, 167,  
     196, 290, 295, 315, 342, 450,  
     495, 503, 508, 600, 728, 814,  
     822, 827, 828; Ambassador of,  
     828; Government of, 828; Trade  
     with, 450, 827  
 Jayanti Shipping Company, 493, 827  
 Jha, L.K., 823  
 Jha, Binodanand, 36, 111, 131, 274,  
     331, 332, 334, 336  
 Jhaveri, Vithalbhai, 418, 420  
 Jhelum, 723  
 Jhunjhunu, 274  
 Joshi, Subhadra, 105, 123  
*Journal of Power and River Valley  
     Development*, 413  
*Jugantar*, 562  
 Jyotishi, J.P., 123
- Kabir, Humayun, (SWJN/SS/18/p.  
     143), 429, 431, 434, 504, 519,  
     829  
 Kairon, Partap Singh, (SWJN/FS/14/p.  
     75), 70, 277, 280, 305, 306, 393,  
     394, 395, 397, 398, 399, 400, 479,  
     521, 757, 758  
 Kaito, Sukhai, 640, 641  
 Kakkar, J.C., 818  
 Kakodkar, Purushottam, 336-337  
 Kalimpong, 633  
 Kalinga Airlines, 92  
 Kalmakanda, 325  
 Kalyan, 773

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Kalyanov, V.I., 726  
 Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, 475, 476  
 Kamaraj, K., (SWJN/SS/17/p. 327), 328  
 Kamath, Hari Vishnu, (SWJN/FS/9/p. 397), 81, 96, 102, 217, 221, 223, 224, 225, 227, 230, 231, 233, 258, 375, 376, 379, 509, 510, 514, 515, 587, 588, 592, 612, 678  
 Kamrup District, 325  
 Kandu reactor, 807  
 Kanhayalal, 118  
 Kannada language, 256  
 Kannamwar, M.S., 103, 106, 302, 356, 436, 459, 517, 645  
 Kanpur, 152  
 Kanungo, Nityanand, (SWJN/SS/28/p. 427), 484, 786, 803  
 Karachi, 145, 165, 292, 323, 592, 606, 693, 694, 710, 711, 713, 721, 723, 731, 754, 782, 801, 821, 836; talks in, 697  
 Karaka, H.D., 356  
 Karakoram Pass, 607  
 Karame, Rachid, 572  
 Kardelj, Edvard, 563, 746, 768  
 Karve, D.K., (SWJN/SS/42/p. 850), 459, 461  
 Kashmir 191, 208, 229, 289, 338, 339, 432, 529, 534, 570, 574, 575, 584, 594, 606, 607, 608, 610, 692, 693, 699, 710, 711, 712, 713, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 753, 754, 782, 800, 802, 821, 835, 836; occupied by Pakistan 724; Partition plan of, 699, 711, 722, 723, 724, 835; settlement in, 712, 723, 753, 782, 800  
 Katanga, 572  
 Katju, K.N., 112  
 Katscher, Ernst, 733  
 Kaul, B.K., 779  
 Kaul, K.N., (SWJN/SS/42/p. 160), 402-404, 414, 759, 760  
 Kaul, T.N., (SWJN/SS/18/p. 550), 768, 770  
 Kazmi, Asadullah, 452  
 Keight, H. B., 665  
 Kennedy, John F., (SWJN/SS/38/p. 667), 538-540, 542, 693, 718, 722, 724, 753, 754, 770, 782, 783 ; and, administration of, 700  
 Kenya, 295; Elections in, 554; and, Kenya Indian Congress, 295  
 Kerala, 341, 343, 344, 345, 347, 507, 805; Government of, 344, 345  
 Keskar, B.V., (SWJN/FS/11/p. 15), 130, 164  
 Khajuraho, 448  
 Khan, Chinggis, (SWJN/FS/5/p. 510), 246  
 Khan, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, (SWJN/FS/4/p. 293), 113, 132, 740  
 Khan, Abdul Hameed, 127  
 Khan, Ayub, (SWJN/SS/19/p. 603), 606, 608, 609, 698, 699, 702, 754, 821, 836  
 Khan, Mahmood Hassan, 330  
 Khan, Niaz Ahmed, 425  
 Khan, Shahnawaz, 386, 387  
 Khanna, Mehr Chand, (SWJN/FS/14/p. 577), 159, 438, 522  
 Khare, N.B., (SWJN/FS/08/p. 356), 103  
 Khatau, Dharamsey, 443  
 Khera, S.S., (SWJN/SS/30/p. 486), 140, 480, 505, 516, 704, 762  
 Khobragade, B.D., 366, 599, 600, 669, 670, 671



- Khoman, T.,  
 Khoman, Thanet, 705-707  
 Khosla, Jagan Nath, 543  
 Khrushchev, N.S., (SWJN/SS/29/p. 220), 539, 540, 541, 542, 563, 744, 745, 768, 769, 771, 813  
 Khunjerab, 606  
 Khwaja, Jamal, 465, 735  
 Kibithoo, 594  
 Kibliwala, Prabhudas T., 160  
 Kidwai, A.N., 326  
 Kiev, 468  
 Kilik, 606  
 Kini, S.G., 578  
 Kirana Gharana, 425  
 Kishenganga river, 694  
 Kochar, Anup Chand, 401  
 Kochar, Ramratan, 401  
 Kohima, 380, 382  
 Kohler, Foy David, 768, 769, 770  
 Kolhatkar, S.Y., 106  
 Kolkebail, S.S., 419  
 Komer, R.W., 720  
 Koraput, 392  
 Kosi, 53, 413  
 Kotak, G.B., 154  
 Kothari, D.S., 517, 520  
 Kotoki, Liladhar, 357, 368  
 Kotval, S.P., 462  
 Koyali refinery, 772  
 Kripalani, Krishna, 120, 426  
 Krishna-Godavari River Waters Dispute, 411-412, 417, 788, 792  
 Krishnamachari, T.T., (SWJN/SS/07/p. 447), 3, 4, 34, 35, 36, 86, 91, 92, 124, 155, 156, 442, 479, 480, 483, 584, 655, 702, 704, 713, 714, 762, 763, 764, 770, 771, 779, 801, 820  
 Krishnamachari, V.T., (SWJN/FS/10/p. 412), 89, 522, 523  
 Krishnan, M.S., 104, 746  
 Krishnan, Pushpa, 104, 746, 747  
 Kuala Lumpur, 704  
 Kumarikata, 325  
 Kurnool, 329  
 Kurukshetra University, 572  
 Kutty, Madhavan, 133  
 Kuwait, 548, 689  
 Kveder, Dušan, 563  
 Ladakh, 30, 75, 85, 148, 226, 321, 573, 579, 585, 587, 588, 589, 610, 625, 694, 713, 723, 724, 725, 797  
 Ladakhi Bodh Vihar, 319, 321, 438, 439  
 Lahol, 305  
 Lakshmi Ratan Engineering Works, 152  
 Lall, Chaman, 123, 204, 547, 554, 560  
*Lancet*, 740  
 Laos, 705, 706, 707, 708, 835; Agreements of 1962, 707  
 Laskar, N.R., 382, 383  
 Latifi, Danial, 145  
 Latin, 244  
 Lawande, V.N., 336  
 Lawrence, Alexander R., 411  
 Lazar, E.D., 600  
 Le Corbusier, (SWJN/SS/18/p. 115), 521  
 Lebanon, 827  
 Leeds, 742  
 Leh, 694  
 Leipzig Fair, 144  
 Leningrad, 726  
 Lensi, 664

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Letters from Gandhi, Nehru, Vinoba*, 154  
 Lhasa, 664  
 Libya, 827  
 Life Insurance Corporation of India, 779  
 Lohia, R.M., (SWJN/FS/7/p. 430), 134  
 Lok Sabha, 10, 13, 22, 29, 30, 91, 94, 95, 106, 111, 124, 130, 158, 177, 209, 235, 236, 240, 248, 249, 250, 317, 325, 333, 346, 361, 369, 382, 385, 412, 417, 456, 465, 505, 507, 561, 585, 590, 594, 602, 603, 604, 605, 617, 648, 656, 674, 735, 749, 764, 765, 774, 781; by-elections, 336  
 Lok Seva Sangh, 256, 417, 680  
 London, 25, 117, 143, 316, 364, 365, 382, 503, 562, 619, 632, 640, 703, 705, 715, 716, 760, 765, 768, 791  
 Longju, 226, 596, 614  
 Luce, Henry R., 718  
 Lucknow, 118, 402, 403, 414, 475, 748, 759; Botanical Gardens, 402, 759; jail, 423  
 Ludhiana, 399, 758; Agriculture University at, 399  
 Lumding, 386  
 Lushais, 357, 360  
 Lutter, G., 303  
 Luxemburg, 752  
 Lyndbargh, Charles, 518  
 Lysenko system, 215
- Macaulay, T.B., (SWJN/SS/36/p. 93), 28  
 MacIntyre, S. Chelvasingam, 580  
 MacMahon line, 589, 596, 797
- Macmillan, Harold, (SWJN/SS/37/p. 543), 710, 711, 725, 803, 820, 821  
 Madhya Pradesh, 81, 87, 112, 118, 248, 297, 298, 348, 355, 363, 464, 805; bye-elections in, 352, 354; Forest Department of, 353; Government of, 355; Pradesh Congress Committee 348, 349, 350  
 Madras, 24, 78, 87, 249, 267, 303, 355, 356, 501, 511, 750, 811; High Court of, 750  
 Mafatlal, Arvind, 443  
 Maginot Line, 25, 224  
*Mahabharata*, 726  
 Mahabubnagar, 324  
 Mahalanobis, P.C., 368, 520, 521  
 Maharani Gayatri Devi Girls School, 303  
 Maharashtra, 87, 136, 137, 246, 304, 356, 408, 511, 583, 645, 747, 788; Government of, 304  
*Mahatma*, French edition of, 740  
 Mahavir Jayanti, 428  
 Mahendra, (SWJN/SS/28/p. 268), 692  
 Maheshkhola, 325  
 Mahida, Narendra Singh, 628  
 Mahishi, Sarjoni, 123  
 Mahmud, Sayed, 295  
 Mahtab, H.K., (SWJN/FS/9/p. 435), 141  
 Maithili Books, 440  
 Maithili language, 440  
 Maitra, S.N., 150  
 Malaprabha, 788  
 Malaviya, H.D., (SWJN/SS/38/p. 75), 144  
 Malaviya, K.D., (SWJN/FS/1/p. 260), 6, 33, 34, 125, 159, 160, 477,



- 482, 483, 579, 765, 766, 772
- Malaviya, Madan Mohan, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 127), 131
- Malaya, 303, 425, 580, 581, 615, 704, 791, 817, 826, 827; and Singapore nationals of Chinese origin, 615; relations with India of, 780; Federation of, 705, 789, 790, 826
- Malayalam, 256
- Malaysia, 703, 705, 780, 789, 790, 791; Plan regarding, 790, 791
- Malhotra, Inder J., 593
- Malwa, 118
- Manali-Leh Road, 394
- Manavalakurichi, 344
- Mandloi, B.A., 350, 351, 354
- Mani, A.D., 173, 174, 175, 391, 544, 545, 560, 672, 682, 697
- Mani, R.S., 363
- Manigong, 594
- Manila, 703
- Manipur, 233, 361, 367, 386, 641, 751, 752
- Mannanoor, 324
- Mantri, Dwarka Das, 660
- Marathi, 166, 243, 244, 256, 260, 262, 269
- Marxist doctrine, 628
- Massachusetts Review*, 440
- Mata Tila Power Station, 355
- Mathai, M.O., (SWJN/FS/15/p. 385), 732
- Mathrubhumi*, 133, 178
- Mathur, Harish Chandra, 162, 590, 591, 632, 659, 674
- Mathur, S.C., 778
- Matyash, V.N., 728
- Mau Mau, 817
- Mayurdhwaj, 1
- McConaughy, Walter P., 694
- Mechukha, 594
- Mehta, Jivraj, (SWJN/FS/5/p. 363), 136, 144, 475, 477, 482, 772
- Mehta, Asoka, (SWJN/SS/7/p. 442), 90
- Mehta, Balvantray, (SWJN/FS/04/p. 10), 136
- Mehta, Chandralekha, 429
- Mehta, Prabhu, 494
- Menon, K.A. Damodara, (SWJN/SS/23/p. 211), 344, 345
- Menon, K.P. Kesava, (SWJN/SS/18/p. 505), 178
- Menon, K.V. N., 705
- Menon, Lakshmi N., (SWJN/SS/8/p. 299), 303, 390, 558, 589, 594, 595, 599, 600, 669, 670, 674
- Menon, N.B., 603, 604
- Menon, P.K., 413
- Menon, V.K. Krishna, (SWJN/FS/7/p. 15), 2, 96, 135, 160, 451, 526, 756, 798
- Menzies, R.G., 654
- Midnapore, 407, 437
- MIGs, 392, 769
- Military Affairs Committee, 94, 578, 678, 715, 716, 717
- Milton, 244
- Ministry of Agriculture, 404, 414, 415
- Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 151, 185, 786
- Ministry of Community Development, 54
- Ministry of Defence, 3, 86, 101, 330, 479, 480, 481, 505, 517, 545
- Ministry of Education, 581
- Ministry of External Affairs, 92, 113, 165, 233, 353, 448, 539, 544,

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- 545, 551, 554, 589, 637, 720, 740; annual report of, 379  
 Ministry of Finance, 462, 501, 755, 777, 779, 807  
 Ministry of Home Affairs, 6, 107, 143, 372, 377, 637, 664, 746  
 Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 433, 631  
 Ministry of Irrigation and Power, 417  
 Ministry of Labour, 549  
 Ministry of Law, 778, 779  
 Mintaka, 606  
 Mishra, D.P., 118, 352, 354  
 Mishra, Jayakanta, 440  
 Mishra, Kamalapati, 423  
 Mishra, Rajendra, 295  
 Mishra, S.N., 34, 35  
 Mitra, Biren, 392  
 Mizo District, 143, 358, 359, 360, 368  
 Mohammed Esmail Kiram I, 791  
 Mohinuddin, Ahmed, 123  
 Moideen, Jamal, 318  
 Monaco, 752  
 Monckton, Walter, 147  
 Morarjee, Sumati, 418, 420  
 More, S.S., 56  
 Morocco, 827  
 Moscow, 468, 493, 727, 768, 769, 813  
 Moshi Conference, 207, 556, 557, 558, 561  
 Motilal Nehru Smarak Nidhi, 403  
 Mountbatten, Louis, (SWJN/FS/13/p. 276), 136, 550, 578, 709-710, 714, 715, 716-717; Visit of, 714-715  
 Mozambique, 630  
 MPCC, ad hoc committee of, 348, 349, 350, 354  
 MRA, 112, 117, 133  
 Mukandpur, 159  
 Mukherjee, B.N., 103, 747  
 Mukherjee, H.N. 261, 508, 731  
 Mulla, Yousuf Ali, 664  
 Mullik, B.N., (SWJN/SS/26/p. 480), 334  
 Mulund Colony, 773  
 Munshi, K.M., (SWJN/FS/5/p. 292), 426  
 Murahari, G., 197, 203, 204  
 Musaraf, Sohanlal, 401  
 Muslim League, 79  
 Mymensingh, 325  
 Myrdal, Alva, 138  
 Mysore, 87, 280, 417, 788; University of, 147  
 Nacho, 594  
 Nagaland, 143, 233, 359, 360, 361, 362, 366, 369, 371, 380, 381, 382, 383, 385, 388, 389, 391, 637, 640, 641, 761; Executive Council of, 641; Government of, 380, 381, 641  
 Nagas, 360, 362, 366, 383, 391; attack train, 385-386; hostiles 359-361, 363, 366, 367, 382, 385-388, 600  
 Nagpur Times Trust, 185  
*Nagpur Times*, 182, 183, 185  
 Nagpur, 353, 462; High Court, 462; University 552  
 Nai Taleem, 452  
 Naidu, Sarojini, (SWJN/SS/10/p. 297), 475, 477; Children's Hospital, 437, 472  
 Nair, M.N. Govindan, 346  
 Nair, M.V.M., 477  
 Nair, Vasudevan, 229  
 Nairobi, 554



- Namasudra, 326
- Nambiar, K. Anandan, 764
- Namgyal, Tashi, (SWJN/SS/11, p. 277), 401
- Nanda, Gulzarilal, (SWJN/FS/9/p. 309), 122-123, 346, 368, 442, 808
- Nanporia, N.J., 187
- Narain, Roop, 119, 437
- Narayan, Jayaprakash, (SWJN/FS/4/p. 305), 295, 602, 709, 737
- Narayanan, E., 184
- Nash, Walter, (SWJN/SS/9/p. 180), 556
- Nassau, 821
- Nasser, Gamal Abdel, (SWJN/SS/23/p. 50), 539, 690
- National Broadcasting Company, 165, 812
- National Cooperative Union of India, 442
- National Council of Educational Research and Training, 454, 455, 465
- National Cultural Organisation, 141
- National Defence College, 2, 756
- National Defence Council, 437, 715, 716
- National Defence Fund, 130, 206, 232, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 300, 301, 303, 306, 463, 570, 659, 757; Coerced Collections of, 300, 306, 570
- National Emergency, 2, 89, 103, 104, 106, 142, 143, 171, 172, 183, 191, 225, 228, 253, 298, 302, 344, 378, 379, 434, 441, 477, 527, 544, 637, 638, 682, 798, 805, 478, 484, 569, 643, 644, 646, 727, 756, 757
- National Headquarters of the Sea Cadet Corps, 301
- National Herald*, 108, 116, 134, 271, 296, 297, 299, 349, 453, 527, 556, 560, 575, 642, 645, 666, 667, 719
- National Income, Mahalanobis Committee on, 444
- National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur, 342
- National Research Development Corporation, 755
- National Sample Survey, 207
- NATO, 198
- Navjivan*, 114
- Nayar, Sushila, (SWJN/SS/39/p. 90), 161, 467, 471
- NCC, 296
- Ne Win, (SWJN/SS/25/p. 471), 682, 706
- NEFA, 30, 75, 85, 92, 182, 226, 233, 321, 369, 370, 371, 373, 374, 377, 378, 379, 387, 578, 588, 594, 595, 597, 598, 624, 625, 637, 638, 650, 651; Administrative Policy in, 369
- Negrin, Juan, (SWJN/FS/9/p. 271), 736
- Nehru Gram Bharati, 403
- Nehru, B.K., (SWJN/FS/1/p. 283), 91, 619, 770
- Nehru, R.K., (SWJN/FS/1/p. 336), 539, 541, 720, 826
- Nehru, Rajan, (SWJN/FS/6/p. 414), 119
- Nehru, Rameshwari, (SWJN/SS/33/p. 230), 561

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Nehru-Liaquat Pact, 326  
 Nepal, 582, 633, 637, 692  
 New Age Printing Press, 742  
 New Asiatic Insurance Co. Ltd., 162-163, 777  
 New Delhi, 76, 122, 165, 240, 307, 308, 319, 347, 382, 407, 429, 453, 468, 485, 493, 494, 517, 678, 708, 746, 747, 759, 778, 826, 830, 831, 834  
*New York Times, The*, 168, 699  
 New York, 503, 718, 768, 812  
 New Zealand, 86, 556, 704  
 Nichiketasananda, 420  
 Nigeria, 158, 553, 554, 816  
 Nijalingappa, S., (SWJN/SS/16 pt II/p. 202), 104, 280, 412, 788, 789  
 Nilokheri, 522  
 Nimmanahaeminda, S., 705  
 Niyogi, M.B., 182, 183  
 Nizami, Taufiq Ahmad, 427  
 Nkrumah, Kwame, (SWJN/SS/16 pt I/p. 504), 673, 684, 818, 819  
 Noakhali, 432  
*Non-alignment and India's Foreign Policy*, 552  
 North Borneo, 705, 789-791; Legislative Council of, 790  
 Northern and Southern Rhodesia, 814  
 Northern Rhodesia, 815  
 NWFP, 582, 698  
 Nyasaland, 815  
 Nyerere, Julius K., (SWJN/SS/71/p. 616), 555, 814, 817  
 Official Language Bill, 239, 240, 247, 249, 250, 829; Committee of Parliament on, 235; Commission, 83, 239  
 Official Secrets Act, 82, 103  
 O'Kelly, Seán T., 729  
 Ola, Sisram, 274  
 Oregon, 144  
 Orissa, 53, 87, 92, 96, 105, 155, 306, 392, 393, 544, 546, 638, 639, 722; Government of, 393  
 Orr, John Boyd, 136  
 Our Himalayas Exhibition, 433, 436  
*Our Northern Borders: India-China Border Dispute*, 655  
 Oxford, 147, 543  
 Pabbar, 338  
 Pacific Ocean, 510  
 Pai, Nath, (SWJN/SS/39/p. 757), 223, 225, 228, 230, 232, 383, 591, 619, 620, 621, 623, 624, 628, 629, 631, 633, 634, 636, 637, 640, 642, 681  
 Pakhtoon files, 740  
 Pakhtoon, Ganesha Singh, 132, 582, 698  
 Pakistan, 27, 73, 80, 93, 159, 191, 195, 208, 220, 230, 292, 319, 323, 326, 327, 360, 361, 366, 367, 384, 529, 534, 570, 571, 574, 575, 577, 583, 591, 592, 593, 594, 601, 605, 606, 607, 608, 610, 611, 612, 633, 636, 638, 640, 692-694, 697-702, 710, 712-714, 721-725, 731, 742, 754, 782, 783, 788, 801, 802, 820, 821, 835, 836; Government of, 113, 209, 229, 533, 585, 590, 591, 606, 607, 612, 696, 711-713, 722-723; Border Agreement with China (see under China also), 590; Deportation of nationals of, 787; forces of, 725  
 Palam, 136, 502, 503, 717



- Pali, 260, 437
- Panchayati Raj, 88, 209, 298, 329, 399, 496, 530
- Panchgaon, 325
- Panchsheel, 611
- Pandit, Vijaya Lakshmi, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 1), 133, 136, 137, 147, 302, 426, 429, 459, 461, 543, 709, 716
- Panikkar, K.M., (SWJN/SS/43/p. 406), 147
- Panjhazari, R.S., (SWJN/SS/44/p. 304), 128, 819-820
- Pant, Apa, (SWJN/SS/8/p. 412), 619, 683
- Pant, G.B., (SWJN/FS/3/p. 106), 23-24, 31, 126, 239
- Pant, Pitambar, (SWJN/SS/42/p. 84), 442
- Parikh, Jayantilal C., 83
- Paris, 117, 518, 632
- Parthasarathy, G., (SWJN/SS/28/p. 193), 208
- Pataskar, H.V., (SWJN/SS/30/p. 236), 353
- Patel, Dahyabhai V., (SWJN/SS/06/p. 220), 181
- Patel, V.B., (SWJN/SS/26/p. 7), 179
- Patent policy, 472
- Patents Act, 472
- Patil, Basangouda Bhimnaik, 149
- Patil, S.K., (SWJN/FS/12/p. 503), 408, 410, 552, 781
- Patna, 36, 43, 50, 54, 114, 145, 274, 294, 331, 332, 336; Medical College, 332; Museum, 437
- Patnaik, Biju, (SWJN/SS/3/p. 372), 91, 94-97, 100, 102-103, 306, 393, 544, 546, 638, 771, 798
- Patriot*, 184
- Pattabhi Raman, C.R., 444
- Pattabhiraman, T.S., 549
- Pattanayak, Kishen, 650
- Paul, Rana Satya, 655
- Pearson, Lester B., 138
- Peking, 85, 208, 229, 231, 362, 437, 564, 583, 585, 592-593, 599-600, 606-607, 612, 616, 634, 648, 656, 668, 671, 684-687, 691, 712, 722, 727, 769, 783, 820, 831; Radio, 164, 551, 711
- Pennsylvania, 730
- People's movement for Defence and Development, 748
- People's Publishing House, 742
- PEPSU, 400
- Persian, 244, 260, 268, 430
- Philippines, the, 158, 704, 705, 791
- Phizo, A.Z., (SWJN/SS/15 pt II/p. 181), 360, 364-365, 380-384, 388-389, 390-392, 640-642, 761
- Phnom Penh, 707
- Phouma, Souvanna, (SWJN/SS/40/p. 627), 706, 708
- Phulpur, 666
- Pitamber Pant 411
- Planning Commission, 234, 338, 346, 357, 368, 393, 411, 414, 415, 441, 442, 445, 456, 495, 755, 807, 825; Deputy Chairman of, 442, 808
- Plimsoll, James, 654
- Poland, 215
- Pondicherry, 267, 393, 467, 637, 750, 751; High Court in, 750
- Poona, 773
- Portugal, 528; colonies of, 630
- Pothacamury, Thomas, 6
- Prahbawati Devi, 295
- Prakrit, 257

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Prasad, Rajendera, (SWJN/FS/3/p. 4), 36, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43, 50, 82, 111, 115, 127, 131, 288, 295, 692
- Prasad, Dhananjay, 295
- Prasad, Mrityunjay, 295
- Prayag Patrika*, 178
- President's Address, indiscipline during, 29, 82, 188, 190, 205, 209, 236, 512
- Press Advisory Committee, 173, 176, 177
- Press Commission of India, 168, 184, 185, 187
- Press Institute of India 165, 170
- Presse Académique Européenne, 741
- Prevention of Fraud (Investment) Act, 794
- PSP, 29, 81, 90, 149, 213, 217, 218, 258, 325, 361, 369, 382, 383, 385, 509, 515, 545, 559, 560, 587, 591, 592, 595, 597, 605, 608, 612, 619, 620, 652, 658, 672, 678, 679, 681; Chairman of, 392
- PTI, 493
- Punjab National Bank, 148
- Punjab, 29, 71, 73, 76, 78, 87, 277, 280, 281, 288, 305, 338, 393, 394, 397, 398, 501, 522, 694, 722, 738, 757; Assembly 10; Government of, 306, 400; High Court of, 156; Punjabi Suba movement, 396; Raksha Dal 74, 77, 288, 757
- Pyarelal, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 261), 114
- Qatar, 164, 477
- Quami Ekta*, 400
- Rabindra Bhawan, 295
- Radcliffe, 147
- Radha Raman, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 192), 338
- Radhakrishnan, S., (SWJN/FS/4/p. 564), 29, 30, 33, 34, 93, 136, 137, 140, 141, 142, 147, 149, 160, 189, 216, 235, 300, 355, 435, 442, 468, 551, 715, 718
- Radhanagar, 325
- Rahman, Tunku Abdul, (SWJN/SS/38/p. 739), 703, 704, 789, 792
- Rahul Sankrityayana, (SWJN/FS/9/p. 348), 437
- Rai, Biren, 10
- Raipur, 80, 351, 352, 353
- Rajadhyakhsa, J. S., 168
- Rajagopalachari, C., (SWJN/FS/1/p. 350), 249, 829, 830
- Rajahmundry, 758
- Rajamannar, 355, 356
- Rajapur, 326
- Rajasthan, 80, 87, 111, 158, 248, 274, 290, 297, 401, 511, 512, 805, 807
- Rajatarangini*, 426
- Rajendrasinhji, K.S., (SWJN/SS/21/p. 583), 578, 715, 716
- Rajkot, 418
- Rajwade, R.G., 365
- Rajya Sabha, 10, 22, 34, 102, 118, 153, 162, 173, 179, 190, 240, 323, 328, 339, 366, 390, 444, 544, 549, 558, 599, 604, 616, 624, 669, 695, 749, 765, 819
- Ram Saran, 128, 132
- Ram, Jagjivan, (SWJN/FS/15/p. 295), 185, 186, 187, 338, 448, 449, 502, 812, 823
- Ram, Kesho, 346, 424
- Ramachandrapuram, 328
- Ramakrishnan, Alladi, 462
- Ramamurti, P., 765



- Ramanujam, K.S., 159  
 Ramaswami, D., 493  
 Ramaswamy, S.V., 452  
 Ramchandra, K., 425  
 Rana Pratap Sagar, 511  
 Ranchi, 26, 805  
 Ranga, N.G., (SWJN/FS/7/p. 534), 211, 212, 215, 216, 218, 220, 221, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 508, 512, 513, 516, 589, 597, 622-623, 624, 626-628, 635-636, 639, 657, 680  
 Rao, B. Shiva, (SWJN/FS/3/p. 345), 172  
 Rao, K.L., (SWJN/SS/59/p. 177), 514  
 Rao, Krishnamoorthy, 236  
 Rao, P. Kodanda, (SWJN/FS/15/p. 42), 324  
 Rapacki, Adam, 572, 576, 768-769  
 Rashtrapati Bhavan, 142, 416  
 Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, 112, 323  
 Rau, Kameswara, 83  
 Rawalpindi, 209, 230, 592, 694, 697  
 Ray, Renuka, 598  
 Ray, Satyajit, (SWJN/SS/35/p. 121), 419  
 Razzuqi, Abdul-Razzak, 548, 689  
 Reddi, B. Gopala, (SWJN/SS/08/p. 395), 164, 175, 176, 182, 183  
 Reddi, N. Sri Rama, 102, 655  
 Reddiar, Venkatasubba, 749  
 Reddy, K.C., (SWJN/FS/8/p. 566), 138, 185, 447, 471, 472, 478, 480, 481, 484, 786, 787, 803, 806  
 Reddy, M. Chenna, 329  
 Reddy, N. Sanjiva, (SWJN/FS/8/p. 566), 328, 330, 411  
 Reddy, N.C. Thimma, 451, 601, 837  
 Reddy, Narasimha, 623, 639  
 Reddy, O. Pulla, 716  
 Reddy, Yellamanda, 764  
 Reed, Charles L., 543  
 Reid, Escott, (SWJN/SS/30/p. 469), 806  
 Rengur Baratgora, 326  
 Renuka Ray Committee, 372  
 Republic Day, 375; March Past, 1, 302  
 Republican Party of India, 366, 599, 669  
 Rhodesia, 555, 814; Federation of, 814, 815  
 Rihand, 354, 355, 513; Dam, 2, 757; Inauguration, 757  
 Rimpoche, Dudjoma, 663, 664  
 Riyasi-salal, 338  
 Roberts, Chalmers, 719  
 Rockefeller Foundation, 720  
 Rohtagi, Kumar Bihari, 742  
 Rohtak, 56, 70, 77, 78  
 Rome, 136, 137  
 Rostow, W.W., 720-722, 771  
 Roy, Bishwanath, 90  
 RSP, 266, 587  
 Ruby General Insurance Co. Ltd., 162, 163, 777  
 Rusk, Dean, 710, 717  
 Russell, Bertrand, (SWJN/FS/01/p. 141), 604-605, 685, 761, 773-774, 783, 797, 798  
 Ruthnaswamy, M., 198, 546, 616  
 Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, 548  
 Sabry, Ali, 564, 572, 636, 668  
 Sadaqat Ashram, 294, 295, 692  
 Safdarjang airport, 454  
 Saha Institute of Nuclear physics, 508  
 Sahara Desert, 510

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Sahay, Raghubir, 278  
 Sahay, Vishnu, (SWJN/SS/11/p. 142), 143, 357, 358, 359, 424  
 Sahgal, Manmohini, (SWJN/SS/32/p. 133), 521  
 Sahitya Akademi, 120, 257, 426, 429, 430, 431, 811  
 Saigon, 556  
 Sainik School, Rewa, 466  
 Sajeda Sultan (Begum of Bhopal), 351, 353  
 Saksena, Mohanlal, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 233), 271, 415, 748, 749  
 Saksena, Shibban Lal, (SWJN/SS/45/p. 559), 275, 276  
 Salah, Abdallah, 688  
 Salem, 452  
 Samaduar, 326  
 Samar, Roshan Lal, 427  
 Sampath, E.V., 269  
 Sampradayikta Virodhi Manch, 105, 439  
 Sampurnanand, (SWJN/FS/2/p. 143), 447, 809, 810, 822, 823  
 Samuel, M.H., 174, 175  
 San Francisco, 619  
 Sandys, Duncan, 803, 836  
 Sanjivayya, D., (SWJN/SS/58/p. 58), 118, 130, 336, 337, 348, 350, 354, 397, 404, 661  
 Sankar, R., 112, 347  
 Sanskrit, 13, 243, 256, 259, 260, 423, 430, 433, 437, 726  
 Santa Cruz, 428  
 Santhanam, K., 545  
 Santiniketan, 454, 455  
 Sanyal, H.N., 778  
 Sarabhai, Mridula, (SWJN/FS/5/p. 316), 339, 432, 436, 439, 463  
 Sarabhai, Vikram, 514  
 Sarada Vihar, 420  
 Sarasin, Arsa, 705  
 Sarawak, 705, 789, 790; Council Negri of, 790  
 Sarkar, Asoke, 562  
 Sarkar, Chanchal, 165  
 Sarnath, 425  
 Sarva Seva Sangh, 440  
 Saurashtra, 306  
 Savang Vatthana, 543  
 Scheduled Castes, 324, 812  
 Scheduled Tribes, 324  
 Schonfield, Hugh, 737  
*Science and Technology in China*, 579  
 Science Research Committee, 516, 519, 520  
 Science Research Grants, 755  
 Scientific Adviser and Head of the Research and Development in Defence, 520  
 Scindia Steam Navigation Company, 418  
 Scindia, Vijaya Raje, 428  
 Scott, Michael, 360, 362, 364-365, 380-383, 385, 388-389, 391-392  
 Sea Cadet Corps, 301-302  
 SEATO, 97, 198, 577, 835  
 Selkirk, 791  
 Sema, Hokishe, 380  
 Seminar on "The Prospects for the Indian Press:1963-1973", 165  
 Seminar on Hill Development, 413  
 Sen, A.K., 4, 56, 83, 156, 171, 162-163, 584, 697  
 Sen, Amiya Kumar, 584  
 Sen, B.R., 137, 443  
 Sen, Binay Ranjan, 136, 470  
 Sen, P.C., 150, 179, 420, 432, 436, 446, 455, 561



- Serajuddin, Mohammed, 125, 155  
 Servants of India Society, 324  
 Seva Dal, Officers camp, 108  
 Sevagram, 116  
 Shah, K.K., (SWJN/SS/41/p. 627), 132  
 Shah, Manubhai, (SWJN/SS/39/p. 73), 150, 153, 345, 447, 450, 484, 503, 784, 785, 786, 803, 804, 805, 827, 828  
 Shakespeare, William, 244  
 Shaksgam, 607  
 Sham Nath, (SWJN/SS/27/p. 323), 174, 175  
 Shankar, R., 112, 347  
*Shankar's Weekly*, 159  
 Shanmugam, P., 749  
 Shanno Devi, 397  
 Shanti Sena, 272  
 Shao-chi, Liu, 85, 679  
 Sharansing, Tripurari, 600  
 Sharma, D.C., 325, 395  
 Sharma, K.P., 278  
 Sharma, Punya Dev, 145  
 Sharma, R.K., 178  
 Sharma, Shankar Dayal, (SWJN/SS/20/p. 281), 464  
 Sharma, Vichitra Narain, 760  
 Shastri, Lal Bahadur, (SWJN/FS/5/p. 164), 6, 105, 106, 107, 108, 125, 132, 142, 143, 145, 150, 176, 182, 232, 235, 240, 241, 247, 248, 249, 265, 266, 327, 329, 339, 340, 363, 407, 562, 692, 762, 763, 770, 801  
 Shastri, Prakash Vir, 435, 594, 631, 659, 678  
 Shell Group, 482, 765, 766  
 Sheorey, A.G., 183, 185  
 Sheorey, B.K., 161  
 Sherwani, Haroon K., (SWJN/SS/8/p. 165), 417  
 Shevchenko, I.T., 468  
 Shihore, 136  
 Shillong, 325, 326  
 Shiva Rao, B., (SWJN/FS/3/p. 345), 172  
 Shoulmari Sadhu, 134  
 Shrikant, L.M., 114  
 Shrimali, K.L., (SWJN/SS/42/p. 170), 259, 262, 305, 438, 439, 452, 454, 455, 465, 466  
 Shriman Narayan, (SWJN/SS/19/p. 485), 154, 346, 415, 825  
 Shukla, Chandra Shekhar, (SWJN/FS/13/p. 535), 300  
 Shukla, Vidya Charan, 352, 557  
 Siddiqi, M. Zahirud Din, 128  
 Sidhanti, Jagdev Singh, 677  
 Sighvi, L.M., 379, 386, 388, 623, 636, 642, 742  
 Sihanouk, Norodom, (SWJN/SS/23/p. 563), 547, 572, 670-671, 706-707  
 Sikkim, 206, 401, 664  
 Silchar, 105  
 Siliguri, 663  
 Simakata, 325  
 Singapore, 615, 705, 780, 789, 790  
 Singh, Avtar, 835  
 Singh, Bajrang Bahadur, (SWJN/SS/30/p. 274), 142, 305, 306, 738  
 Singh, Bishan Man, 415, 416  
 Singh, Buta, 660  
 Singh, Charan, 760  
 Singh, Daljit, 396  
 Singh, Darbara, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 374), 395, 398, 399  
 Singh, Dasrath, 332  
 Singh, Dinesh, 323, 325, 326, 339, 544, 545, 586, 590, 695, 696, 697

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Singh, Durlabh, 400  
 Singh, Giani Bakshap, 400  
 Singh, Giani Bhupinder, 400  
 Singh, Giani Kartar, (SWJN/SS/6/p. 45), 401  
 Singh, Gopal, 557  
 Singh, Govind Narayan, 363  
 Singh, Harcharan, 400  
 Singh, Hoshiar, 80  
 Singh, Jivan, 432, 436  
 Singh, Kapur, (SWJN/SS/8/p. 197), 384, 659  
 Singh, Kartar, 396  
 Singh, Mahadeo, 404  
 Singh, Padam, 777  
 Singh, Raghunath, (SWJN/SS/41/p. 442), 110, 149, 557, 656  
 Singh, Rajendra, 340  
 Singh, Ram Subhag, 364, 367, 368, 377, 403, 405, 406, 413, 414, 416, 781  
 Singh, Ranbir, 70, 80  
 Singh, Rao Birendra, 394  
 Singh, Sant Fateh, 396  
 Singh, Seth Achal, (SWJN/SS/21/p. 373), 428  
 Singh, Swaran, (SWJN/SS/4/p. 41), 93, 230, 278, 292, 606, 638, 693, 695, 713, 722, 724  
 Singh, Yashpal, 598, 648, 650, 653, 677  
 Sinha, B.K.P., 203  
 Sinha, B.P., (SWJN/SS/56/p. 359), 141, 146, 158, 162, 767  
 Sinha, Jugal Kishore, 333, 334, 336  
 Sinha, M.P., (SWJN/SS/31/p. 223), 131  
 Sinha, S.K., 271  
 Sinha, Satya Narayan, (SWJN/SS/2/p. 17), 83, 107, 128, 149, 235, 819  
 Sinkiang, 514, 584, 605, 606, 711, 722  
 Sino-Indian border conflict, (see under China also), 93, 109, 524, 558-559, 613, 642, 648, 668, 703, 712, 722, 774-775, 777, 830-834  
 Sino-Pak border treaty, (see under Pakistan also), 93, 590, 605, 606, 608, 619, 648, 711, 722  
 Siot, 338  
 Sivaraman, M.S., 411  
 Small-Scale Woolen Manufacturers Association, 478, 480  
 SNDT Girls' University, 457  
 Socialist Party, 29, 130, 131, 134, 189, 204, 205, 297, 608, 610, 650  
 Soekarno, Achmed, 683, 791  
 Sofia, 543  
 Sokhey, S.S., 472  
 South Africa, 623, 816  
 South Africa, apartheid policy of, 623  
 South Asia, 471, 782  
 South East Asia 303, 533, 654, 655, 656, 691, 706, 792  
 South Sea Islands, 370  
 Southern Rhodesia, 555, 815, 816, 817; Government of, 815  
 Spain, 77  
 Spanish language, 258, 631  
 Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, 736  
 Special Armed Forces, 363  
 Sri Prakasa, 633, 743  
 Sri Sailam Project, 408  
 Sri Sarada College for Women, 452  
 Srinagar, 699  
 Sriniketan, 453-455  
 Srinivasan, Thomas, 240  
 State Trading Corporation, 343, 345, 503  
 States People's Conference, 136



- Statesman*, 139, 153, 385  
 Stockholm, 137, 138  
 Subandrio, 572, 574, 670, 683  
 Subbaraman, N.M.R., 5, 185  
 Subramaniam, C., 299, 786-787, 803-805  
 Subramaniam, S.R., 600  
 Sudan, 827  
 Sudhavati, 743  
 suffragette movement, 460  
 Sukhadia, Mohanlal, (SWJN/SS/37/p. 346), 158, 401  
 Sukhai, Kaito, 360, 361, 362, 367  
 Sundaram, K.V. K., 30  
 Sundarlal, 120-121, 601, 616, 811  
*Sunday Telegraph*, 740  
*Sunday Times*, 813  
 Super Profits Tax, 443, 837  
 Supreme Court of India, 140, 145, 146, 163, 247, 485, 767  
 Survey of India, 755  
 Sushil Kumar (Jain Muni). 438  
 Swami, Sivamurthi, 256, 417, 680  
 Swamy, M.S. Gurupada, (SWJN/SS/23/p. 483), 35, 545, 546, 559, 672  
 Swangard, E.M., 739  
 Swatantra Party, 29, 36, 116, 134, 211, 247, 249, 297, 362, 384, 508, 546, 589, 592, 594, 597, 616, 622, 626, 639, 657, 659, 680, 829  
 Sweden, 252, 257, 419  
 Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, 649  
 Swedish TV Corporation, 687  
 Switzerland, 248, 257, 752  
 Syria, 691  
 Tagore, Rabindranath, (SWJN/SS/31/p. 109), 135, 583  
 Taleyarkhan, Homi J.H., 304  
 Tamil National Party, 269  
 Tamil, 166, 243, 245, 256, 257, 260, 262, 264  
 Tamulpur, 325  
 Tan Yun-shan, 583, 584, 601, 616  
 Tanganyika, 556, 557, 558, 814, 816  
 Tansen Festival, 141  
 Tara Devi, 340  
 Tarapore atomic power station, 511, 513, 516, 807  
 Tariq, A.M., 118, 208, 339  
 TASS, 728  
 Tata Chemicals Ltd., 346  
 Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, 514, 579  
 Tata Memorial Hospital for Cancer Research, 509, 747  
 Tata, J.R.D., (SWJN/FS/15/p. 100), 443, 448, 449, 502  
 Tawang, 370, 594, 657  
 Tehran, 714, 715  
 Teja, J. Dharam, 450, 493, 827  
 Telugu, 243, 256, 329  
 Tendulkar, D.G., (SWJN/FS/4/p.317), 113, 733, 740, 741  
 Thacker, M.S., (SWJN/SS/29/p. 141), 443, 456  
 Thackersey, Premlila V., 459  
 Thagla, 226, 614  
 Thailand, 705, 706; Government of, 706  
 Thakurpukur, 420  
 Thimayya, K.S., (SWJN/SS/4/p. 13), 578, 715, 716  
 Third Five Year Plan, 26, 27, 72, 90, 444, 466, 701, 804, 806  
 Thomson, Roy, 727, 813  
 Thorat, S.P.P., (SWJN/SS/6/p. 125), 578, 715-716

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Thoreau, David Henry, 440, 441
- Tibet, 74, 85, 192, 196, 242, 321, 532, 622, 623, 624, 625, 634, 643, 648, 650, 651, 652, 653, 664, 709, 832, 834; Annexation of, 643
- Times of India*, 151, 187, 409, 562, 697, 739, 757, 760; Employees' Union of, 106
- Times*, the, 143, 365, 718
- Tipu Sultan, 303
- Tito, Josip Broz, (SWJN/SS/22/p. 414), 541, 563, 744
- Tito, Jovanka Broz, 565
- Tiwari, B.K., 780
- Tiwari, K.N., 123
- Tokyo, 503, 828
- Totla, Rameshwardayal, 118, 348, 350, 354
- Travancore Minerals Ltd., 341, 342
- Travancore Titanium Ltd., 346
- Tribhuvan, 692
- Tripathi, Ram Naresh, 422
- Tripura Katha*, 179, 180
- Tripura, 106, 179, 180, 181, 233, 751, 752, 765; Communists, 106; Congress President of, 179
- Trivandrum, 346; District Trade Union Council, 347
- Trivedi, U.M., 158, 230, 592
- Trombay, 506, 514, 515, 517, 544
- Tschonerl, Gerhard, 600
- Tschonerl, Janki, 600
- Tunisia, 826
- Tur, Mohan Singh, 400
- Tuskers, 143, 369
- Tyabji, B.F.H.B., 465
- Tyagi, Mahavir, (SWJN/FS/5/p. 211) 2, 94, 96, 148, 221, 226, 266, 371, 372, 374, 379, 380, 596, 597, 598, 615, 633, 661, 757, 780, 781, 799, 800
- U Thant, 138, 539
- Udaipur, 427
- Udhampur, 338
- Uhl Stage II, power project, 513
- UK, (includes England, British and Britain), 2, 25, 31, 81, 93, 167, 187, 201, 202, 214, 241, 244, 290, 315, 316, 342, 367, 463, 478, 480, 481, 487, 494, 497, 499, 500, 509, 512, 515, 516, 525, 527, 528, 529, 538, 565, 571, 572, 574, 578, 600, 617, 624, 631, 632, 661, 666, 702, 709, 711, 712, 713, 714, 717, 719, 725, 742, 753, 756, 769, 791, 794, 762, 766, 803, 814, 815, 816, 817, 835; Army of, 25; Government of, 197, 554, 555, 593, 633, 703, 816, 817, 836; High Commissioner in India, 710, 714, 716, 723, 835; High Commissioner in Karachi, 712; military aid to India, 836; House of Commons, 383; Labour Party, 574, 836; ; British-American Parliamentary Group, 701; Commissioner General for South East Asia of, 791; Foreign Secretary, 835; Newspapers, 760; Parliament of, 817; peace movement, 604, 605, 773, 774, 783; Prime Minister of, 711, 814, 820; rule in India of, 369, 430; troops, 813, 817
- Ullyot, James R., 543
- Umanath, R., 764



- UNESCO, 452
- Unit Trust of India, 449, 779
- United Arab Republic, 85, 556, 564, 668, 688, 690, 691, 826, 827; Government of, 825
- United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, 325
- United Nations, 140, 526, 538, 549, 594, 610, 623, 629, 630, 642, 693, 703, 745, 813, 826;; General Assembly of, 576, 703; Security Council of, 209, 594, 606, 610, 612, 638, 694
- University Grants Commission, Chairman of, 517
- University of Oregon, 144
- University of Sussex, 147
- UP, 2, 29, 52, 87, 126, 132, 151, 152, 248, 268, 275, 276, 278, 279, 297, 355, 402, 403, 404, 435, 452, 475, 477, 757; PCC of, 112, 126, 300, 798, 818; Government of, 3, 152, 153, 403, 462, 477, 757, 759
- Urdu, 245, 260, 268, 269
- USA, 2, 20, 31, 51, 52, 72, 81, 86, 92, 93, 95, 97, 102, 103, 108, 109, 144, 186, 187, 200-203, 214, 290-292, 295, 315, 342, 415, 416, 419, 448, 494, 498, 508, 509, 514, 515, 518, 519, 524, 526, 527, 529, 533, 538, 564, 565, 571, 574, 579, 593, 600, 617, 620-622, 631, 639, 661, 666, 690, 699, 700, 702, 704, 705, 712, 713, 718, 719, 721, 722, 724, 725, 730, 733, 741, 742, 752, 753, 756, 766, 768, 769, 770, 771, 794, 799, 800, 813, 834, 835; Ambassador of, 712, 718, 720, 723, 770, 800, 835; and, Commonwealth Air Security Team, 654; Government of, 339, 699, 723, 724; President of, (see John F. Kennedy also), 693, 722, 753, 782; relations with India of, 754; and, aid, 524, 525, 719, 727, 798, 833; Embassy of, 633; Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 721; and, USIS, 339
- USSR, (includes Russia and Soviet Union), 12, 17, 20, 25, 32, 51, 52, 77, 93, 108, 109, 133, 200, 202, 203, 214, 243, 258, 267, 268, 290, 291, 293, 295, 306, 315, 498, 509, 515, 524, 537, 556, 563, 564, 566, 567, 569, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 579, 591, 592, 620, 621, 622, 627, 628, 635, 645, 646, 652, 661, 666, 690, 719, 726, 727, 730, 733, 744, 745, 768, 771, 769, 805, 813, 829, 835; aid to India, 727; rift with China, (see under China also), 566, 576, 719, 727
- Vaishnava, 418
- Vajpayee, A.B., (SWJN/SS/41/p. 641), 177, 178, 182, 323, 390, 391, 671, 695, 696, 697
- Vancouver Sun, The*, 739
- Vancouver, 739
- Varanasi, 429, 446, 810
- Vashist, Shanta, 123
- Vats, B.R., 493
- Veer, Kisan, 123
- Venkaiah, Kolla, 758, 759, 764
- Verma, Vimla, 740
- Victoria Memorial School for the Blind, 463

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Vidyalankar, Amarnath, (SWJN/SS/25/p. 212), 122, 123, 124  
 Vienna, 733  
 Viet Minh, 705  
 Vigyan Bhavan, 468, 485, 494  
 Village Volunteer Force, 271, 297, 298  
 Vira, Raghu, (SWJN/SS/9/p. 108), 238, 435, 824, 825  
 Vishva Ahimsa Sangha, 438  
 Visva-Bharati, 454, 455, 583, 601  
 Viswanatha, T., 144  
 Vivian Bose Commission, 793, 795; report of, 137, 138, 150, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 190, 231, 485, 793
- Wadiyar, Jaya Chamaraja, (SWJN/SS/44/p. 362), 441  
*Walden*, 440  
 Wallong, 594  
 Warrior, K.K., 764  
*Washington Post, The*, 96, 99, 719  
 Washington, 91, 95, 96, 100, 102, 470, 541, 619, 632, 719, 770, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 806  
 Watkins, Sylvia, 732  
 Watumull Foundation, 729  
 Watumull, G.J., 729  
 Wavell, A.P., (SWJN/FS/13/p. 185), 26  
 Wells, H.G., 737  
 Wesak, 425  
 West Bengal, (see Bengal also), 181, 182, 267, 407, 432, 436, 440, 664; CID, 664; Government of, 150, 176, 177, 179, 439, 664; Pradesh Congress Political Conference, 667  
 West Irian, 791
- Wickramasinghe, A.E., 669  
*Wildlife of India*, 424  
 Williamson, 371  
 Wilson, Harold, (SWJN/SS/41/p. 383), 836  
 Woodcock, George, 147  
 World Academy of Arts and Sciences, 136  
 World Agricultural Fair, 781  
 World Bank, 806-807; Consortium of, 446, 806  
 World Food Congress, 470  
 World Government Party, 735  
 World Peace Conference, 547  
 World Union of Peace organisation, 136  
 World War II, 25, 74, 77, 644, 663, 822  
 Wright Brothers, 518  
 Wular lake, 723
- Xieng Khouang region, 706
- Yadav, Ram Lakhan Singh, (SWJN/SS/46/p. 303), 334  
 Yadav, Ram Sewak, 188, 189, 609, 610  
 Yadav, T.D., 123  
 Yamuna Stage II project, 513  
 Young, David S., 112  
 Young, Gilbert, 735  
 Yugoslavia, 248, 744, 745  
 Yunus, Mohammad, (SWJN/SS/42/p. 531), 113, 551, 740
- Zaheer, S.H., 462, 505, 507, 517, 520  
 Zamaduar, 326  
 Zinkin, Taya, (SWJN/SS/15 pt I/p. 202), 165

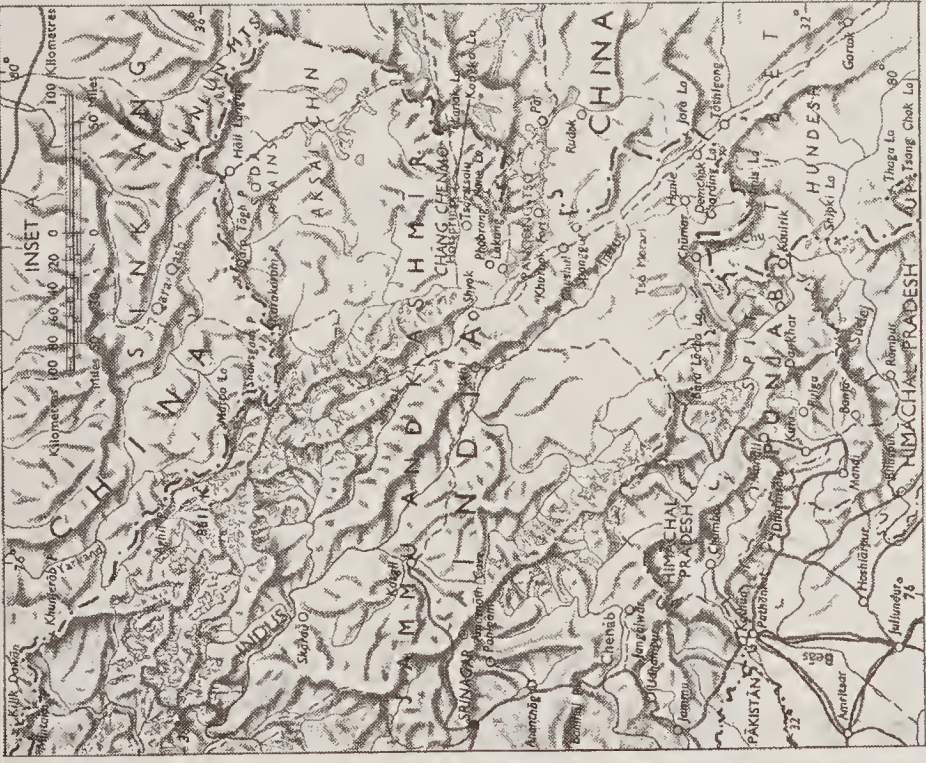


# NORTHERN FRONTIER OF INDIA

Sikkim and Bhutan States are attached to India by special treaties.

Kilometres 100 50 0 100 200 300 Kilometres

Miles 50 30 0 50 100 150 Miles



Reg. No 5967 HE 60-5000 5000-2000 60.

MEA-19

Published by the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1960.

Compiled and drawn by the Survey of India.

Printed at the Survey of India Office (H.L.O.)  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA COPYRIGHT, 1960.  
PRICE: Fifty p.

Boundary international

Boundary state

Railway broad gauge

Railway meter gauge

Road motorable

Track

Pass. Height in metres

Glacier

[Reproduced from the *Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question*, prepared by the Ministry of External Affairs and tabled in Parliament on 14 February 1961. Insets follow]







## II



[Inset A, from map in *Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question*, prepared by the Ministry of External Affairs and tabled in Parliament on 14 February 1961]









[Inset B, from map in Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question, prepared by the Ministry of External Affairs and tabled in Parliament on 14 February 1961]







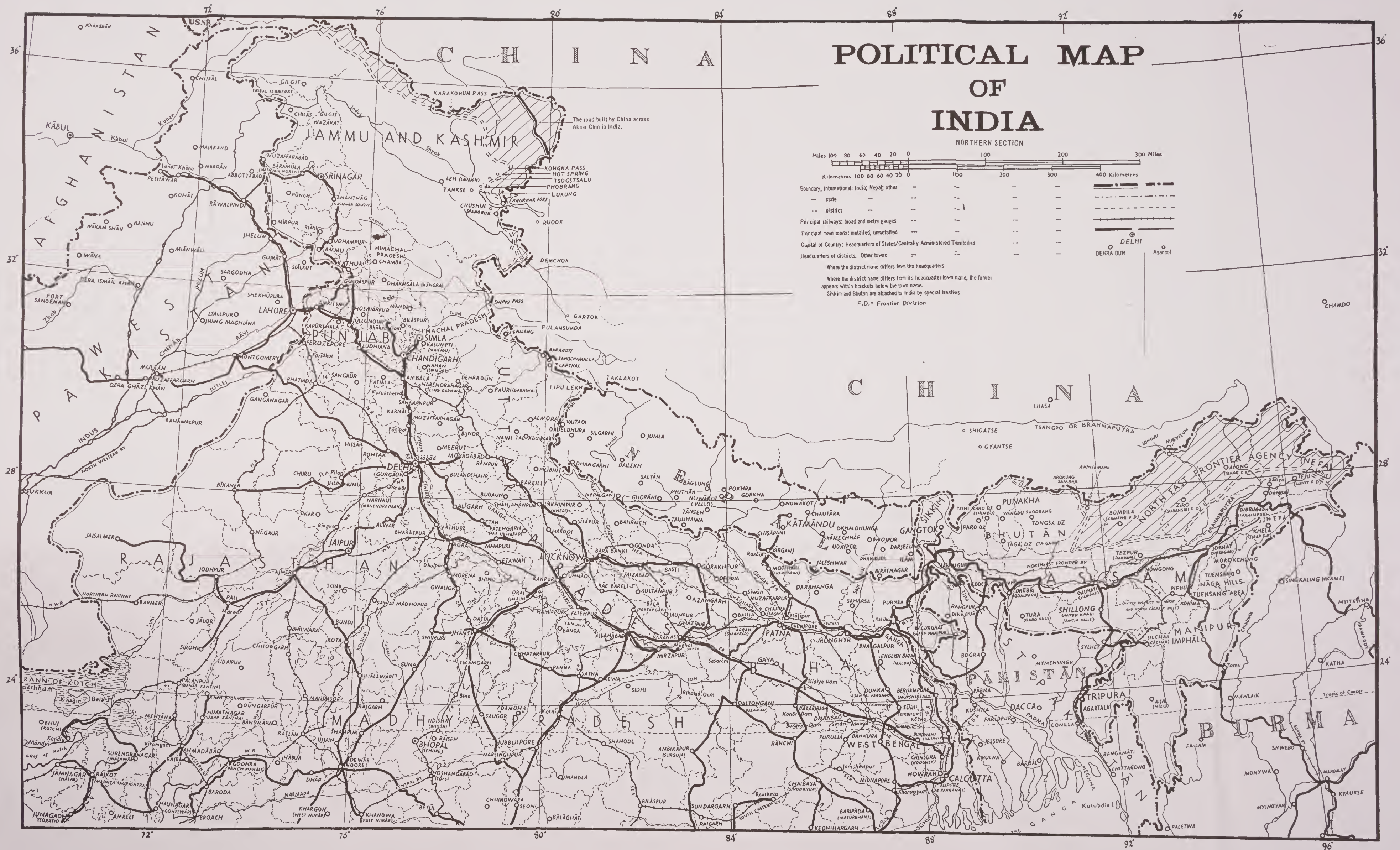




[Inset C, from map in Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question, prepared by the Ministry of External Affairs and tabled in Parliament on 14 February 1961]









The precise nature of the Chinese claim to Indian territory has not been stated by Chinese authorities and is not known to the Government of India. In the Chinese maps some parts of Indian territory have been incorrectly shown as part of China. These areas are roughly indicated by slanting lines  in this map and the southern border of these areas as they appear in Chinese maps has been roughly shown by a broken line .

2. The places on the traditional international border where disputes have arisen have also been roughly marked in the map. So is the road built by China across Aksai Chin in Ladakh in North-West India.

Reproduced and Printed by the Manager, Photo-Litho Wing, G.I. Press, New Delhi, For the Ministry of External Affairs.







*Some vignettes from this volume:*

- To Journalists: “Here, any person, whose intellectual or any qualification may be slightly over zero, becomes a journalist sometimes.”  
In New Delhi: To the Press Institute, 17 February 1963.
- During debate on the President’s Address, N.G. Ranga said, “It is only your socialist plan that we object to. You do not want to give up your dogmas even in this crisis.  
Nehru replied, “that there are many institutions in Delhi or some institutions for the members of the Opposition to go to and learn what the modern world is.  
Motion on President’s Address, 27 February 1963, Lok Sabha Debates.
- From John F. Kennedy to Nehru, 9 March 1963: “Let me, therefore, renew my urging that India continue to make proposals which will be proof positive to the Pakistanis that you genuinely seek a settlement by signalling a willingness to give Pakistan a substantial position in the Vale.”  
From John F. Kennedy, 9 March 1963.
- During an exchange in the Lok Sabha about officials in NEFA, Hem Barua said he was prepared to go there “because my face resembles theirs almost and I do not have a sharp nose.”  
In the Lok Sabha: NEFA Administration, 29 March 1963.
- But I do think we should get rid, not of English, which, I think, is very good, very useful, but of the fixation of the English language in our minds. I think that is bad, because that separates us from the rest of our people.  
In the Lok Sabha: Official Languages Bill, 24 April 1963.
- Replying to Opposition criticism Nehru said, “Mr Nath Pai adjured me to go and repeat to the public that I am the same old Jawaharlal, this and that, and show that I am a man of courage.”  
Nath Pai said, “Did I make a mistake?” Nehru replied, “Of course, you did. You made a mistake in thinking that I am somebody different. Naturally, as one grows, one matures. But the unfortunate thing is that some people even after growth do not mature.”  
Statement on Demand for Grants, 19 March 1963, Lok Sabha Debates.

ISBN 0-19-012325-7



9 780190 123253